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ABSTRACT

This resource notebook contains information and unit planning ideas for teachers, class activities, and student materials that can be used for teaching a 12th grade course about Virginia state and local governments. Section A features: (1) information about how to use these materials and how to find time to teach about Virginia government; (2) a student survey and materials on student class participation; (3) 28 sources of free or low-cost reference materials; (4) a 138-item bibliography; and (5) research questions and a list of student report topics. Section B contains resources and activities to develop an understanding of Virginia's physical geography, population, and economics, while Section C highlights reapportionment and Virginia's political and economic history. Section D presents information for teaching about politics and elections, and Section E examines the Virginia legislature through the implementation of a model general assembly. Virginia state and local taxes are considered in Section F; local government powers and structures are explored in Section G, and Section H describes Virginia's water resources. Pictures, maps, tables, charts, and graphs are included. (JHP)

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RESOURCES FOR TEACHING VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
MINOR HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22903

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PREFACE

In response to a statewide need, the Charlottesville City Schools sought and received a Pilot Study grant from the Office of Innovative Programs of the Department of Education, to develop teacher resource units on Virginia state and local government for use in the 12th grade course, Virginia and United States Government.

This notebook, Resources for Teaching Virginia Government, has been created with the cooperation of the Institute of Government at the University of Virginia, under the leadership of Helen B. Snook, Associate in Research at the Institute and former government teacher at Charlottesville High School. A statewide advisory committee guided the design of the materials, which were tested at Charlottesville High School and selected high schools around the Commonwealth. In the first year of the grant (1982-83), three packets were developed which now appear as sections A through E of this notebook. In 1983-84, two additional resource units were developed and evaluated: F - Virginia State & Local Taxes, and G - Local Government in Virginia. The final phase of the Pilot Study is to develop Section H - Virginia's Water Resources, and to assist teachers with the coordination and use of all the materials.

This notebook contains information from many sources, unit plan ideas, class activities, and student handouts. It may be used with the textbook, "By the Good People of Virginia"..Our Commonwealth's Government, written by Paul C. Cline and Daniel B. Fleming, Jr., published in November 1983 by the Virginia Chamber of Commerce. Videotapes on Virginia government also are being developed under the direction of the Department of Education during 1985-86, to complete the package visualized by the Virginia Studies Committee. A Government Teacher Resource Service is proposed to up-date these materials with replacement pages and periodic newsletters.

The Charlottesville City Schools and the Institute of Government hope that the resources in this notebook, and those to be added in the coming years, will enable Virginia government teachers to strengthen the state and local components of their courses. May the overall effort encourage our young people to become better informed, and motivate them to be more active participants in the democratic process.

Helen B. Snook, Project Director
Institute of Government
University of Virginia

Dr. John A. Eberhart
Assistant Superintendent for Instruction
Charlottesville City Schools

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The materials, ideas, and activities in this notebook would still be scattered all over the state of Virginia, in official publications, newspaper archives, file cabinets, and plan books, or tucked away in the experience of innumerable teachers, were it not for the vision and persistence of a score of individuals and many groups of concerned people.

Dr. James A. (Dolph) Norton, Director of the Institute of Government, University of Virginia, commissioned a study of the specific needs of Virginia government teachers that might be met with Institute resources. He made available the office, library, support services, and professional expertise of Institute faculty and researchers.

Dr. John A. Eberhart, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Charlottesville City Schools, saw the potential and quickly became a staunch advocate of the project, offering the support of the Charlottesville Schools and serving as director of the Pilot Study grant that funded part of the cost of developing these materials.

Dr. Thomas A. Elliott, James C. Page, and Clyde Haddock (Social Studies Service), and Dr. Mary A. Lovern (Office of Innovative Projects) of the State Department of Education recognized the interest of the Institute of Government and Charlottesville Schools as an opportunity to develop significant resources for 12th grade teachers and students. Their approval of funds enabled the project to continue and assured the publication of this notebook.

The Advisory Committee met many times, contributed ideas, critiques, and corrections, mailed drafts across the state for field-testing. and helped to set up inservice and preschool meetings with teachers. Their support and enthusiasm, individually and as a group, helped to assure the usability of the materials in this notebook.

Many teachers from Charlottesville, Albemarle, and other areas of Virginia, called and wrote, offered ideas, advice and encouragement at district and state conferences, field-tested activities, and let it be known that the resources were eagerly awaited.

Faculty, researchers, and staff at the Institute of Government gave advice and assistance in the assembling, writing, and publication of this notebook. Dr. Weldon Cooper, Director Emeritus of the Institute of Government, provided valuable historical information and perspective. Holly Hoffman Frazier, Western Albemarle history teacher, contributed her artistic skills to the design, cover, maps, and incidental drawings.

A fitting reward for all these efforts will be new interest in state and local government for the 12th grade students of Virginia.

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Project Director, Resources for Teaching Virginia Government

ENDORSEMENTS

This project has been endorsed and supported by the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Supervisors and College Educators, and by the Virginia Council for the Social Studies.

This notebook is distributed by the Virginia Department of Education as a resource for teachers of Virginia government.

PREFACE--SECOND PRINTING

The Teacher Resource Service at the Institute of Government, University of Virginia, recognized that a second printing of Resources for Teaching Virginia Government was appropriate at this time. Teachers new to Virginia classrooms and those newly assigned to teach United States and Virginia Government need copies of this notebook of information, ideas, sources, activities, and simulations.

To meet this need, the Teacher Resource Service, Institute of Government, is pleased to make available the second printing of this valuable resource, which government teachers can easily adapt to their existing course of study.

James A. (Dolph) Norton
Director, Institute of Government
University of Virginia

Michael Wildasin
Director, Teacher Resource Service
Institute of Government
University of Virginia

October 1986

RESOURCES FOR TEACHING GOVERNMENT

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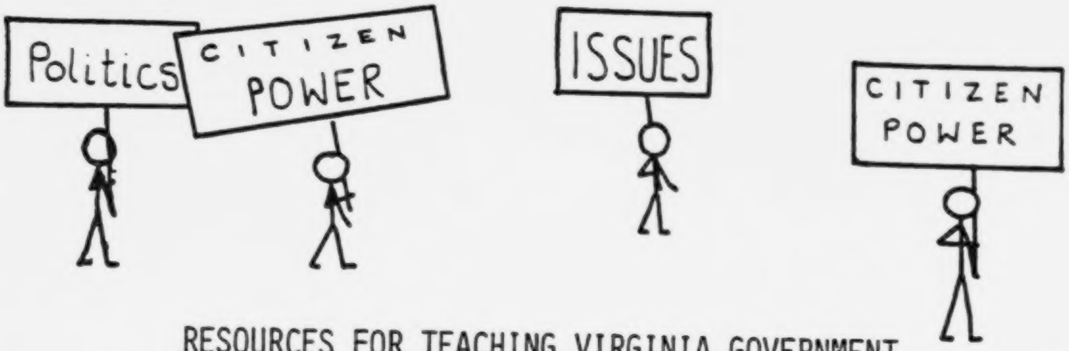
Politics
CITIZEN POWER
ISSUES
CITIZEN POWER

RESOURCES FOR TEACHING VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

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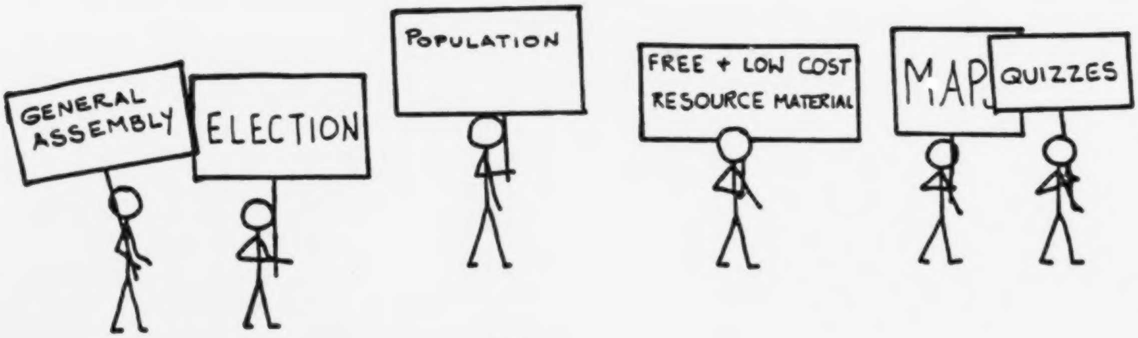

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ELECTION
POPULATION
FREE + LOW COST RESOURCE MATERIAL
MAPS
QUIZZES

INTRODUCTION

This notebook is a collection of teacher information and suggestions, student pages and class activities, assembled to help teachers include in their plans for "Virginia and United States Government," a fair share of time and interest on the study of Virginia state and local government.

There are two main reasons why it is important to increase the Virginia state and local content of the 12th grade government curriculum:

1 - This can be an almost sure way to heighten student interest and involvement in the course, since you will be studying and discussing topics and people who have a direct effect on all of your lives, people you can know and see in action working on matters of local concern.

2 - A stated objective of the course (in the Standards of Learning) is to involve students in the community, to increase their understanding and participation in the process of government. This is difficult to manage if your curriculum is heavily weighted toward national and international study. Recent surveys of the course plans in many school divisions point out the need for a better balance of attention to the different levels of government, and, in most cases, this means more time and attention to the levels that are nearest and most accessible.

MAKE THIS NOTEBOOK WORK FOR YOU

Teachers who know what is here, will find many different ways and times during the year to use the ideas, information, and class activities, and to assemble the numerous resources that are listed in the bibliography.

1 - Get acquainted with this notebook.

TAN pages are teacher information and ideas.
WHITE pages are student handouts and worksheets.
YELLOW pages are teacher instructions for class activities.
GREEN, BLUE, AND PINK pages are classroom reference materials.

2 - You may duplicate any materials in this notebook, except University of Virginia News Letters, which are copyrighted. Order extra copies of specific issues from:

Teacher Resources
Institute of Government
Minor Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

3 - If any page in your notebook is not clear, or does not reproduce well on your equipment, write or call (804-924-3396) for a clean copy.

4 - Check with your department head, your school librarian, and your community librarian to see what resources are already available to you and your students? Are there items listed in Section A that might be ordered for your

use? Will the school and community libraries help with vertical files and information gathering on issues of importance to Virginia and your community? List materials on each topic that are on hand for your use. (When you add a page to this notebook, number it with the previous page number and add an a, b, or c, etc.)

5 - Request additional information, report on pages and ideas that work and those that don't work, and contribute your own ideas for revisions and future pages, on the FEEDBACK SHEETS in the back of this notebook. The Institute of Government is anxious to make resources available to Virginia teachers. Take advantage of the service.

6 - If you do not have classroom sets of books on Virginia government available for your students' use (the new Cline-Fleming textbook, Chamber of Commerce books, or League of Women Voters, "Guide to Virginia State Government"), collect the resources you do have on a reference table in your classroom or in the library, and use the scavenger hunt technique, adapting the list of questions at the end of this Section A.

MAKING TIME FOR MORE STATE AND LOCAL STUDY

A teacher of "Virginia and United States Government" must have determination and superb organization to cover all the content and activities now included in most curriculum guides. Too often, the state and local government components have been squeezed into a few weeks, in part because resources were lacking to teach a compelling and well-organized share of the course on Virginia. Many teachers skipped it altogether, or hurried over one combined unit on state and local government, or taught it from the two or three chapters in a national textbook that homogenized and de-personalized state government, creating a composite unlike any of the 50 states. Other teachers have relied on the inclusion of state and local issues in current events to "cover" Virginia. The school divisions that have required several weeks of state and local government have developed some interesting and useful materials. A plan is now proposed that will facilitate the sharing of these ideas, with the Institute of Government keeping materials up to date.

Here are some ways teachers have found to make time for more Virginia state and local government in their courses:

1 - Plan realistically, and stick to your schedule. Prevent the end-of-the-year crunch that often short-changes Virginia state and local units. Include individual student activities in each unit, and some that you can skip if assemblies, senior pictures, snow days and field trips interfere. Build local and state current events into each week, so that you will have interest already kindled when you approach the state and local units.

2 - Publish assignments at the beginning of each unit and expect them to be completed on the date specified. Students can plan their work in advance, whether they are absent or present, whether you remind them or not. By giving out assignments in advance, you can also be more selective about the materials your students will use. You can include library books and vertical files, and give some non-textbook assignments, as suggested in several places in this notebook.

3 - No one textbook is strong in all areas, and some quickly become dated. You might choose to skip portions of the textbook, write up a list of important points on a summary sheet or on the board, and use class time to relate the information to real-life issues, saving student reading time for up-to-date sources, or for classics that dramatize the processes of government and politics.

4 - The history section at the beginning of many national textbooks includes much that students should remember from 11th grade. Many teachers expect their students to read and review this material on their own. In any event, you probably will want to integrate a review of the crucial information as the branches of government and court cases are studied during the year.

5 - Even the best chapters on elections and politics may be fairly dull, compared to the enthusiasm you can generate for the real thing. Assign any parts of the text that you think are important background, or discuss the most important points, then go on with student research and reports on local candidates, issues, parties, and politicking techniques in the news. There are pages of ideas and handouts in Section D of this notebook.

6 - Many Virginia teachers "cover" the national bureaucracy in a minimum of time with maximum impact by writing a list of agencies, departments, and commissions (see contents of United States Government Manual) on a big piece of newsprint or a poster. Students sign up for one they are interested in and one that is completely new to them. The assignment is to make posters telling the purpose, chief administrator, budget (if available), and how it influences our lives. (If your textbook does not include a U. S. Government Organization Chart, you might have an artistically-inclined student draw one or make one--perhaps in the form of a mobile?) Students check in their posters with the teacher on the assigned day, then post them around the room. Spend a period or two sharing information on categories of regulation, and allow some time for informal reading of the posters. The test might include generalizations about the agencies you discussed, a brief summary of one the student researched, an important fact or two about an agency on another student's poster, and an essay (or " 3 facts you would include if you wrote an essay") on the impact of the bureaucracy on our lives, the kinds of regulation we have or need for our health and safety, regulatory reform proposals, or some other category of your choice. Bureaucracy will be covering your walls -- that's impact in a very few days and with little time spent on whatever issues or (perhaps outdated) cases your textbook might include, or details that might not survive the next change of administration.

7 - As topics come up in discussion and in current events during the year, assign a student or two to collect information on how Virginia ranks in comparison with other states. Be sure students identify the source, the date, and the exact nature of the statistics or ranking. (Does a rank of 47th mean close to the "best" or close to the "worst"? What difference does this make? to whom?) This activity will take little class time, but it can result in a poster that is useful and interesting to all your classes.

8 - Is there a prominent hallway with a blank wall in your school? Ask your principal if a mural map of Virginia with famous landmarks, products, people and moments in history would be an appropriate eye-catcher and a learning opportunity for the designers, the artists, and the observers.

Government students (perhaps assisted by some 11th grade history students) might research the information to include, and art students might produce it. Everyone who passes the spot could learn a bit about the Commonwealth.

9 - Non-textbook assignments, all kinds of community and current events activities are all around you in the news. Many teachers use them for make-up, extra credit, and to stimulate class discussion. Students can attend meetings and hearings, particularly budget hearings when controversial programs are under discussion and citizen input is invited. Other assignments might include the following: Write up pros and cons on current issues, citing sources of information. Call a legislator or other official for information or views on an issue. Call party headquarters for official positions and platforms. Conduct an informal poll of family, neighbors, a few strangers. Look up economic, biographical, or other information in the library. Watch a pertinent TV show. Organize a pro and con discussion or a debate.

Reports from the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future will give you data and discussion questions for years! Watch for them in the news. See other report topics at the end of Section A of this notebook.

Some non-textbook activities might be required, some optional; some individual, and some pursued in small groups. All can lead to stimulating class discussions. Make assignments, or let students choose from a list or propose their own activities -- for 20% or ? of the unit grade.

Schedule the reporting/sharing a week or two ahead to allow students to find information and plan an interesting presentation. Some teachers require that a detailed plan be approved 3 days before the presentation. Some have point systems for students to evaluate class reports on such things as diversity of information sources, content, organization (questions or outline on the board or on a handout?), presentation, and interest. Such a system can stimulate dramatic improvements in data-handling skills and communications.

THE STANDARD LECTURE FORMAT PUTS ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY ON THE TEACHER. SINCE THERE IS NO WAY YOU CAN KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT EVERYTHING THIS COURSE INCLUDES, SHARE THE LOAD. Find course plans, assignments, and discussion techniques that put your students into positions of leadership. It might be good for all of you!

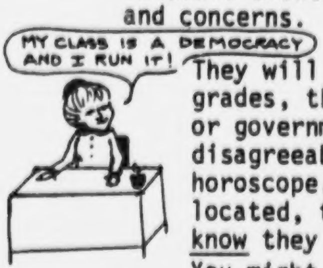
QUESTION..QUESTION..QUESTION. "Can you think of other ways this problem might be approached, handled, solved?" "If that alternative were chosen, what effect would it have on other people or problems?" "If you vote that way, would you be reelected?" "How would you explain it to your constituents?" The details of the discussion may be forgotten two days after the test, but the insights and the experience of questioning may last past graduation!

How do you do it? How have you taught the essentials of a particular unit without wasting time on dated trivia? and with a minimum of generalizing? Have you found ways to increase learning, or to include specific Virginia information in your course, without increasing classtime? Send your ideas so that others can benefit from your experience.

A STUDENT SURVEY - THEIR FIRST ASSIGNMENT

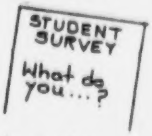
(SURVEY FORM ON REVERSE)

Why? Because this one piece of paper handed to each of your students can start them thinking constructively about your course. Since this will be your first written impression of them, they will give you thoughtful and valuable answers, and they will enjoy the opportunity to share their ideas and concerns.


MY CLASS IS A DEMOCRACY AND I RUN IT!

They will say they want an orderly class, they want to earn better grades, they prefer combination tests, they seldom discuss politics or government with anybody, they want help disagreeing-without-being-disagreeable, they read the newspapers sometimes (sports, Ann Landers, horoscope, comics), they know where the local government offices are located, they have very disturbing fears about their world, and they know they need to know about government.

You might say much of this in your "first day of school--this is how it's going to be" speech. Why not let it come from them? Wouldn't you rather be asked than told?



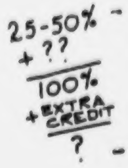
HOW TO USE THE SURVEY

- Duplicate the survey form on the back of this sheet...OR rewrite it to suit your needs: add questions, correct city/county designations, and specify the date you want them returned. Many teachers also ask for a copy of the student's schedule.

- Hand out first day with little comment--to be returned next day.

- Collect next day and remind the hold-outs.

- Discuss the generalizations the 3rd day. Be careful not to betray confidences: you may find some on the back of the sheet.



- Announce your course plan and grade plan a day or two later. Since they probably will have requested 25-50% of the grade based on tests and "the rest extra credit," you may need to give an arithmetic lesson before you announce the grade plan.

NIGHTLY NEWS

- Ask a student who wants to help by making bulletin boards to make a poster showing the times and stations/channels of news and commentary programs.

- Acquaint your students with the difference between news and commentary sections of the newspaper. What do they know about the editorial page?

OCTOBER
?
LAST DAY TO REGISTER

- Check with your voter registrar. Registration closes 30 days before a general election or primary. Those who will be eligible by the next general election may register and participate in primaries and mass meetings (See Virginia Constitution, Article II, Sec. 1). See D 3

That's an idea! Try it! If you use the information you gather AND try other ideas in this notebook, your classes should be more interesting and your students should be more involved. The increased coverage of current events should lead to better understanding of all government -- particularly Virginia state and local government.

STUDENT SURVEY - Please return ______________

Name__________________________________What do you prefer to be called?_______

Homeroom Teacher________________ Career Interests____________________________

Home Address__________________Phone______ Work?__ Hours____ Employer________

Your usual social studies grade___What do you plan to earn in Government?________

How much of your grade do you want to earn on tests? _________

What other ways do you want to earn your grade?

Have you artistic skills you are willing to use on our bulletin boards? _________

Current events are important in this course. What newspapers do you read?_______

_____________ What sections?__________________ How regularly?________________

What newsmagazines do you read? ________________ How regularly?________________

Radio newscast? Station Time

TV newscast? Channel Time

Do you know anyone who is active in local politics?___ Who?

Have you ever been to a political party meeting?__ worked for a candidate/party?

______________________Do you know any local officials?

Ever been in county offices/city hall?___ Attended a council/board meeting?______

Attended a school board meeting?________ Other?________________________________

Are you now 18 years old?__ registered to vote?__ When will you be 18?__________

Do you ever discuss politics or government with your family?_____ friends?_______

Do you generally agree with them? Can you disagree without being disagreeable?

What do you think are the greatest problems in our community?

in Virginia?

in the U.S.?

in the world?

What do you think you will study in Government this year?

What would you like to study?

What do you think you need to know to be a responsible citizen?

What are your pet peeves or things that bug you about teachers?

about classes?

Anything else you would like me to know about you, the way you work best, your feelings about this course:

Thank you for your help!

GEE, THANKS FOR SAVING A TREE!

SCRAP-PAPER QUIZ ON CURRENT EVENTS

Time Required: At Least 30 Minutes

Improve student participation in current events discussion! Make quiz points cumulative to lessen the terror of the student who starts with no knowledge, and to allow a few lapses without panic. Cumulative totals that count 10-20% of the grade will motivate borderline students as well as more competitive ones. (You may need bulletin board, poster, or clipping activities for students who have reading or comprehension problems.)

Materials Needed:	*1/8 of an old ditto sheet (one side clean) per student... or the scraps of your choice.*
	*A few colored pencils to loan to students for grading. **
	8-12 short-answer questions on major points of headline news stories. Sharpen the focus as their knowledge increases.

ALMOST EVERY IMPORTANT NEWS STORY INVOLVES ACTION, REGULATION, OR TAXATION BY LOCAL, STATE, OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. Choose the stories that will make the best topics and tie-ins for class discussion.

1 - (Give out slips) "Write your name, period, and date at the top and draw a dime-sized circle we'll use later for your point total."

2 - "Answer the following questions in as few words as possible." Read off the questions, pausing while they write. They'll love clues, bonus and extra questions -- more points! Put in some easy ones -- have fun with it!

3 - "Swap papers." (Vary the direction of the swap from day to day.) "Use a
* different color or type of pen or pencil and write YOUR NAME on some bare spot on the back of the quiz you are grading. I'll spot-check. If you have accepted a wrong answer, I'll subtract a point from YOUR paper since it shows you still weren't sure, even after our discussion."

4 - THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE EXERCISE...IT PROVES THE RELEVANCE OF THE COURSE! DISCUSS THE ANSWERS: facts, decisions to be made, decision-makers, levels and related departments of government, influences and influencers, and tie-ins with the course. Ask some why questions in the discussion, and some who-would-favor and who-would-oppose questions.

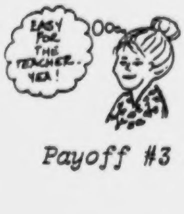
I KNOW
I KNOW

The teacher arbitrates full/partial/no credit for various answers. If the grader is still in doubt, he/she can put a question mark by the answer and NOT total the points. Keep the haggling good natured and brief!

5 - Student grader puts total points in circle, gives it back to the writer to hand in. Teacher spot-checks, solves problems, records points, and returns slips to students to keep or record.

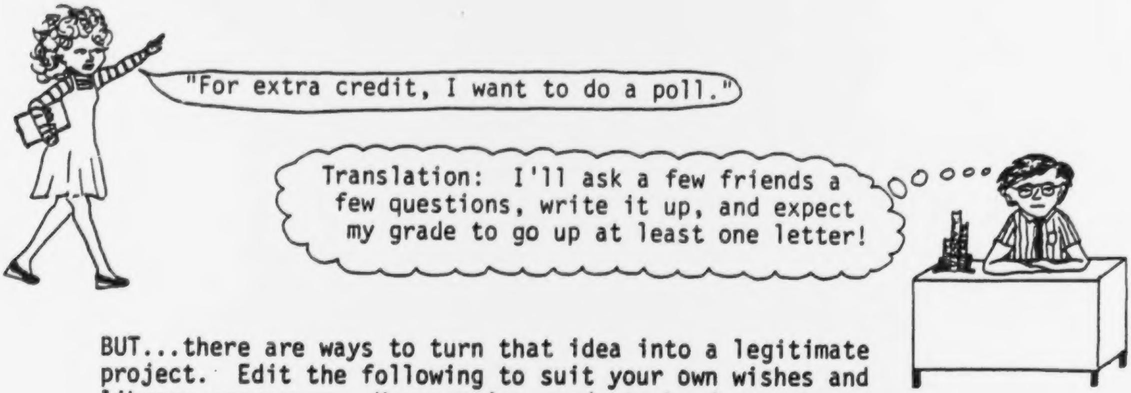
Payoff #1 - You can be generous with points and have fun with the discussion. Enthusiastic learning is more important than half-points here and there, provided basic facts are not compromised.

Payoff #2 - Schedule current events quizzes weekly or every week and a half. Let students bring in questions OR let 2-3 students write the quiz. They should check the questions with you before class to be sure they are clear, not too picky or easy, or miss something important. They'll vie for the chance when they realize that they will know the answers to the questions they submit!


EASY FOR THE TEACHER.. YEA!

Payoff #3 - The question writers and answerers -- the whole class -- will read and listen to the news. If you think they are not keeping up, give your own pop quiz. KEEP GOVERNMENT ALIVE! USE CURRENT EVENTS!

Payoff #4 - Quiz papers from ALL your classes will fit in one pocket!


"For extra credit, I want to do a poll."
Translation: I'll ask a few friends a few questions, write it up, and expect my grade to go up at least one letter!

BUT...there are ways to turn that idea into a legitimate project. Edit the following to suit your own wishes and library resources. Have copies ready to hand out when a student wants to "do a poll." You might encourage at least one per class.

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYING

1 - Read what your textbook says about polling. Then use the Readers' Guide to Periodic Literature and your library card file, to locate information about public opinion research, the firms, and the techniques used. Learn about some of the classic goofs, such as the Literary Digest poll. What can go wrong? Why is polling such a specialized business? Who uses polls?

2 - Give examples of leading questions and how timing of the interview, personality of the interviewer, and the interviewer's expectations can influence poll results.

3 - Write the hypotheses for your research, defining particular points you want to study. Word some questions you might use.

4 - Define the population you wish to poll -- your neighborhood? the school? the senior class? Define stratified and random sampling. How will you construct a scientific sample? How many should be in your sample?

5 - Test your questions on some friends and some strangers. Were the responses what you expected? Check for bias, wording, order, and presentation. What improvements should you make?

6 - Report on all of the above to your teacher and/or to the class. Discuss and correct your plan.

7 - After receiving an o.k. from your teacher, conduct your poll.

8 - Compile your responses in a statistically-acceptable fashion.

9 - Did your data support your hypotheses? State the conclusions shown by your data.

10 - Explain the details of your procedure, as well as your results, to the class. Describe any parts of the poll or process you would do differently if you did it over again, or if you were doing it for a client.

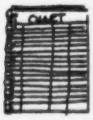
11 - There are professional pollsters all over Virginia, checking on voter choices, tooth pastes, TV viewing, and what made you buy your car. See if you can locate an opinion researcher to talk to, or to bring to class. (Check the classified phone directory in the large city nearest to you. An advertising agency can often help.)

12 - Summarize what you have learned.

SOME IDEAS TO ORGANIZE STUDENT PARTICIPATION AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR CURRENT EVENTS COVERAGE IN YOUR CLASSROOM

- IF IT'S PART OF YOUR GRADE PLAN, STUDENTS FIND A WAY TO KEEP UP WITH THE NEWS!
- NOTEBOOK LISTS AND SPECIAL NEWS SUMMARY PAGES, BULLETIN BOARDS, STUDENT INPUT ON QUIZZES AND DISCUSSIONS, PANELS, AND DEBATES MAKE CLASSES MORE INTERESTING FOR ALL OF YOU AND BUILD BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROCESS OF DECISION-MAKING -- PERSONAL, LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL.

#1 - A NOTEBOOK Controversy Chart on Virginia and Local Issues



Students record the date a controversy hits the news, a brief summary of facts, identification of the ultimate decision-maker(s), and a list of different points of view and who would hold them. Some controversies also contain conflicts of interest and vested interest groups, which should be identified. Leave room for additional points of view as issues develop.

I JUST LOVE CONTROVERSY!

Because you will be looking deliberately for different points of view, many answers will be acceptable. Students who are less sure of themselves may be more willing to participate.

Since students will be listing the controversies and points of view, these will be integral parts of the course and can be included in quizzes and tests. If you keep a master list posted in your classroom, you can coordinate class coverage more easily. You might choose a different controversy for the essay or short answer questions in each class.

#2 - A NOTEBOOK Names-to-Know List for Virginia Issues and Government

Students record the name, title, and reason why a person is in the news. This will help them recognize and understand news stories about Virginia government and Virginia issues more easily.

Identifying the names and the reasons they make the news will help students see the structure and functions of Virginia government, and the people and groups who influence decisions.

WOW! A SCAVENGER HUNT!

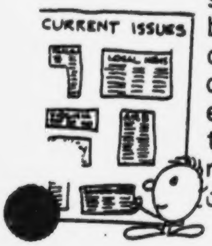
Start them off with a list of official titles. Students fill in the names as they come across them, and as you discuss them in the news.

#3 - NOTEBOOK Names-to-Know Lists for Local Issues & Local Government

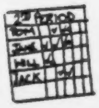
As above...AND it's great for national cabinet officers and others, too!

#4 - BULLETIN BOARD IDEAS

Even if you're a real Van Gogh at bulletin boards, there is such learning value in organizing instructive displays on various issues, that students should be asked to do it. If you fear your artistic sensibilities will be offended, you can always help with the grand design and selection of colors. The Student Survey form in this notebook will help students to offer help on such projects. This might be a way for a shy student to earn class participation credit and achieve peer status that would lead to more vocal contributions. Some teachers require that clippings from newspapers and magazines be mounted on a piece of paper that has written on it a 2-sentence summary of the story.



Classroom Discussion Ideas You May Not Have Thought About Recently...



#5 - The chemistry of some classes is not conducive to easy discussion at the beginning of the year. If class participation is part of your grading system, make sure students know it, and quietly, but obviously, make little checks in your grade book when people do volunteer. You might use a plus sign (+) for a really good contribution.

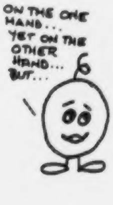
#6 - Discussing the student survey and different views on class participation can help. Reticent participants are likely to feel more comfortable if you have acknowledged that there are students who fear the floor will swallow them if they speak up during the first week!

#7 - Making lists of ideas on the board and encouraging people to call out answers sometimes helps shy students break the sound barrier. When you go around the room, start with different rows, front or back, and sometimes across. Ask for short answers.

#8 - Current events discussions help, because answers can be statements of fact a student heard on the news, or reactions to a story -- "Who would be concerned about this?" "Who would be likely to agree?" "Who would be likely to disagree?" "Why do you think people feel this way?" "If you had to decide this issue, what would be the greatest influence on your decision?" "What values of society enter into this issue -- truth? justice? equality?..." "Is there a conflict of values?" Give extra credit if a student identifies values on 2 or more views.

#9 - Set a good example for students to respect each other's opinions. No matter how outlandish an idea may appear to you, have a positive response ready: "Yes, some people may feel that way." "That's an idea." (You can always eliminate it from your summary.) Then go on quickly to another one.

#10 - QUESTION AND PROBE--ALWAYS ASK FOR ADDITIONAL POINTS OF VIEW.


ON THE ONE HAND...
YET ON THE OTHER HAND...
BUT...

- THE MINUTE A DISCUSSION LEADER ANNOUNCES AN OFFICIAL OPINION, SOME STUDENTS WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER AND TUNE OUT--OTHERS START ARGUING.
  Everybody loses.
- IF YOUR OPINION POPS OUT...Give extra credit to students who can offer reasoned disagreement and back it up with some evidence.
- Try offering extra credit on tests for students who can present BOTH sides of an issue, then tell why they would decide in favor of one.

GOVERNMENT IS A SOCIAL STUDIES COURSE. Every now and then, it is useful to stop and consider how you can be a better facilitator of the discussion process. It is not easy, particularly if the student opinions do not always agree with yours!

SOME THOUGHTS ON BEING NONPARTISAN IN A GOVERNMENT CLASSROOM

Nonpartisan, adj: not partisan; esp. free from party affiliation, bias, or designation

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Obviously, it depends on your community, your personality, and the particular details of the campaign/problem/election, but as a general rule, you will have more successful, open, and educational class discussions if your students are not quite certain about your particular position on a given topic. Some school divisions have specific statements in their policy manuals about teacher nonpartisanship in the classroom -- has yours? Some teachers may take stands on issues. Some may endorse candidates. If your views are known and respected in the community, it would be foolish to try to project a classroom image of neutrality or nonpartisanship. Students will be interested in your reasons. Of course, you will have to take extra precautions in grading opinions that do not agree with yours -- but that is even more true if your views are not generally known.

> ONCE YOU MAKE A STATEMENT OF YOUR OPINION ON A TOPIC, SEVERAL STUDENTS WILL WRITE IT DOWN AND THEN TUNE OUT THE DISCUSSION... SOME WILL DISCOUNT YOUR VIEWS AND AUTOMATICALLY TAKE AN OPPOSING VIEW...SOME MAY BE TEMPTED TO ARGUE...OTHERS MAY AGREE (TACITLY OR PUBLICLY). Be ready to deal with these reactions.
>
> None of these responses indicates a recommended teaching technique, since the usually accepted goal of social studies instruction is to teach young people to make their own decisions based on facts arrayed against their considered value judgments.

See the preceding pages (A 11-12) for some ideas on how to help students think and discuss more constructively, and make decisions on public (or private) questions. Here are some more ideas:

- List on the board and discuss the different points of view that would be possible on the issue. Start with the extremes at either end of the board -- from yes to no, or whatever is appropriate, then fill in views and qualified statements between.
- Identify each different shade of opinion -- with groups or individuals who would be likely to support it

  for economic reasons, direct or indirect, financial or other benefit or loss, including opportunity cost;

  for philosophical reasons, such as idealism, greater good of society, pragmatism, "It'll never work," necessity, equity or fairness, democracy, representation;

  for political reasons, for one party or candidate, or both, for platform or personal commitment; and

  for emotional reasons - help for the under-dog, for a person or program that needs support, or to help redress a wrong.
- Where would you go for facts, documentation of data, statements of support or other information? Would it help to choose students to bring in data another day?

- What other issues, controversies, neighborhoods, programs, or people are or might be affected?
- List costs (dollars, time, political power/support, other) and benefits to individuals, groups, and society.
- If you think your students would profit from an example of how to organize arguments on each side for an opinion paper, ask for volunteers to select points that should be included.
- Assign short essays or opinion papers. Students should take a position and defend it, answering important opposing arguments. You might give extra credit for opinion papers on more than one position, provided they are well done.
- Identify people in the community who might have different points of view on the question. Ask for volunteers from the class to interview them -- AND have the class help to word questions that would be useful in bringing out the different positions and reasoning. Share and discuss the reports.
- Assign each student 5 interviews (1 other student, 1 teacher, 2 family or neighborhood, and a stranger) to summarize -- without names -- and then hand in the specific statements AND an analysis of their own view. Did it change during the discussions with others? Did other people know about the question or care about it? How did their views differ?

When you are faced with the temptation to take a stand on an issue, one that might not be universally acclaimed by your school administration OR might lead to controversy with students, parents, or community -- consider using the issue for an exercise in problem-solving or decision-making. It will drain off the venom and you can win acclaim as the soul of reason, a natural arbitrator, or even an objective scholar! Instead of defending your own views, you turn the questions back to the students, the parents, and the community. THEY learn content and process and YOU stay out of trouble! (Since they will be doing the work, researching questions you and they think are important, you can just be an impartial discussion leader listing their responses and reasons on the board. OR you could even ask a student to be the recorder, focusing on the facts, the powers and forces in the decision.) There are many questions and problems for which there ARE no right answers, and whole batches more on which honest, intelligent people disagree. Try some inductive methods! Invent and consider wide arrays of alternatives and predict their possible consequences. Use role playing, and let students describe the range of reasoning and opinions that might be expected in certain segments of the population. What other groups would feel the same way? Would they be likely to prevail? Use test questions that ask for understanding of the complexity of the issue and points of view, rather than one "right" answer, which is often unrealistic anyway!

Test your objectivity. Ask a class for secret ballots on how they think you feel on the issue. A perfect score would be a split decision, perhaps reflecting the split in the class views since we all tend to hear best what agrees with our own thinking. Should your handling of a controversial issue be questioned by anyone outside the class, the student vote could come to your rescue.

P.S. You might even find your own view changing if you and your students do a super job of research and discussion !! ??

FREE & LOW-COST REFERENCE MATERIALS ON VIRGINIA STATE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Get it all together -- let one contact, one order, serve the whole department!

1 - FREE MAPS OF VIRGINIA. Ask at your nearest office of the Virginia Highway Department or your Motor Vehicle Department Office. If they'll give you two copies, you can show both sides at once on your bulletin board. They're very attractive maps!

2 - FREE CHART: "Organization of the Virginia State Government, 1983." One copy is in the front pocket of this notebook. To order more, or to obtain the update, usually published in the summer, Organization Chart, P.O. Box 1422, Richmond, VA 23211.

3 - MAPS. Topographical and geophysical, aerial photo maps and related publications. Send for list. Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, Box 3667, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

4 - FREE MAPS of the Virginia House of Delegates and Virginia Senate Districts (1983). A copy of each is in the front pocket of this notebook. Source: Division of Legislative Services, General Assembly Building, 910 Capitol St., Richmond, VA 23219.

5 - FREE INFORMATION ON YOUR COMMUNITY. Call your county offices or city manager's office for an appointment to discuss issues expected to be in the news during the coming year, and materials that would be helpful to you in dealing with the issues in your classroom. Your chairperson or ypur principal might like to go along, and you might ask for information such as the following:

A list of meeting times and places, and a chart showing who (name and title) sits where.

Maps of your community showing voting districts, land use, special improvements, parks. (Big maps are dramatic for bulletin boards; small ones are useful for duplicating, handouts or tests.)

Fact sheets. Organization charts. Flyers or booklets that describe the structure and operation of your local government. Is there a mailing list for future materials? Can your name/department be added to it?

A list of officials who might be available to visit classes or answer student questions during the year.

A list of special interest groups, neighborhood associations and their principle concerns, people who frequently speak up at meetings.

6 - FREE (and low cost) INFORMATION ON STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT, SPECIAL ISSUES AND CANDIDATES. Contact your nearest League of Women Voters. Each League publishes a guide to its own local government(s). Leagues provide election information, nonpartisan candidate information, open meetings and speakers on assorted local, state, and national topics. This is a volunteer organization and the office location changes with the president. Some Leagues pay for a separate phone listing. Ask officials or media if you have trouble locating the League. There are Leagues in the following parts of Virginia.

Alexandria
Arlington
Albemarle-Charlottesville
Chesapeake
Danville
Fairfax Area
Falls Church
Fredericksburg
Gloucester-Mathews
Hampton-Newport News
Loudoun County
Louisa County
Lynchburg
Montgomery County
Norfolk-Virginia Beach
Prince William
Richmond Area
Roanoke Area
Rockbridge Area
Waynesboro
Williamsburg

7 - LOW-COST ($2 handling charge) FILMS AND TAPES from State Department of Education A-V Libraries. Each school should have an up-to-date list. Order well in advance. (Not available to independent schools.)

8 - FREE VIDEOTAPES & TELECASTS are often available through your area TV or cable stations. Plan your unit schedule, then see their lists of available programs. They are anxious to help by showing them when your students will swell the ranks of viewers.

9 - FREE MATERIALS ON LAW & CORRECTIONS. Virginia Institute for Law & Citizenship, Virginia Commonwealth University, School of Education, 1015 West Main St., Richmond, VA 23284.

10 - FREE COPIES OF VIRGINIA FACTS & FIGURES. If your library does not have a recent copy, ask your librarian to order one from the the Division of Industrial Development, State Office Building, Richmond, VA 23219. It is a fine source of up-to-date information, but it is expensive to print. Some teachers have received more than one copy by requesting "last year's edition" in February, when the new ones are published.

11 - FREE COPIES OF YOUR LOCAL NEWSPAPER might be available for your use when you are studying local government, some local controversies, or the topic of a feature series. ASK! See the editor. You might also find a reporter who would tell your classes about covering local government or a particular story. (Check for editorial bias and plan ways to present other sides of the story -- see current events ideas in this notebook.) DON'T FORGET TO LET THEM KNOW WHEN YOUR CLASS IS ENGAGED IN SOME INTERESTING ACTIVITIES. It reinforces your thesis that Government is important -- and fun!

12 - FREE ALMANACS are often available from book dealers or distributors during the time the new ones are coming out. Let them know in advance that you would like the "old" ones. They are great sources of information on state and national governments, cities, history, economy, and sociology, and for supporting evidence or research for discussions on important issues in the news. Some also have world and regional maps. Last year's data is better than none!

13 - LOW-COST ATLASES are available through high school book and magazine suppliers. Encourage your students to purchase one to keep by their TV. Use it in class for current events, world resources. Draw your own outline maps with a stylus and a piece of carbon paper.

14 - LOW-COST MAPS & PUBLICATIONS can be ordered from the Virginia State Library. Many of the booklets and maps would be useful for the history classroom and teacher. Your department or library might buy and mount a $10 set of historic maps. The geology map (#9) might be of interest in your study of economic geography. Some are very decorative!

15 - FREE CLASS MATERIALS can often be arranged in return for a "thank you for your contribution" letter from your chairperson, librarian, or principal. Keep your eyes open for useful resources in your community--books, magazines, maps, films, display pictures, slides, posters, other? The donor can use the letter for a tax deduction and EVERYBODY BENEFITS!

16 - ALMANAC OF VIRGINIA POLITICS - the indispensable reference book includes economic and political descriptions of each legislative district; biographies, committee assignments, and voting records on key issues for each legislator in the General Assembly. It is up-dated after each election. THIS BOOK PROVIDES THE CRUCIAL INFORMATION FOR THE MODEL

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTIVITY (Section E of this notebook). The cost is $9.95 plus 4% sales tax and 95¢ postage and handling. Post-election supplement: January 1986 ($4.95) 2310 Barbour Road, Falls Church, VA 22043.

17 - THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MANUAL is the official handbook of the U.S. Government, and the best reference of all on national governnnment in brief. Great for current events background. Brief histories of each branch, department, agency, corporation, and commission. The purpose and role of each, authority, programs and activities, and how to get more information. Great list of abbreviations and acronyms in the appendix--also organizational charts. $9.50 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Recommended: one copy for each government teacher; one copy in the library is a minimum.

18 - FREE BOOKLETS, FLYERS AND EVEN COMPUTER PRINT_OUTS on PACs and other campaign financing information--on all candidates for national office. See the latest figures on contributions to members of a committee on Congress--compare it to the kinds of legislation they vote on! Voter Education Programs in the schools! Pages and pages of resources, case studies, and classroom activities! Speakers and workshop materials available! Contact the Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463.

19 - FREE WORKBOOKS AND TEACHING MATERIALS ON FEDERAL INCOME TAXES "Understanding Taxes," a student workbook including general information, sample problems, test questions and activities, available free from the Internal Revenue Service, Richmond Office (800) 424-1040. Call early in the school year to avoid the tax season rush! Ask for a copy for each student AND A TEACHER GUIDE FOR EACH TEACHER. Wall charts and additional materials included. Films are also available.

20 - FREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO NEWSLETTERS! Three newsletters are currently available from the Institute of Government at the University of Virginia:

The University of Virginia News Letter is a scholarly look at current topics in Virginia state and local government. Published monthly.

The Quarterly is an eight-page newsletter of ideas, strategies, resources, and feature stories especially for government and civics teachers. Published four times during the school year.

The Virginia Independent is the official publication of the Virginia Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution with historical reports and a calendar of bicentennial activities. Published bimonthly.

Most teachers should be receiving them, but if not, contact the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

21 - FREE INFORMATION ON MANY TOPICS RELATING TO VIRGINIA STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. See the Institute of Government "Selected Bibliography" (updated to May, 1986) on pages A 19 - 28 of this notebook.

22 - Most local, state and national offices and agencies will provide information, materials and speakers for class. Ask!

23 - FREE CATALOG OF LOW-COST MATERIALS ON WOMEN'S HISTORY! Teaching guides, records, slides, games, posters, cassettes, and novelties are available from the National Women's History Project, P.O. Box 3716, Santa Rosa, CA 95402.

24 - PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS--The Virginia YMCA sponsors three programs which involve students in simulations of state government. In the Model General Assembly, students learn about the legislative process; in the Model Executive Government Conference, students learn the theory and practice of the executive branch; and in the Model Judiciary Program, students work with lawyers and judges in a trial simulation. Contact Mark Coward, Associate Executive Director, The Virginia YMCA, P.O. Box 10365, Lynchburg, VA 24506 or call (804) 385-9117.

25 - A QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT, a new eight-part videotape series on Virginia state and local government is now available. The series features Professor Larry Sabato, many Virginia politicos, and Roanoke area students exploring various questions of Virginia government. Titles include:

"Why Should I Be Involved?"
"How Does It Work?"
"Who Does What?"
"What Can I Do?"
"What Should the State Do for Me?"
"Why Do We Need Local Government?"
"What Happens When I Break the Law?"
"How Do We Pay the Costs of Governing?"

Each tape is approximately 15 minutes long; a teacher's guide with worksheets and handouts is available. Send your own 1/2 inch or 3/4 inch tapes (enough for two hours of taping) to Mary Dalton, Division of Instructional Media and Technology, Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216. Include $2.00 for handling fees. For more information, call (804) 225-2401.

26 - GET INVOLVED IN GOVERNMENT, a new three-part videotape series emphasizes citizen participation in issues on the local, state, and national levels. Titles include:

"Get Involved In Local Government" discusses land use, local ordinance and zoning changes required for a brewery, and the sale of beer on Sunday.

"Get Involved In State Government" features a filmed tour of Virginia government facilities and services, from parks and hospitals to offices for minority business, education, highways, airports and workman's compensation.

"Get Involved In National Government" shows the many services provided at the national level and reviews the legislative process.

Send your own 1/2 inch or 3/4 inch tapes (enough for two hours of taping) to Mary Dalton, Division of Instructional Media and Technology, Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216. Include $2.00 for handling fees. For more information, call (804) 225-2401.

27 - COMMONWEALTH COLLOQUIA: A TELEVISION PROJECT ON THE VIRGINIA EXPERIENCE, is a new nine-part series of programs on Virginia history, featuring some of the state's foremost scholars discussing the Virginia experience. Titles include:

"The Spaniards Are Coming!"--Spanish exploration on the Virginia coast before Jamestown

"Who Goes There?"--Theories of the Virginia Frontier

"Free to Profess: Virginia's Statute of Religious Freedom"--The historical and contemporary significance of Jefferson's document

"Time on the Cross at Tredegar"--Industrial slavery in the Commonwealth

"Beyond the Academies"--The origins of Virginia's public schools

"Mahone, Martin and Virginia's Machines"--The post-Reconstruction era

"Suffering Suffragettes"--Virginia's feminists

"Massive Resistance: Its Originis and Politics"--a view of Virginia in the '50's and 60's

"Bourbonism in Virginia"--Machine politics in crisis

Each tape is approximately 28 minutes long; a teacher's guide is available. Send your own 1/2 inch or 3/4 inch tapes (enough for two hours of taping) to Mary Dalton, Division of Instructional Media and Technology, Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216 or The Resource Center, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, P.O. Box 3697, Charlottesville, VA 22903. Include $2.00 for handling fees. For more information, call (804) 225-2401.

28 - COURT DAYS FORUMS VIDEOTAPES
The "Virginia Court Days Forums" was a series of twenty public meetings on the United States Constitution that were held across the Commonwealth from 1984 through 1986. The forums were intended to promote greater public understanding of the U. S. Constitution as the nation approached the 200th anniversary of that document. The series was directed by the Institute of Government and supported in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The forums have brought together a remarkably diverse and distinguished collection of panelists to discuss a wide variety of constitutional issues. As the forums were filmed for broadcast on WCVE-TV, videotapes are available for purchase. The tape of each forum lasts approximately 60 minutes. Each forum was accompanied by a University of Virginia News Letter on the same topic by an outstanding scholar. Please use the form on the next page to order tapes and class copies of the newsletters.

"The Constitution as Symbol and Substance:
Williamsburg, VA
What Does Constitutionalism Mean?"
February 28, 1984

"Religion and the Constitution:

Orange County, VA
How High is the Wall of Separation?"
July 14, 1984

"Democratic Representation Under the Constitution:
Loudoun County, VA
Where Do Political Parties Fit In?"
September 12, 1984

"Courts and the Constitution:

Richmond, VA
Toward an Imperial Judiciary?"

October 9, 1984

"Federalism and the Constitution:

Danville, VA
Whither the American States?"

January 23, 1985

"The Philosophical Roots of the Constitution:
Charlottesville,
Liberty or Equality?"

VA, April 9, 1985

"Coal and the Constitution:

Wise County, VA
The Federal Government and Interstate Commerce"
April 16, 1985

"Technology and Government: Can the Constitution
Augusta County, VA
Survive in the Modern Age?"

May 7, 1985

"Conflicting Rights Under the Constitution:
Hanover County, VA
A Free Press Versus a Fair Trial"
June 16, 1985

"Suffrage and the Constitution:

Roanoke, VA
The Future of Voting Rights in Virginia"
September 5, 1985

"Schools and the Constitution:
Hampton, VA
The Dimensions of the Right to Education"
September 17, 1985

"Changing the Constitution:

Westmoreland County, VA
A New Convention?"

December 11, 1985

"The Constitution and the Executive
Alexandria, VA
Establishment: An Imperial Bureaucracy?"
February 18, 1986

"Democracy and the Constitution:
Winchester, VA
Is the Congress Representative?"
April 16, 1986

"Foreign Policy Under the Constitution:
Fredericksburg, VA
Should the President's Powers Be Curbed?"
May 7, 1986

"Federalism and the Constitution:
Bristol, VA
Interstate Cooperation and Conflict"
June 18, 1986

"The Constitution and the World Economy
Norfolk, VA
How Does the Constitution Affect
International Trade?

July 16, 1986

VIDEOTAPE REQUEST FORM

NAME ____

ADDRESS ____

____

PHONE ______________________

TITLE AND/OR
LOCATION OF FORUM
PROGRAM REQUESTED ______________________________________

TYPE OF VIDEOTAPE ______________
(Beta or VHS)

Cost of each VHS videotape is $10.00.
Cost of each Beta videotape is $20.00.

How many copies of the accompanying newsletter do you want? __________

Please mail this form, with a check made payable to the Institute of Government, to the following address:

Virginia Court Days Forums
Institute of Government
University of Virginia
207 Minor Hall
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Due to production time, you will receive your videotape approximately two weeks upon receipt of your request.

Thank you for your interest in the Court Days series.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS ON VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

Compiled by Sandra H. Wiley

Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 229

The Institute of Government is a reseach organization within the University's College of Arts and Sciences. A significant part of the Institute's program is the conduct of research and the publication of materials on various aspects of public affairs in Virginia. These materials are in the form of a monthly news letter, monographs, and occasional books published jointly with the University Press of Virginia. The Institute worked with Charlottesville Schools and the Virginia Department of Education on the preparation of this notebook, and additional resources are planned in subsequent years. The Institute also will respond to requests for specific information to aid teacher and student understanding of state and local government and issues in Virginia.

The University of Virginia News Letter, a monthly publication of the Institute of Government, is now in its fifty-ninth year of publication. Indexes are available. Each issue is a four-page article that discusses one specific topic. Copies are mailed regularly to most Virginia public high school libraries. The News Letter is copyrighted, but multiple copies and classroom sets may be obtained at no charge from the address above. Subscriptions are available free upon request -- simply ask to have your name added to the list.

Some recent News Letters on topics useful in the 12th grade Virginia government units are listed below. *Starred items are included in this notebook.

A. STATE GOVERNMENT

1. Constitution

The Constitution of Virginia: 1776 and 1976, Albert L. Sturm, Vol. 53, no. 4 (December 1976)

Local Government and the 1971 Virginia Constitution, Donald C. Dixon, Vol. 49, no. 10 (June 1973)

Local Government in Colonial Virginia: A Prelude to Constitution Making, Donald C. Dixon, Vol. 49, no. 7 (March 1973)

Religion and the Political Process: Virginia's Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom, Keith Crim and Thomas O. Hall, Jr. Vol. 60, no. 9 (May 1984)

2. Legislative Branch

* The 1982-83 Virginia General Assembly, Robert J. Austin, Vol. 60, no. 1 (September 1983)

The Virginia General Assembly, I: Structure and Procedures, Robert J. Austin, Vol. 54, no. 2 (October 1977)

The Virginia General Assembly, II: Influencing Policy, Robert J. Austin, Vol. 54, no. 3 (November 1977)

The Virginia Legislatures, 1776 and 1976, William Buchanan, Vol. 54 no. 2 (October 1976)

The 1978-79 Virginia General Assembly: End of a Decade, Robert J. Austin, Vol. 56, no. 1 (September 1979)

* Occupational Background, Recruitment Patterns, and Party in the Virginia General Assembly 1970-1981, Arthur B. Gunlicks, Vol. 58 no. 8 (April 1982)

* The 1981/1982 Reapportionment of the Virginia House of Delegates, John G. Schuiteman and John G. Selph, Vol. 59, no. 10 (June 1983)

3. Executive Branch

The Governorship of Virginia, 1776 and 1976, Rowland Egger, Vol. 52, no. 12 (August 1976)

The Governor's Veto Power, Alexander J. Walker, Vol. 54, no. 4 (December 1977)

Executive Clemency in Virginia, Thomas R. Morris, Vol. 55, no. 3 (November 1978)

The Governor of Virginia as Executive Leader, Gibson L. Tucker, Jr. Vol. 45, no. 5 (January 1969)

The Governor of Virginia, Carter O. Lowance, Vol. 36, no. 6 (February 1960)

The Office of Attorney General in Virginia, Thomas R. Morris, Vol. 56, no. 8 (April 1980)

4. Judicial Branch

The Virginia Judiciary, 1776 - 1976, Thomas R. Morris, Vol. 54, no. 1 (September 1976)

The Criminal Trial Process in Virginia, Thomas R. Morris, Vol. 58, no. 7 (March 1982)

Sexual Assault Law Reform in Virginia: An Overview, H. Lane Kneedler, Vol. 58, no. 5 (January 1982)

The Role of Judges in Virginia Local Government: A Historical Overview, Stanley A. Cook, Vol. 57, no. 10 (June 1981)

5. State Agencies and Policies

Human Services in a Time of Diminished Resources, Joseph L. Fisher, Vol. 59, no. 9 (May 1983)

* Virginia's State Corporation Commission, I: Historical Perspective, Vol. 56, no. 4 (December 1979) and Virginia's State Corporation, II:
* Decision Making Today, Vol. 56, no. 5 (January 1980, Robert S. Montjoy and Laurence J. O'Toole)

The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission: The State's Preservation Agency, H. Bryan Mitchell, Vol. 56, no. 11 (July 1980)

Welfare Policy in Virginia and the Nation, Timothy G. O'Rourke, Vol. 56, no. 2 (October 1979)

Elementary and Secondary Education to the Year 2000: Issues and Policy Alternatives, Charles P. Ruch, Vol. 60 no. 10 (June 1984)

The 1984 Virginia Assembly on Policy for Elementary and Secondary Education in Virginia: Issues for the Commonwealth (no named author) Vol. 60, no. 12 (August 1984)

Deinstitutionalization, C. Knight Aldrich (vol. 62, no. 1 (September 1985)

6. Elections and Voting Behavior

Suffrage Requirements and Voter Turnout in Virginia: 1776 and 1976, Robert S. Montjoy, Vol. 53, no. 3 (November 1976)

Party Nominations in Virginia, Clifton McCleskey, Vol. 54, no. 10 (June 1978)

The Initiative and Referendum in American States, David S. Magleby, Vol. 56, no. 6 (February 1980)

Money in Politics: Financing the 1977 Statewide Elections in Virginia, Richard W. Hall-Sizemore, Vol. 56, no. 12 (August 1980)

Virginia General Assembly Elections, 1979, Larry Sabato, Vol. 56, no. 7, (March 1980)

The 1980 Election: Understanding the Reagan Victory in Virginia, David S. Magleby, Vol. 57, no. 7 (March 1981)

The 1980-81 Virginia General Assembly, Robert J. Austin and Bernard Caton, Vol. 57, no. 12 (August 1981)

* The 1981 Gubernatorial Election in Virginia, Larry Sabato, Vol. 58, no. 6 (February 1982)

* The 1982 Election for U.S. Senator in Virginia, Larry Sabato, Vol. 59, no. 5 (January 1983)

The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982, Timothy G. O'Rourke, Vol. 59, no. 6, (February 1983)

1983 Virginia General Assembly Elections: Stability, for a Change, Larry J. Sabato, Vol. 60, no. 6 (February 1984)

The 1984 Presidential Election in Virginia: A Republican Encore, Larry J. Sabato, Vol. 61, no. 6 (February 1985)

7. Environment

Hazardous and Toxic Waste Disposal, John Gilmour, Vol. 57, no. 1 (September 1980)

Virginia's Climate, Bruce P. Hayden and Patrick Michaels, Vol. 57, no. 5, (January 1981)

Hazardous Waste Management in Virginia, Richard C. Collins and Elizabeth B. Waters, Vol. 59, no. 4 (December 1982)

The Virginia Assembly on the Future of the Virginia Environment (no named author), vol. 62, no. 3 (November 1985)

Water Supply Management in Virginia, William E. Cox, vol. 61, no. 10 (June 1985)

8. Finance-Taxation

Financing Virginia's Government: Where the Money Comes From, David S. Jones, Vol. 53, no. 9 (May 1977)

Financing Virginia's Government: Where the Money Goes, Mary Jo Fields, Vol. 53, no. 10 (June 1977)

The Movement to Limit Government Spending in American States and Localities, 1977 - 1979, David B. Magleby, Vol. 57, no. 3 (November 1980)

Virginia Property Tax Assessment/Sales Ratio Study, John L. Knapp and Philip J. Grossman, Vol. 58, no. 11 (July 1982)

Reform of the Virginia Individual Income Tax, John L. Knapp, Karen B. Bonventre, and William T. Smith, Vol. 60, no. 3 (November 1983)

The Virginia Retail Sales Tax, John L. Knapp and Bruce K. Johnson, Vol. 58, no. 4 (December 1981)

* Virginia State and Local Government Finances in the Eighties, John L. Knapp, Vol. 59, no. 3 (November 1982)

New Rules for Public Procurement in the Commonwealth, Clay L. Wirt and Paul N. Proto, Vol. 59, no. 8 (April 1983)

Virginia's Sales Tax: Its Origins and Administration, Michael S. Deeb, and Stuart W. Connock, Vol. 46, no. 8 (April 1970)

9. Geography

* The Geography of Virginia, James W. Fonseca, Vol. 57, no. 11 (July 1981)

10. Health

Emergency Medical Services and Volunteer Rescue Squads in Virginia, Marcia S. Mashaw, Vol. 58, no. 2 (October 1981)

11. Land Use

Land Use and the Public Interest, John Gilmour, Vol. 56, no. 9 (May 1980)

The Virginia Assembly on Land Use Policies: Issues for the Commonwealth, (No named author), Vol. 58, no. 13 (August 1982)

The Rural Renaissance and the Management of Virginia's Lands, Sandra S. Batie, Vol. 59, no. 2 (October 1982)

12. Media

Virginia's Capitol Press Corps, John T. Whelan, Vol. 57, no. 6 (February 1981) Mistakenly issued as Vol. 58, no. 6

13. Population Studies

* Population Change in Virginia 1970-1980, Julia H. Martin and Michael A. Spar, Vol. 58, no. 10 (June 1982)

Family Composition in Virginia: Female-Headed Families, 1970-1980 Julia H. Martin and Donna J. Tolson, Vol. 59, no. 11 (July 1983)

Other Minorities: A Demographic Description of Virginia's Asian Populations, Julia H. Martin and David W. Sheatsley, Vol. 61, no. 3 (November 1984)

14. Regionalism

The Frostbelt-Sunbelt Controversy, Timothy G. O'Rourke, Vol. 57, no. 8, (April 1981)

15. Women's Issues

Women in Virginia State and Local Government, Mary Jo Fields, Vol. 58, no. 3 (November 1981)

Family Composition in Virginia: Female-Headed Families, 1970-1980, Julia H. Martin and Donna J. Tolson, Vol. 59, no. 11 (July 1983)

16. Other

The Average Virginia as Seen by the Census, William J. Serow and Charles O. Maiburg, Vol. 49, no. 6 (February 1973)

Freedom of Information in Virginia, Clifton McCleskey and Mary Jo Fields, Vol. 55, no. 10 (June 1979)

The Enterprise Zone Concept and Virginia's Urban Enterprise Zone Act, John C. Brown, Vol. 59, no. 7 (March 1983)

The Metrorail System: Its Impact on Virginia, Jeremy F. Plant, Vol. 59, no. 1 (September 1982)

The Virginia Assembly on the Role of Adult Corrections within the Virginia Criminal Justice System (no named author), Vol. 59, no. 12 (August 1983)

Changing Job Skills in Virginia: The Employer's View, Julia H. Martin and Donna J. Tolson, vol. 62, no. 6 (Special Issue, January 1986)

B. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. General

Virginia Local Government, 1776 - 1976, Weldon Cooper, Vol. 52, no. 11 (July 1976)

The Charter and Virginia Local Government, Weldon Cooper, Vol. 45, no. 8 (April 1969)

Local Government and the 1971 Virginia Constitution, Donald C. Dixon, Vol. 49, no. 10 (March 1973)

Virginia Town, I, Vol. 47, no. 12 (August 1971) and The Virginia Town, II, Vol. 48, no. 1 (September 1971), S.J. Makielski, Jr.

The Study of Small Towns in Virginia, Byron Farwell, Vol. 56, no. 3 (November 1979)

Town-County Relations in Virginia, Mary Jo Fields and Sandra H. Wiley, Vol. 56, no. 10 (June 1980)

The Staunton Story 1908 - 1973, I, Vol. 49, no. 8 (April 1973) and The Staunton Story 1908 - 1973, II, Vol. 49, no. 9 (May 1973), Edward L. Morton and Weldon Cooper. These two articles deal with the use of the council-manager form of government by Virginia's cities and towns (I) and the use of a manager or other central administrator by counties (II).

The County Tie Breaker in Virginia, Mary Jo Fields, Vol. 57, no. 9 (May 1981)

Municipal Electric Utility Systems in Virginia, Michael F. Digby, Vol. 57, no. 4 (December 1980)

The Role of Judges in Virginia Local Government: A Historical Overview, Stanley A. Cook, Vol. 57, no. 10 (June 1981)

* Virginia's Local Executive Constitutional Officers: A Contemporary Profile, Timothy G. O'Rourke and George Asimos, Jr. Vol. 58, no. 9 (May 1982)

* Virginia's Local Executive Constitutional Officers in Historical Perspective, Stanley A. Cook, Vol. 58, no. 1 (September 1981)

Managing Federal Grants in the City of Richmond, Donald F. Kettl, Vol. 57, no. 2 (October 1980)

Mayoral Leadership in Council-Manager Cities in Virginia, Nelson Wikstron, Vol. 54, no. 5 (January 1978)

The Industrial Development Bond Controversy, Douglas L. Sbertoli, Vol. 60. no. 2 (October, 1983)

The Virginia Local Government Manager: An Updated Statistical Profile, Denise S. Butterfield, Vol. 60, no. 7 (March 1984)

2. Finance

Local Government Finance in Virginia, Bernard Caton, Vol. 54, no. 7 (March 1978)

State Aid to Local Governments in Virginia, John L. Knapp and Philip J. Grossman, Vol. 55, no. 1 (September 1978)

3. Annexation and Consolidation

The Commission on City-County Relations: A New Look at an Old Dilemma, George Rogers Clark Stuart, Vol. 52, no. 3 (November 1975)

Municipal Annexation in Virginia, 1960 - 1970, Edward L. Morton, Vol. 48, no. 9 (May 1972)

Merger in Virginia Local Government: Issues and Implications, David G. Temple, Vol. 50, no. 2 (October 15, 1963)

Annexation: The Virginia Procedure, Chester W. Bain, Vol. 37, no. 11, (July 1961)

Annexation Resumes in Virginia, Jack D. Edwards, Vol. 60, no. 8 (April 1984)

An Update on Local Government Consolidation in Virginia, Mary Jo Fields Vol. 60, no. 4 (December 1983)

Annexation and State Aid to Localities: A Compromise is Reached, Thomas J. Michie, Jr., and Marcia S. Mashaw, Vol. 55, no. 11 (July 1979)

Note: The first of these two articles provides a good description of Virginia's judicial annexation procedure. However, because some of the statutory requirements subsequently have changed. the article must be read together with the second one to get an accurate picture of the current annexation process.

INDEXES to the news letters published since 1958 can be found in the following issues:

1958 - 1965, Vol. 41, no. 12 (August 1965)
1965 - 1972, Vol. 48, no. 12 (August 1972)
1972 - 1979, Vol. 55, no. 12 (August 1979)
1979 - 1980, Vol. 56, no. 12 (August 1980)
1980 - 1981, Vol. 58, no. 1 (September 1981)
1981 - 1982, Vol. 58, no. 12 (August 1982)
1982 - 1983, Vol. 60, no. 1 (September 1983)
1982 - 1984, Vol. 61, No. 2 (October 1984)
1984 - 1985, Vol. 61, no. 12 (August 1985)

Institute Publications

A list of selected Institute Publications that might be useful resources for teachers of high school-level government courses is given below. These publications are available in most public libraries. In addition, single copies are available without charge, upon request to the Institute, unless a price is quoted.

The Virginia Local Legislator: A Guide for Municipal Mayors and Councilmen and County Supervisors. Virginia Municipal League, Virginia Association of Counties, and Institute of Government (1972).

Note: This monograph, while intended primarily for newly elected local government officials, is written in nontechnical language and provides a good introduction to Virginia's system of local government and the powers and duties of Virginia's counties, cities, and towns.

Handbook for Virginia Municipal Mayors and Councilmembers. 2d edition. Michaux H. Wilkinson and Mary Jo Fields (1979). $6.00.

A concise but general overview of town and city government and municipal office in Virginia.

Virginia County Supervisors' Manual. 4th edition. Marcia S. Mashaw (1982) $17.00

"A Body Incorporate": The Evolution of City-County Separation in Virginia Chester W. Bain (1967).

Annexation in Virginia: The Use of the Judicial Process for Readjusting City-County Boundaries. Chester W. Bain (1966).

Virginia's Lieutenant Governors: The Office and the Person. Thomas R. Morris (1970)

Zoning and Subdivision Law in Virginia: A Handbook. Stephen Robin (1980) $3.00

A good explanation, in summary form, of the basic law of zoning and land use control as it now exists in Virginia.

Virginia Issues: State Aid to Local Governments. John Knapp and Philip J. Grossman (1979).

Special District Government in Virginia. S.J. Makielski, Jr. and David G. Temple (1967).

Publications Issued by the University Press of Virginia

The publications listed below are all available by purchase from the University Press of Virginia, P.O. Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903. They are also available in most public libraries.

Virginia Government and Politics: Readings and Comments. Weldon Cooper and Thomas R. Morris (1975). $10.00

The Virginia Supreme Court: An Institutional and Political Analysis. Thomas R. Morris (1975). $12.50

Merger Politics: Local Government Consolidation in Tidewater Virginia. David G. Temple (1972). $12.50.

The Democratic Party Primary in Virginia: Tantamount to Election No Longer. Larry Sabato (1977). $9.95.

Publications Issued by the Virginia State Library

Virginia State Library, Richmond, VA 23219.
Send for copies of the current publications list - for your library and your social studies department file.

VIRGINIA TOWN & CITY MAGAZINE

Address: 311 Ironfronts
1011 East Main Street
P.O. Box 753
Richmond, VA 23206

Virginia Town & City is the official publication of the Virginia Municipal League, and association that represents Virginia municipal governments. Published bimonthly since 1966, the magazine often contains articles of general information on Virginia local Government suitable for use in conjunction with high school-level government courses. In addition, each issue usually contains one or two articles about government activities in particular towns or cities.

Subscription Rate: $8.00/per year

VIRGINIA CAVALCADE MAGAZINE

Address: The Virginia State Library
Richmond, VA 23219

Virginia Cavalcade is a magazine published quarterly by the Virginia State Library. Each issue includes historical articles (usually three to five) on various aspects of Virginia life, including its government and politics. The writing style is suitable for high school students, and the articles on government would provide good supplementary readings for special projects and reports. The articles are accompanied by many illustrations.

Subscription Rate: $4.00/per year; $7.00/two years (Library discount, 10%)

COMMONWEALTH, THE MAGAZINE OF VIRGINIA

Address: Virginia State Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 1710
Norfolk, VA 23510

Commonwealth is a monthly publication of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, which has been published since 1934. Each issue has approximately three feature articles of general interest pertaining to Virginia; some of these articles relate to Virginia government. The level of writing is suitable for high school students, and the articles are very journalistic in style, similar to newspaper feature articles.

Subscription Rate: $15.00/per year

VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Address: Virginia Historical Society
P.O. Box 7311
Richmond, VA 23221

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography is a quarterly publication of the Virginia Historical Society. Its articles often deal with specific aspects of Virginia political and governmental history, especially Virginia's past governmental and political leaders. The articles, while scholarly in nature, are generally very readable, and they would provide good supplementary information for teachers.

A complete, detailed index of each volume is published at the end of each year.

Subscription Rate: Membership, $15.00 per year includes subscription.

SELECTED LISTING OF ADDITIONAL POSSIBLE RESOURCES

The following is a selected listing of books and journal articles, published by different organizations, that provide a variety of information on Virginia government, politics, and history.

Books

"By the Good People of Virginia. . ." Our Commonwealth's Government. Paul C. Cline and Daniel B. Fleming, Jr. Richmond: Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1983. This is a student text. Teacher's Guide also available.

Virginia's Government: The Structure and Functions of the State and Local Governments of the People of Virginia. George W. Jennings. Richmond, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1982.

Your Virginia State Government. League of Women Voters of Virginia, 1983.

Readings in Virginia Government: A Collection of Articles. Allen Ragan and B. McCluer Gilliam, eds. Richmond: Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1964.

Virginia, the New Dominion. Virginius Dabney. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1971.

Virginia in our Century. Jean Gottman. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969.

Cavalier Commonwealth: History and Government of Virginia (2d ed.). William Edwin Hemphill et al. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925. Allen W. Moger, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968.

Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966. J. Harvie Wilkinson III. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Virginia: A New Look at the Old Dominion. Marshall W. Fishwick. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.

Layman's Guide to Virginia Law. Bailes, Brown and Costello, eds. Charlottesville: The Michie Co., 1977.

The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965. Andrew Buni. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

General Assembly of Virginia, Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates, Session 1982. Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1982.

Note: A new issue of this volume is published every two years. It provides very useful information on the organization on the General Assembly (including maps of Senate and House of Delegates districts) and biographies of all members. Also includes the complete 1971 Virginia Constitution and the Constitution of the United States.

Governors of Virginia, 1860-1978, Edward Younger, ed, James Tice Moore, J.W. Ely, Jr., et. al., associate editors, Charlottesville, 1982.

Articles

"The 1971 Revised Virginia Constitution and Recent Constitution-Making," Albert L. Sturm. State Government 44: 166-77 (Summer 1971)

"The Origins of the Democratic Machine in Virginia," Allen W. Moger. Journal of Southern History, 8:183-209 (May 1942).

"Virginia: Political Museum Piece," in Southern Politics in State and Nation, V.O. Key, Jr., New York: Knopf, 1949.

"Supreme Court Justices from Virginia: Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 84: 131-141 (1976).

"Annexation and other Municipal Boundary Changes," (no author given) Virginia Law Review, 66: 329-33 (March 1980)

"The One-Government Approach," in The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life, 3d. ed., John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Note: This chapter provides a good general overview of various annexation procedures used nationally, with specific attention to Virginia's judicial process.

VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT SCAVENGER HUNT

Answer the questions and tell specifically where you found the information. LIST BOOK AND PAGE NUMBER.

1 - Name the two houses of the Virginia General Assembly, and tell how many members are elected to each.

2 - What are the qualifications for office in each house?

3 - How are the houses "organized"? What officers does each have?

4 - Tell the district numbers and the names of the senator and delegate of this district,

5 - What impeachment powers does the Virginia General Assembly have?

6 - What power does the Virginia General Assembly have over local government?

7 - What is the "Dillon Rule"?

8 - Briefly describe the major steps by which a bill becomes a law in Virginia.

9 - Under what conditions is the presiding officer of each house permitted to vote?

10 - What does reapportionment mean?

11 - Who reapportions the Virginia General Assembly? What is the process?

12 - The office of governor of Virginia is considered very powerful. Tell some things our governor can do that other states may not permit.

13 - Who is governor of Virginia?

14 - What are the qualifications for the office of governor?

15 - Who is the lieutenant governor?

16 - What are the qualifications for lieutenant governor?

17 - Who is the Attorney General of Virginia?

18 - What are the qualifications for attorney general?

19 - When do the current terms expire?

20 - Can the incumbents (those currently in office) serve again?

21 - Where, in the U. S. Constitution, is there a list of powers denied to the states? Tell (briefly) what kinds of powers are included.)

22 - What are "reserved powers"?
Where are they mentioned in the Constitution?

23 - Name some "concurrent powers."

24 - Describe at least 4 different kinds of things that state governments do.

25 - Virginia's population has been growing faster than the average U.S. rate. Briefly describe the areas that have experienced the greatest growth.

26 - What is an SMSA?

27 - How many SMSAs has Virginia? Where are they?

28 - What percent of Virginia's population is black?

29 - Where do most of Virginia's black residents live?

30 - What are the voter registration requirements in Virginia?

31 - When can you register?

32 - Why is Virginia said to have "perpetual elections"?

33 - What is a constitutional officer?

34 - Find an article on the history of Virginia constitutions, and briefly describe the most noteworthy provisions of each of the major revisions.

35 - Write in your notebook a list of the major sections of the Virginia Constitution, to serve as an index for further research on Virginia government.

36 - List the states, districts, and bodies of water that border Virginia, in each direction.

37 - Did the population of this area increase or decrease between 1970 and 1980?

38 - List the major industrial products of Virginia.

39 - List the major agricultural products of Virginia.

40 - List the major products of this area.

41 - Find the most recent figures you can for the median income for the state of Virginia, and for this area.

STARTER LIST OF STUDENT REPORT TOPICS ON VIRGINIA

Water pollution from non-point sources (i.e., agricultural run-off)
  and from chemical spills (i.e., kepone, titanium) or oil spills.
Acid run-off from mining operations (tailings)
Air pollution and acid rain
Nuclear waste disposal (power plants and low-level industrial)
Toxic waste disposal (including, or other than nuclear)
Costs and benefits of port improvement in Virginia
Virginia's imports and exports (Do we gain from increased world trade?)
Reservoirs, dams and diversions
Riparian rights, inter-basin transfer and other water supply questions
Tobacco - economic and public policy conflicts: health problems, subsidies
What economic development does your area need? pros and cons
Furniture manufacturing in Virginia
Virginia minerals and mines (How are these resources used?)
"Impacted" areas of Virginia (Government and military installations)
Barrier islands, the fragile ecologies
The economic importance of tourism in Virginia
National parks and forests in Virginia
Employment and unemployment data on Virginia (i.e., teens, minorities)
Right-to-work laws - Virginia and elsewhere

AND dozens of University of Virginia News Letter topics (see issues included in this notebook, and the list in the Bibliography). There are more ideas in the list of General Assembly Issues in Section E.

DID YOU KNOW....?

Between 1950 and 1960, the old Norfolk County lost 30 square miles (!) of land and 40,000 people through annexations to Portsmouth, Norfolk, and the City of South Norfolk. Think of the wasted time and money! No wonder it established itself as Chesapeake City! No more annexation!

Hampton, Virginia is the site of the oldest free school in America. In the mid-19th Century, it became part of the city public school system.

In 1950, the City of Virginia Beach and the whole of Princess Anne County had a combined population of 47,000. (They merged in 1963.) By 1980, it had grown to 262,000 -- more than 5 1/2 times its population 30 years earlier!

Only four states receive a greater share of military spending than Virginia.

Hampton Roads, Virginia, is the home of the nation's largest concentration of military installations.

In 1981, Virginia ranked 9th in the nation in pounds of shellfish and finfish brought ashore. Fishing is big business! Chesapeake pollution is costly!

More than 50 college degrees may be earned through evening classes at Virginia Commonwealth University!

Virginia has more than 400 public and private campgrounds, and more than 35,000 individual campsites! How many have you visited?

Did You Know....? (cont'd)
Virginia ranks 34th in the nation in expenditures for public education -- that's per capita expenditures by state and local governments. Is that good?

One of the fastest-growing industries in both Virginia and the U. S. is food processing. 80% of the nation's food is processed some way before it is eaten.

The oldest (1839) jail still in operation in Virginia is in Rockbridge County.

There are 189 towns in Virginia's 95 counties.

21 Virginia counties contain no incorporated towns -- they are either all urban (wall-to-wall city?) or they are all rural.

A unique feature of Virginia government is our independent cities. All 41 of them have their own charters and they are not part of any county.

Virginia is 36th largest in land area of the 50 states.

Four counties and many cities in Virginia showed a net loss in population from 1970 to 1980. Many suburban counties showed an increase. Virginia ranks 14th in total population with 5,347,000 or 2.4% of the U. S. total in 1980. Slightly less than 1/5 of Virginia's population is nonwhite.

Virginia has 23 community colleges on 33 campuses serving 277,000 students. Another 294,000 students are enrolled at public and private colleges and universities, in all kinds of programs, full-time and part-time. Higher education is available to almost everybody in Virginia!

Tourism is a major industry in Virginia, bringing us almost $3 billion a year, creating tens of thousands of jobs. It's good business to keep tourists happy!

Manufacturing industries are Virginia's largest basic employer, providing over 400,000 jobs. Training programs are in high schools, technical centers, and career and college institutes all over the state.

According to the Forestry Service, one out of every six people employed in Virginia works in a wood-related industry...furniture, paper products......

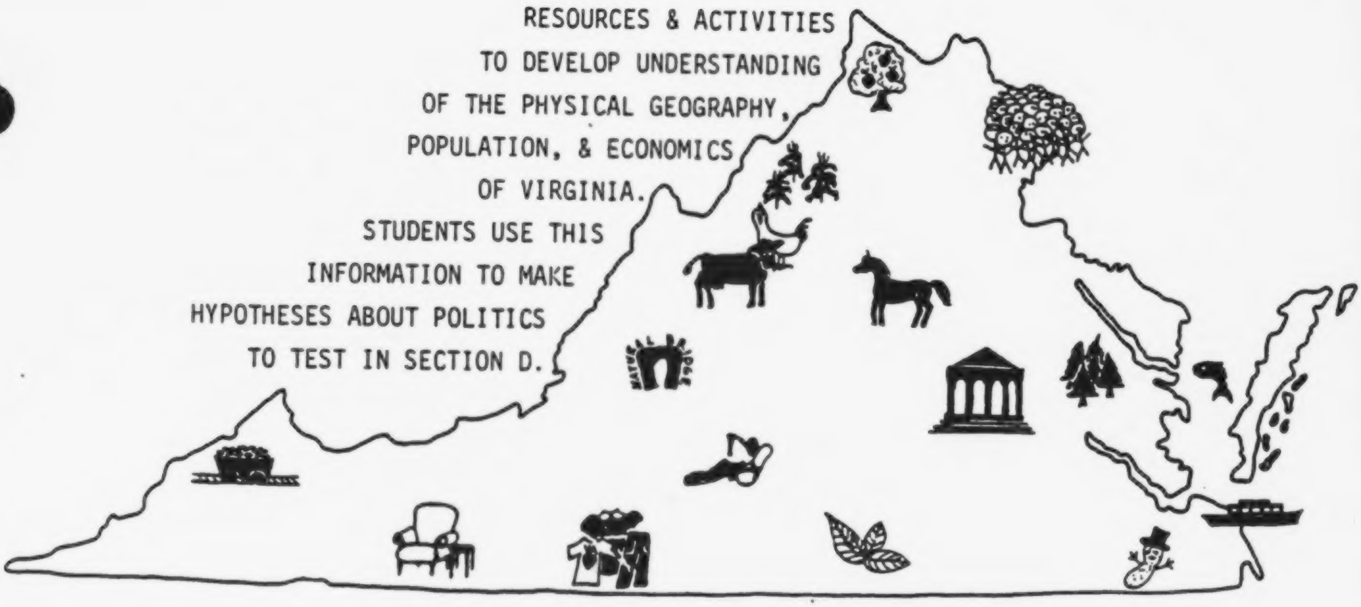
In 1981, 156,000 Virginians held civilian jobs with the federal government, and 353,300 Virginians worked for state and local governments.

The Virginia highway network of 52,000 miles in the third largest system of state-maintained roads in the United States.

MOre than 2 million acres of public lands -- almost 10% of the state's land and inland water area -- are available for recreational use.

The city manager system was created in Staunton. Most counties and cities in the state are run by professionally-trained administrators. Elected officials set policy and supervise administration.

Virginia has one of the highest costs-per-inmate for operation of prisons. In 1982, it cost over $22,000 per inmate. Crime costs society many ways!



RESOURCES & ACTIVITIES
TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDING
OF THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY,
POPULATION, & ECONOMICS
OF VIRGINIA.
STUDENTS USE THIS
INFORMATION TO MAKE
HYPOTHESES ABOUT POLITICS
TO TEST IN SECTION D.

B - ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF VIRGINIA

Plans & Ideas For Using Section B Resources B 3 - 4

Physical Geography

Maps for Tests & Handouts - Half-page Size B 5 - 6
Script Plan for Use With Transparencies B 7 - 8
Maps - 10 of Them - All Approximately the Same Size, Including Prints of the Transparencies in the Front Pocket of this Notebook. Design Your Own Materials. NO NUMBERS

Population

Teaching About Population Statistics - Teacher Notes B 17 - 18
Population Statistics Lesson (Student) B 19 - 20
Virginia Planning Districts List & List of SMSAs B 21 - 22
Growth in Virginia - Census Data, 1970 - 1980 B 23 - 28
Black Population Change, Census Data, 1970 - 1980 B 29 - 32
University of Virginia News Letter: " Population Change in Virginia, 1970 - 1980." (A Summary of All the Data for Teacher Information)

Virginia Economics

Using the Planning District Worksheet - Teacher Ideas B 33 - 34
Planning District Worksheet - (Student) B 35 - 36
Virginia Gross State Product - Data B 37, 39 - 40
Virginia Manufacturing Map and Statistics B 41 - 42
Adjusted Gross Income, Married Couple Returns B 43 - 48
Virginia Railroads & Air Facilities B 49 - 50
Virginia Colleges B 51 - 52
Agriculture Maps & Charts B 53 - 57..
Value of Timber Cut in 1981 in Virginia Counties B 59
Mineral Resources in Virginia (Map) B 60
University of Virginia News Letter: "The Geography of Virginia." A Summary of the Data Students Will Collect From These Resources -- For Teacher Information and To Monitor Student Reports.

PLANS & IDEAS FOR USING SECTION B RESOURCES

- to introduce or focus a unit on Virginia government
- to provide economic and demographic background for Virginia politics
- to introduce or focus a unit on economics

DEFINE YOUR OBJECTIVES - THEN CHOOSE THE RESOURCES AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES MOST USEFUL FOR EACH CLASS.

OPENING ACTIVITIES - Take your choice!

1 - What distinguishes Virginia from other states? Ask students to write down 20 statements about Virginia geography, economics, or politics that they remember from previous study or from the news. (This could be a homework assignment, with consultation from family and friends encouraged.) Discuss student lists. Assign research on doubtful points. Make a class list and go back over it after the study, to correct some of the judgment calls and to document generalities.

2 - What would you need to know? "Suppose you are a professional political campaign manager just in from Montana to run a statewide election campaign. What information would you need to have about Virginia? How would you determine the issues and candidate traits to emphasize in order to influence voters in different parts of the state? What questions would you ask? You have 2 minutes to write on a piece of scrap paper a list of the kinds of information you would need."

After 2 minutes, take about 15 minutes to share the lists and consolidate them on the board under the following 3 headlines. Lists might look like these:

NATURAL RESOURCES	THE PEOPLE	ECONOMIC FACTORS
Climate	Population distribution	Major industries
Agricultural land	Racial groups	Transportation
Minerals	Income distribution	Tourist attractions
Water	Urban-suburban-rural mix	Education & job training
Scenic attractions	Education & employment	
	Party organizations	

Discuss how each factor is a concern of government -- services provided, financial assistance, regulation, taxation -- and therefore a potential political issue. Are concerns different in different parts of the state?

3 - What would you need to know? "Suppose you are a marketing expert for a big paper corporation. It owns a paperback book company, a company that manufactures packing materials for farm produce and other perishable or fragile items, as well as specialty papers for cigarettes, computer printers, expensive art books, and photography. You have just been assigned to Virginia. Your mission is to triple sales. Where would you find markets for products like these? As you drive around getting acquainted with the state, what would you look for?"

...or your company might manufacture heavy machinery, such as wheels, pulleys, and conveyor systems for handling bulk and packaged products. (The items might be used in mines, orchards, manufacturing plants of many kinds, and on loading docks.)

4 - Ask students to interview 6 local voters. (Teacher might stipulate different age groups, neighborhoods, friends, or a stranger or two.) Ask each person interviewed to identify the 3 best and the 3 worst things about Virginia government. On report day, discuss and list

responses on the board, weeding out non-state and non-government items. (Since the lists came from other people, you can clear up questions without embarrassing your students!)

Some of the responses may be outrageous or very critical. Resist the temptation to correct or balance the statements. Ask a student to copy the list, so it can be discussed later in your study when students may be able to evaluate some of the comments more accurately. If there are points of information that need to be checked, assign students to do some research.

PROCEED TO PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY -- MAPS!

Use the transparencies in the front pocket of this notebook (or make your own from the prints, pages 9 - 15). Add your own or your library slides, prints, maps, or suggest that students bring in their pictures that show the physical geography and natural attractions and resources of Virginia. Discuss what people do for a living in different parts of the state. Point out our diverse population and rescurces. THIS CAN BE A VERY VALUABLE CLASS PERIOD, STIMULATING STUDENT INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY OF VIRGINIA. See the Script Plan, B 7 - 8.

PROCEED TO POPULATION STUDY

A Population Statistics Lesson handout will help your students understand how data is gathered and interpreted. Several pages of census data show how each community and area compares in growth. The University of Virginia News Letter provides the teacher with a readable and convenient summary. See "Teaching About Population Statistics," B 17.

PROCEED TO ECONOMICS

A resource unit for students to use in class to develop regional economic summaries -- and a News Letter that sums it all up for the teacher -- are included in this section. Students begin by learning about a planning district, then pool their information into regions -- giving an opportunity for individual and small group work, which is then shared with the class. See "Economics - Using the Planning District Worksheet," B 33.

The information can also be pooled into Congressional districts, to provide background for House of Representatives or Senate campaigns.

WRITE POLITICAL HYPOTHESES...TO BE TESTED IN SECTION D AND IN REAL POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

What kind of candidates and campaigns are most likely to be winners in each particular district? Are there economic situation, industries, or people problems that might affect this area's views on current issues? Are there special concerns that might require some vote-trading to address? What state/national issues are of no particular concern here? Issues to evaluate might be as diverse as D.C. Metrorail, coal severance tax, dollars for tourism, harbor improvements, tobacco blight, prison location, strip-mining...)

Note: Teachers who read through Section C will have interesting notes to add to class discussion on many of these topics.

MAPS

MAKE YOUR OWN HAND-OUTS, STUDY SHEETS, TESTS. Adapt these maps and materials for the depth or duration of your unit and the interest and ability of your students.

- Duplicate a half-page map at the top of the sheet. Leave the rest blank for student notes OR add your questions, instructions, clippings, or list of identifications.
- If you are planning a model general assembly, have students organize data by delegate and senate districts. See district maps in the front pocket of this notebook.

MAP QUESTION IDEAS: Directions (N,S,E,W), neighboring states, physical regions, mountains, rivers, Richmond and other important cities, your own area, cities and counties in the news, industries in the news, densely populated areas, areas of black population, areas of significant population change.

POLITICAL SPECULATIONS: Select an area and ask students to identify the characteristics of social, economic, and political factors. What issues or platform might be most popular in the area?

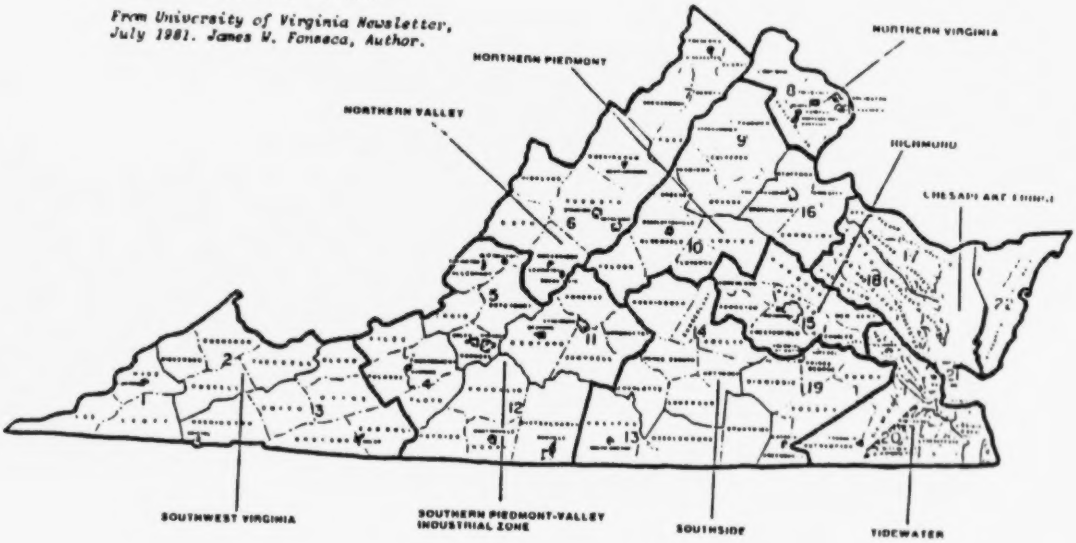
ECONOMIC SPECULATIONS: Describe a business and its needs for personnel, transportation, water, fuel, or raw materials. Students suggest a location and support the choice with key facts from the resources in this notebook. (Students learn to use the charts, graphs, and maps by completing the Planning District Worksheet and preparing group reports on economic regions of Virginia.)

OUTLINE MAP OF

VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA ECONOMIC REGIONS

From University of Virginia Newsletter, July 1981. James W. Fonseca, Author.


NORTHERN VIRGINIA
NORTHERN PIEDMONT
NORTHERN VALLEY
RICHMOND
CHESAPEAKE BAY
SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA
SOUTHERN PIEDMONT-VALLEY INDUSTRIAL ZONE
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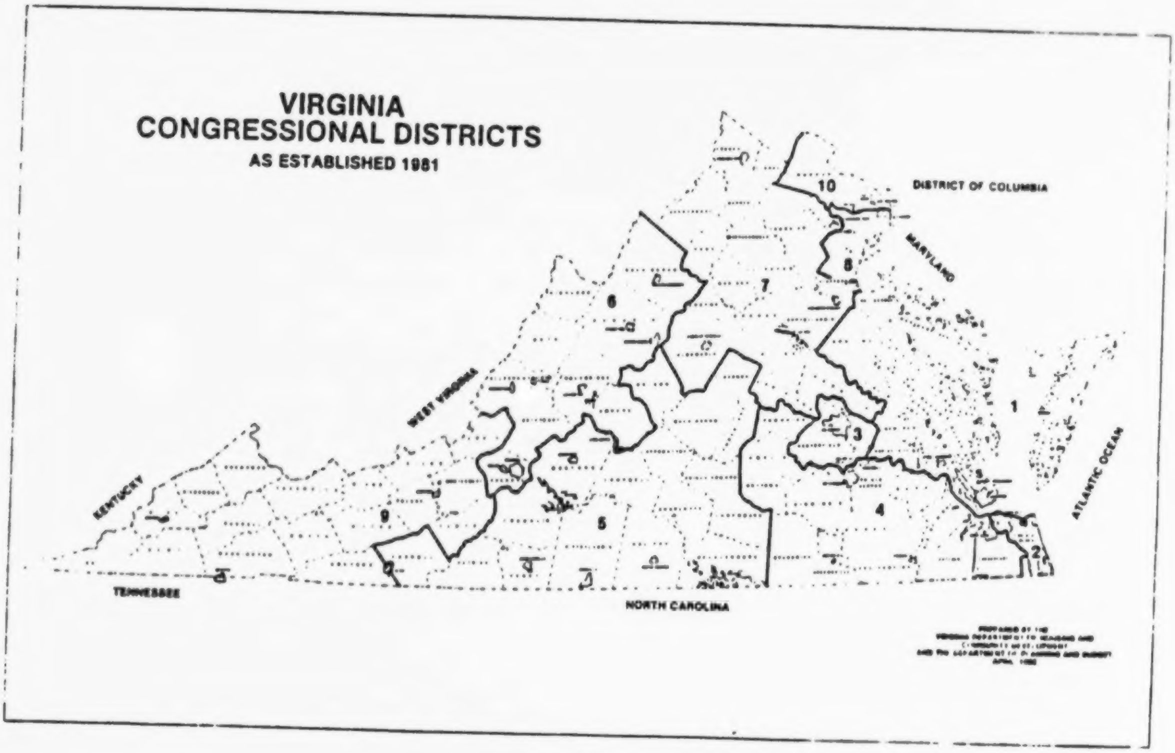
VIRGINIA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
AS ESTABLISHED 1981


DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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SCRIPT PLAN - FOR USE WITH TRANSPARENCIES

U. S. Map - not included in notebook. Locate Virginia; neighboring states; directions North, South, East, and West; latitude; longitude; Appalachian Mountains; Atlantic Ocean; Chesapeake Bay; Washington, D.C.; urban corridor, Boston - New York - Philadelphia - Washington and the growth arc through Fredericksburg to Richmond and Tidewater.

Transparency #1 - topography of VA

a) Begin in the Southwest. Note the high plateau counties of Buchanan, Dickenson, and Wise, the source of 80% of Virginia's coal. Since major Appalachian ridges run northeast to southwest, water from this area flows into the rivers of Tennessee and West Virginia. Most of southwest Virginia is included in the federal redevelopment programs of the Tennessee Valley Authority and Appalachia.

b) The ridge and valley structure of the Allegheny and Blue Ridge Mountains runs from southwest Virginia to the northeast and continues into Pennsylvania. These are old mountains, eroded and cut by valleys and rivers, Indian trails, wagon passes, then railroads and highways. Villages grew into cities where there was water and fertile land. Most of Virginia's rivers begin in these ridges and valleys.

c) Piedmont (pied=foot, mont=mountain). The clay soils of the foothills are deeply cut by fast-moving rivers and streams. The piedmont industrial belt stretches from northern Alabama and Georgia to northern Virginia, sloping to flat toward the Atlantic.

d) Fall line. A 40' to 70' drop in elevation occurs between the Piedmont and Tidewater lowlands. Water power was easy to harness in these areas, and coastal navigation was blocked. Cities grew on the fall line: Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg.

e) Tidewater. The rivers spread out over flat land and slow down in speed. Well-drained sandy soil makes the region agriculturally important, though most of the economy has been dominated by port activity. Military, space, and high technology industry have become increasingly important in urban centers of great population growth.

Transparency #2 - Rivers & Drainage Areas

Point out the fact that most of the state has water nearby, and in most years our rainfull is sufficient to supply us now and for the future IF we use it wisely. Some areas are in trouble now and more will face serious trouble unless sensible plans can be worked out to store, share, and conserve our water resources. Watch for the problem in the news. Should someone who owns land on a river have the right to a share of the water flowing past or onto his land (riparian right) or is water a state resource that should be managed for the benefit of all?

Transparency #3 - Cities & Counties

Identify your own area, Richmond and other cities and counties in the news. REVIEW. Can you remember why these cities grew in these locations?

Transparency #4 - Population Densities

From what we have discussed before, why would you say the population of Virginia is concentrated in the areas that show the heaviest concentration on this map?

(Pause here to review mountain passes, valleys, rivers, fall line,

#4 (cont'd) harbors, waterpower, natural resources, markets for products, transportation to markets, etc.)

Add here any information you choose from the News Letter on Population Change. Show trends such as the following:

1) Many independent cities lost population during the decade. Neighboring counties gained.
2) Greatest growth took place in the metropolitan counties in an arc reaching from the Northern Virginia-D.C. area to Richmond and then to Tidewater, plus the area around Charlottesville in Central Virginia, and an area that includes Bedford, Roanoke, and Montgomery counties and the Lynchburg and Roanoke metropolitan areas. (Refer to the rise of the SMSA)

Transparency #5 - Percent of population black

The cities of Richmond, Petersburg, and Franklin, and the counties of Brunswick, Charles City, Greensville, Surry, and Sussex had 50% or more black population in the 1980 census. Northampton and Southampton counties were almost 50% black (49.8 and 48.0). This map shows that there are few blacks in the mountain and ridge-and-valley areas. Some of the uneven distribution has its roots in the plantation-slavery days. Some may reflect a black preference to stay in areas where there are more blacks, in cities where there is more black social and professional opportunity. Can you suggest other reasons for the uneven distribution?

Virginia is the home of American Indians (9,039), Chinese (9,360), Filipinos (19,901), and Asian Indians (8,483). These populations are concentrated in particular areas. In Northern Virginia, a third of the nonwhite population is "other than black," while both Norfolk and Virginia Beach have significant Filipino populations. Several Virginia communities have welcomed Vietnamese refugees who will show up on the 1990 census.

Transparency #6 - Outline map of Virginia

Use this map in many ways. Add your own information from your files and from the news. Ask students to use a pointer and locate mountains, rivers, Piedmont, Tidewater, fall line, cities, population growth arc, your own area, coal mine area, neighboring states. Shine the image on a piece of newsprint and mark positions/areas for a review, discussion, or quiz.

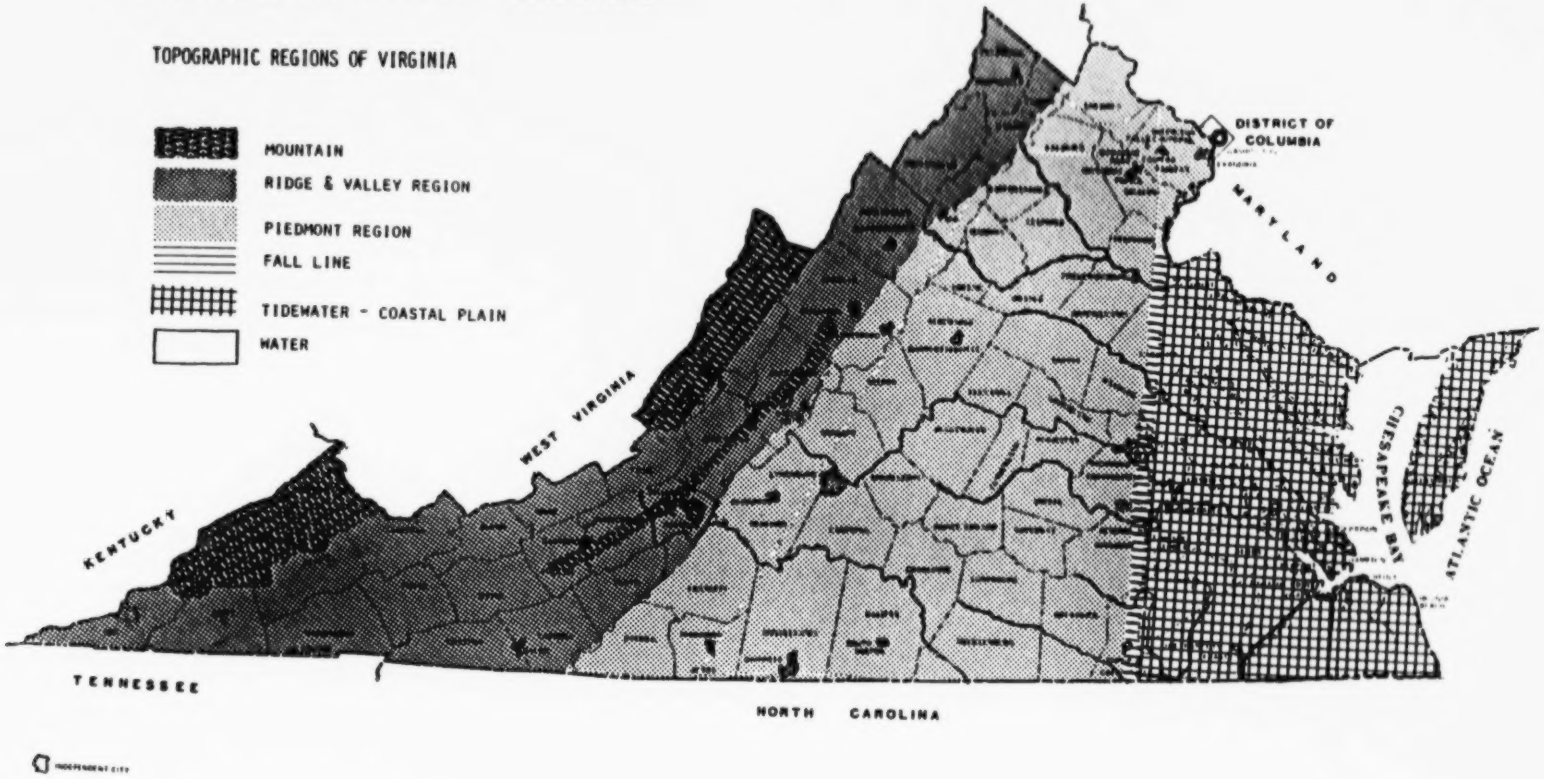
Transparency #7 - Economic regions

Use a pointer to trace the lines around the nine economic regions identified and described in the Geography News Letter. IF THE CLASS WILL BE DOING THE PLANNING DISTRICT WORKSHEET, do not describe the regions at this time. It would be helpful to show as students are assigned their districts, and again when the reports are shared with the class.
IF THE CLASS WILL NOT BE DOING THE PLANNING DISTRICT WORKSHEET, this is your chance to summarize the information in the News Letter on each area.

Note: The half-sheet maps (B 5 - 6) will make good student handouts to accompany the transparencies for notes, or to review class presentations by teacher or by students. Choose the one you want, make a copy of it and paste it on a sheet with the points or questions you want to include.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

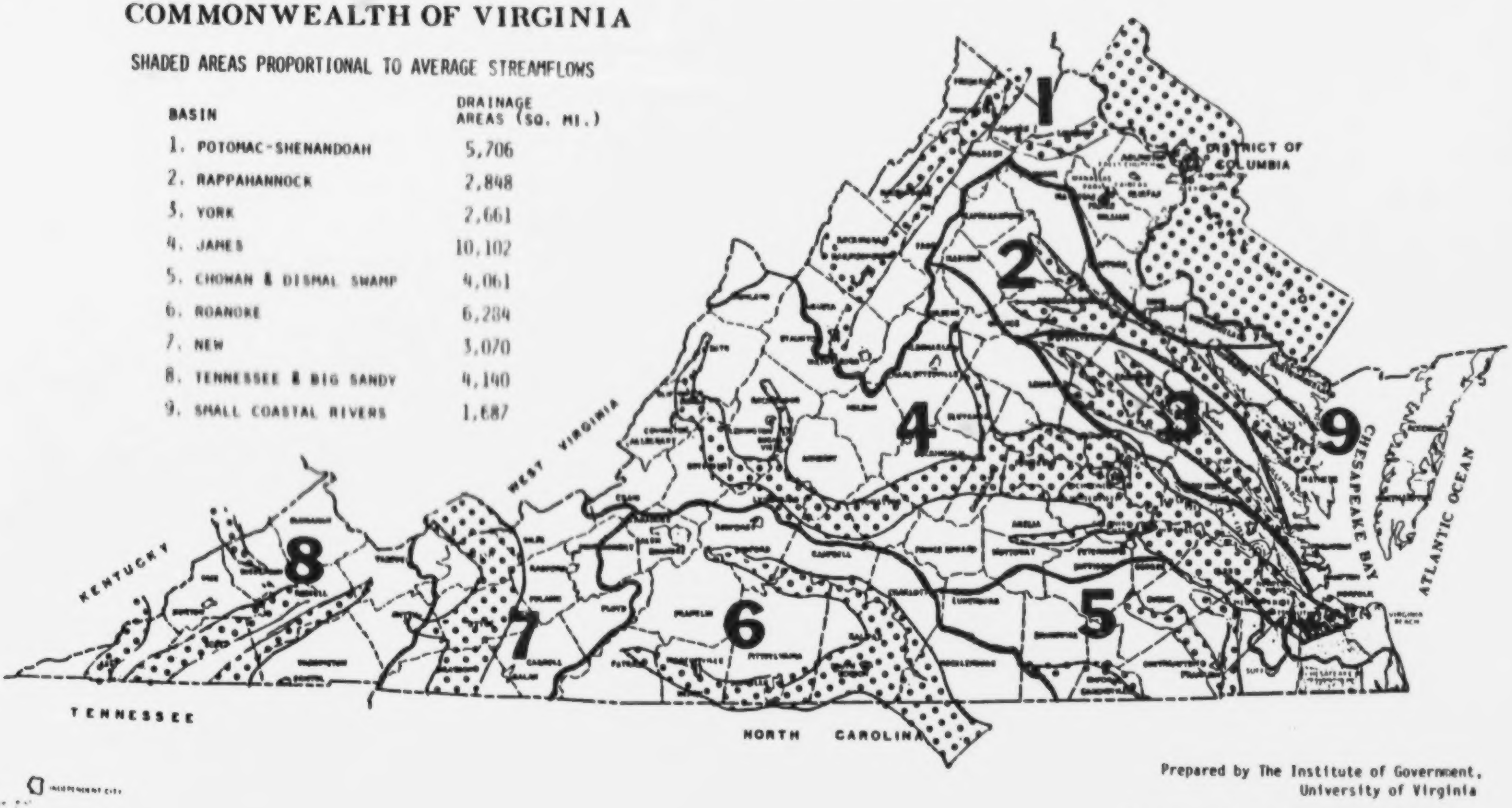
TOPOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF VIRGINIA


MOUNTAIN
RIDGE & VALLEY REGION
PIEDMONT REGION
FALL LINE
TIDEWATER - COASTAL PLAIN
WATER
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDEPENDENT CITY

MAJOR RIVER BASINS WITH THEIR AVERAGE STREAMFLOWS

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

SHADED AREAS PROPORTIONAL TO AVERAGE STREAMFLOWS



BASIN	DRAINAGE AREAS (SQ. MI.)
1. POTOMAC-SHENANDOAH	5,706
2. RAPPAHANNOCK	2,848
3. YORK	2,661
4. JAMES	10,102
5. CHOWAN & DISMAL SWAMP	4,061
6. ROANOKE	6,284
7. NEW	3,070
8. TENNESSEE & BIG SANDY	4,140
9. SMALL COASTAL RIVERS	1,687

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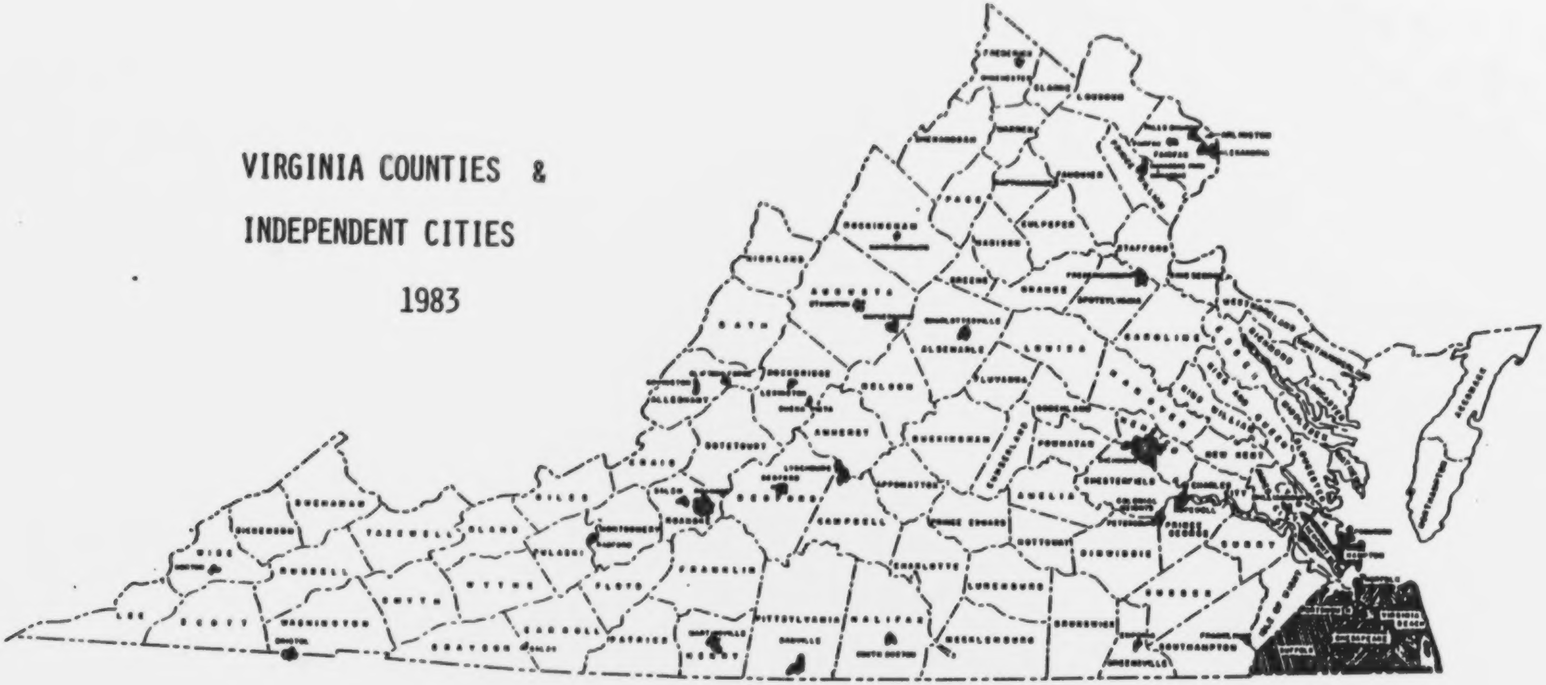
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
VIRGINIA BEACH
INDEPENDENT CITY

Prepared by The Institute of Government,
University of Virginia

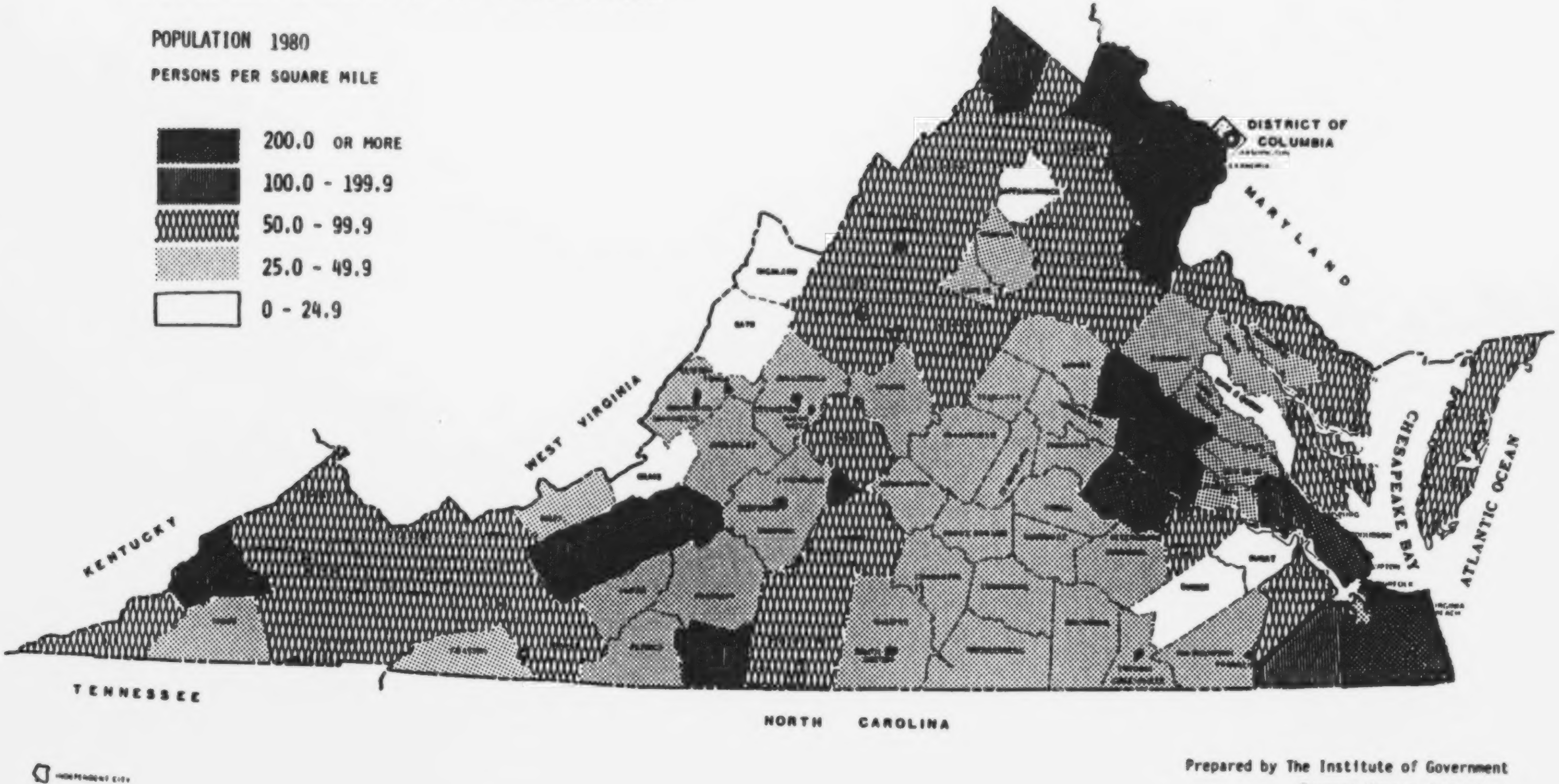
Source: Virginia State Water Control Board,
Bureau of Water Control Management.

VIRGINIA COUNTIES & INDEPENDENT CITIES 1983



DIVISION OF STATE PLANNING AND COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA


POPULATION 1980
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25.0 - 49.9
0 - 24.9
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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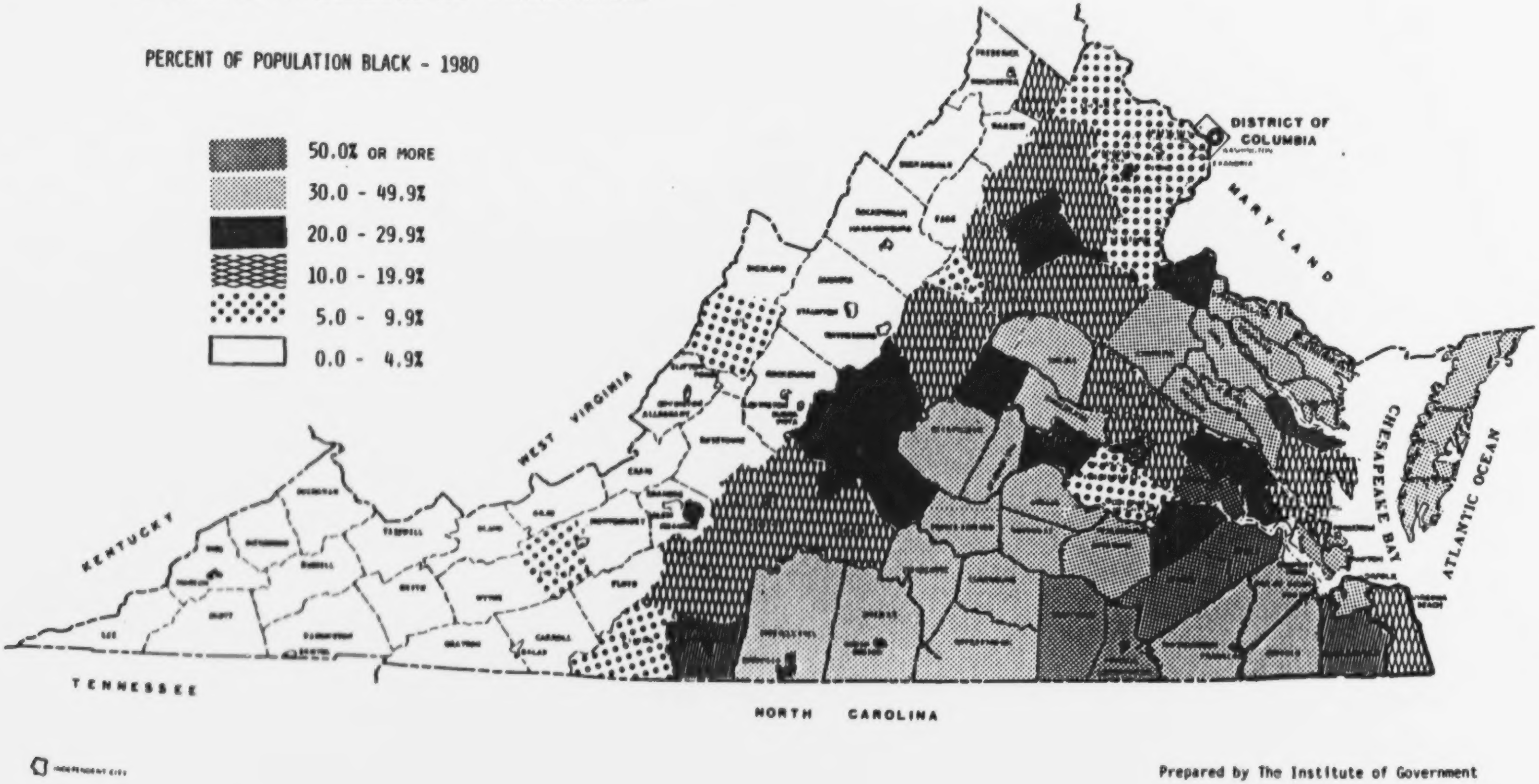
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDEPENDENT CITY

Prepared by The Institute of Government

Source: Census Data and
Tayloe Murphy Institute,
University of Virginia

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

PERCENT OF POPULATION BLACK - 1980


50.0% OR MORE
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20.0 - 29.9%
10.0 - 19.9%
5.0 - 9.9%
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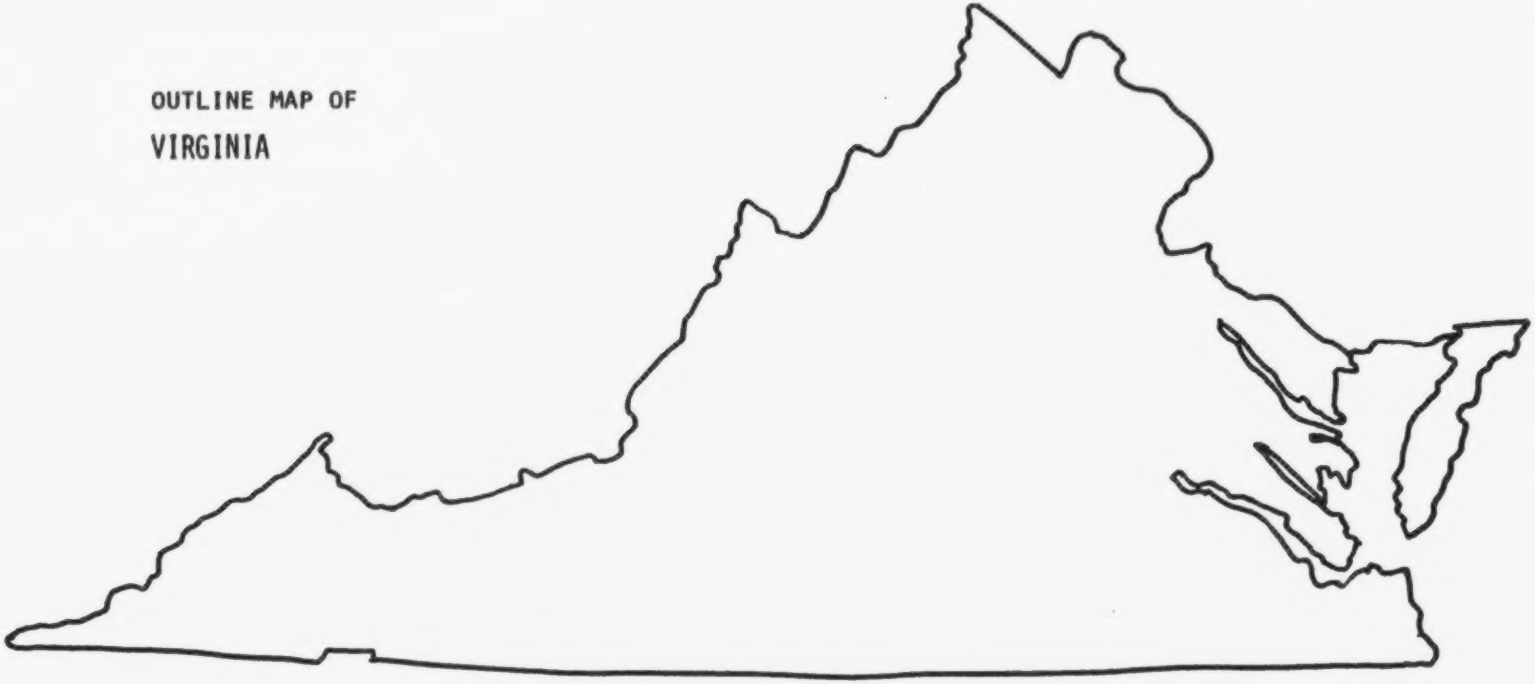
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDEPENDENT CITY

Prepared by The Institute of Government

Source: Census Data and
Tayloe Murphy Institute,
University of Virginia.

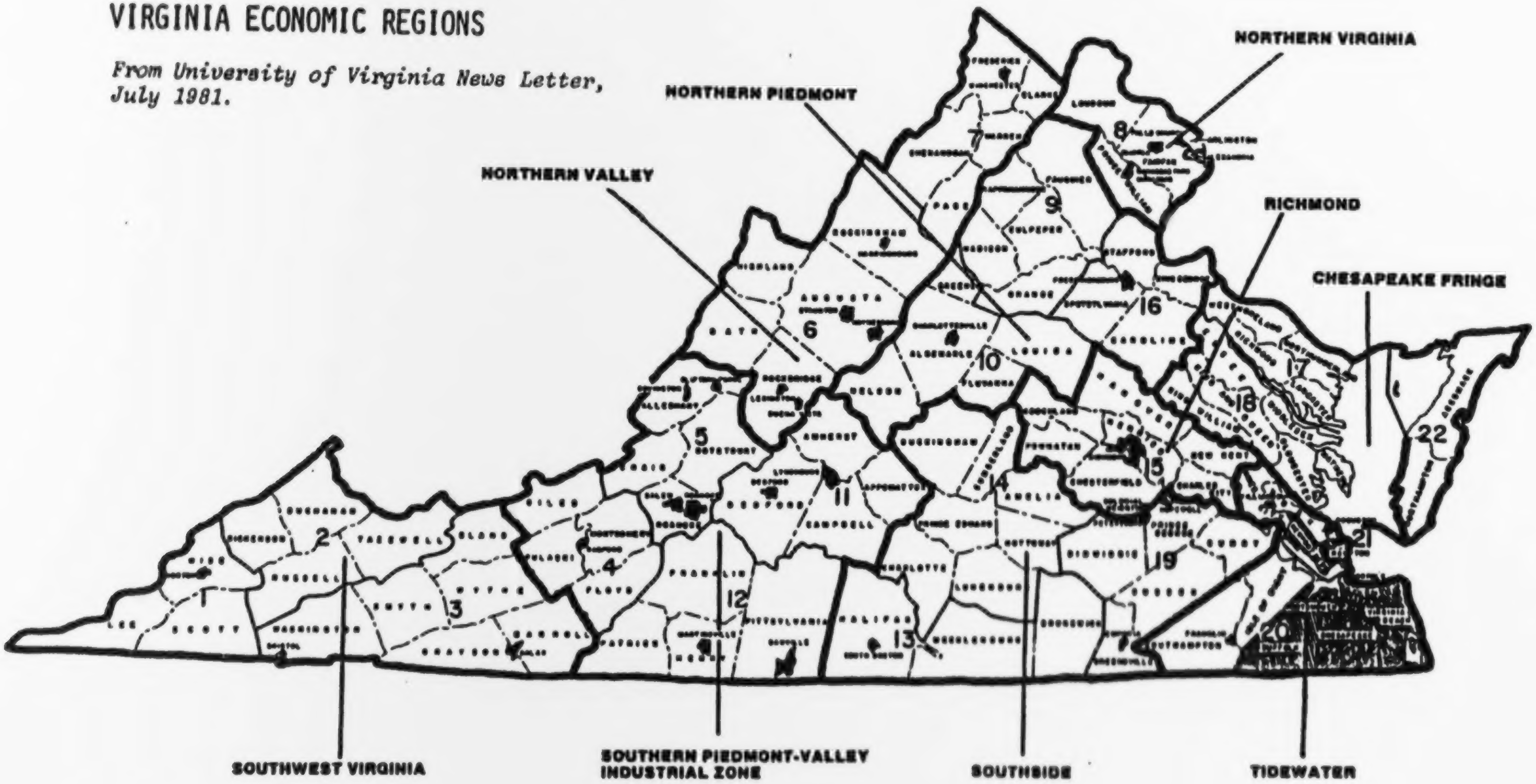
OUTLINE MAP OF

VIRGINIA



VIRGINIA ECONOMIC REGIONS

From University of Virginia News Letter, July 1981.


NORTHERN VIRGINIA
NORTHERN PIEDMONT
NORTHERN VALLEY
RICHMOND
CHESAPEAKE FRINGE
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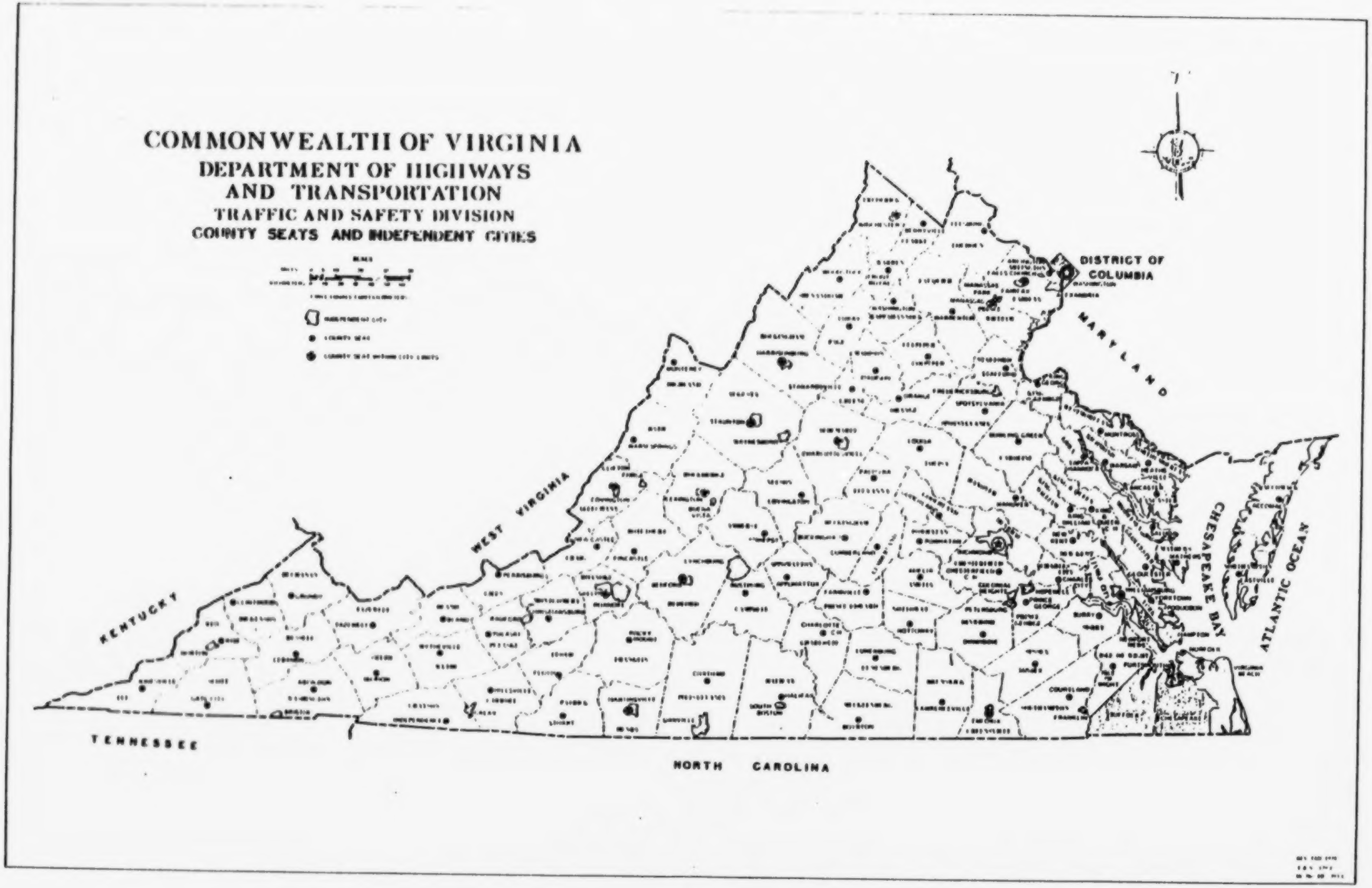
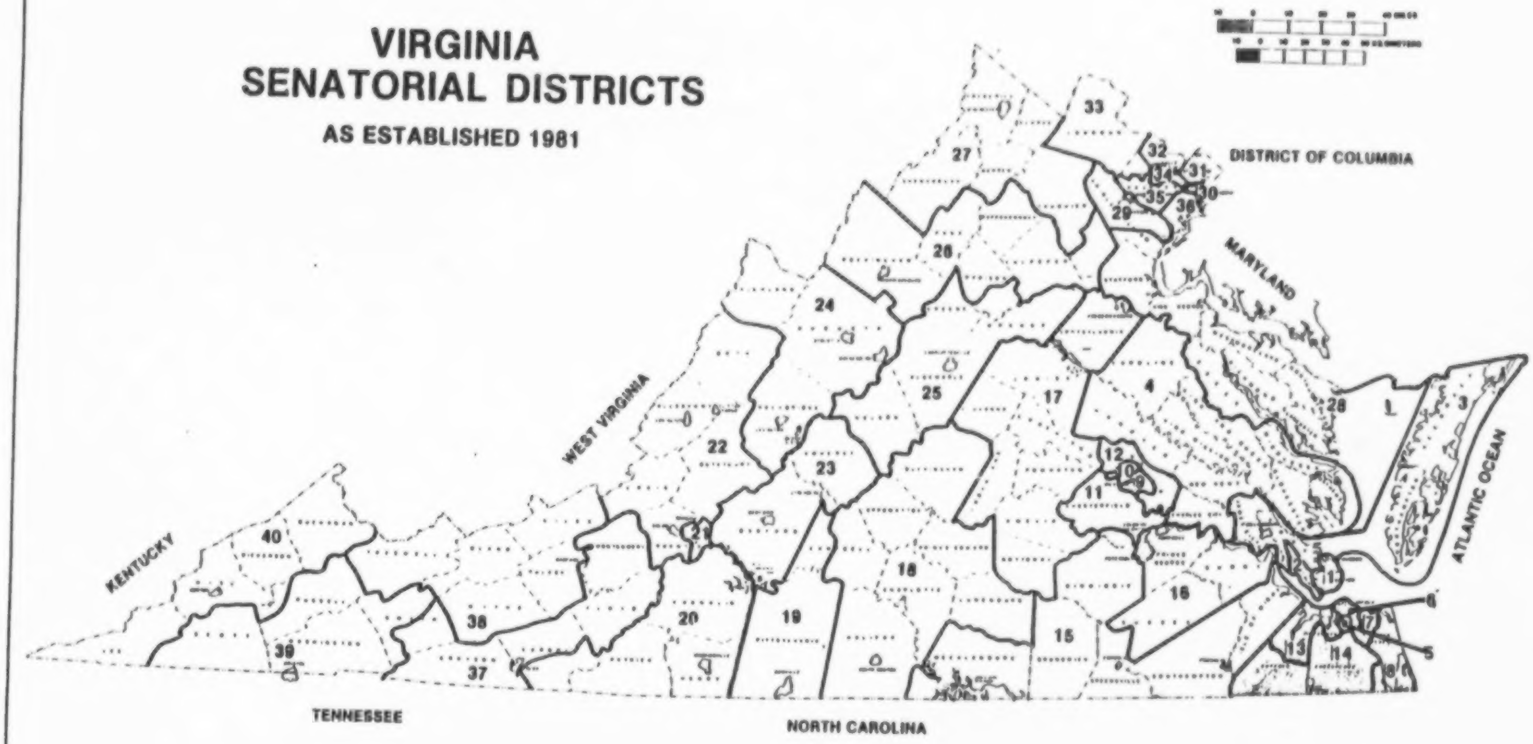

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
AND TRANSPORTATION
TRAFFIC AND SAFETY DIVISION
COUNTY SEATS AND INDEPENDENT CITIES
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN

VIRGINIA SENATORIAL DISTRICTS

AS ESTABLISHED 1981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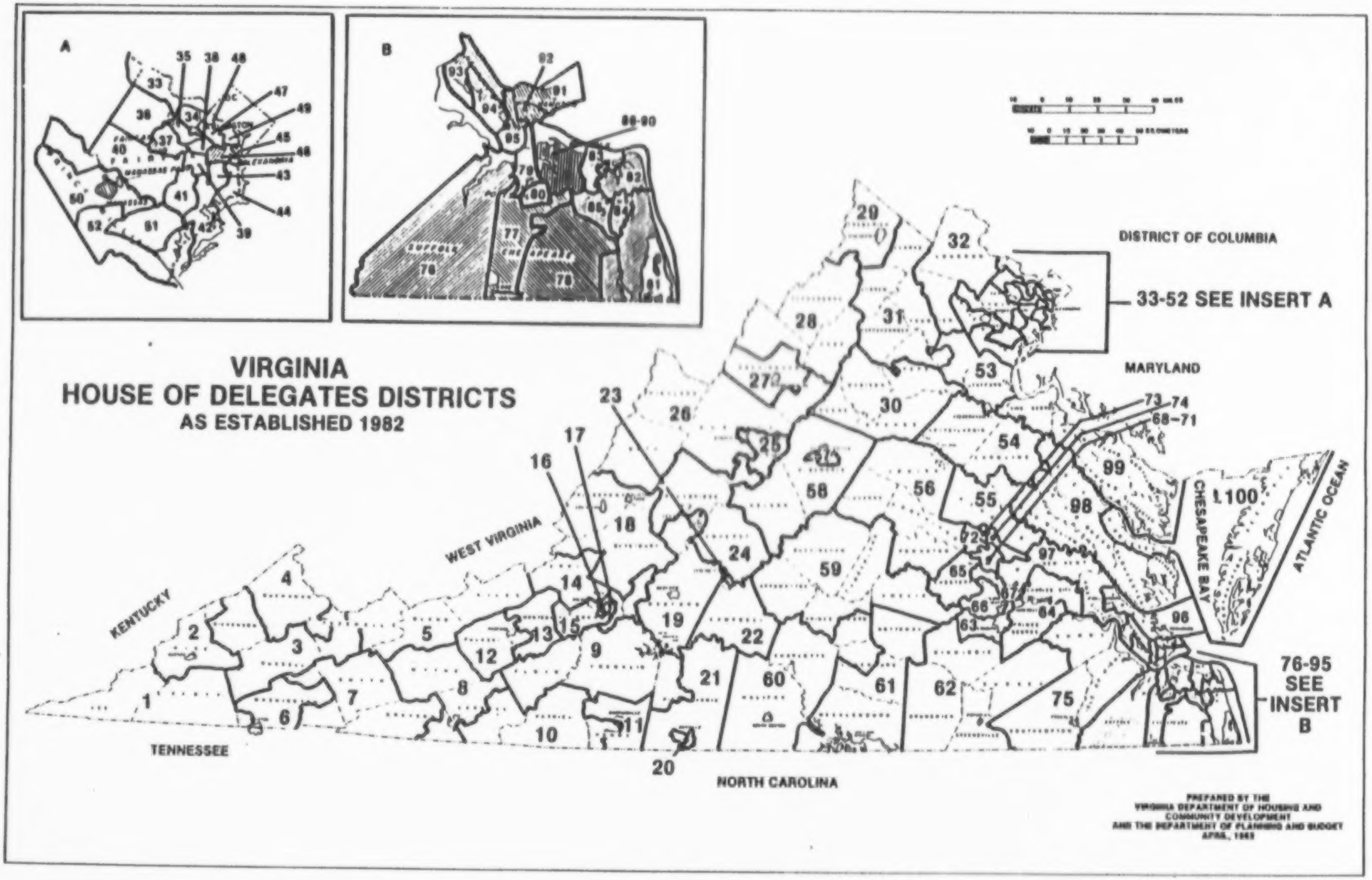
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA

PREPARED BY THE
VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND BUDGET
APRIL, 1982



VIRGINIA
HOUSE OF DELEGATES DISTRICTS
AS ESTABLISHED 1982

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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MARYLAND
76-95 SEE INSERT B
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PREPARED BY THE
VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND BUDGET
APRIL, 1983

TEACHING ABOUT POPULATION STATISTICS

1 - Read the University of Virginia News Letter on "Population Change in Virginia, 1970-1980" for an overview of Virginia demography. The growth patterns have been important to the economic and political influences on government.

2 - From your knowledge of the makeup of each class, decide about the time and effort you will spend to help students understand and deal with the statistics of population. Do your department or course objectives include graphs, charts, and statistics? If you are inexperienced at explaining them, read them over enough times to be sure you can deal with the numbers using the same words that are used on the handouts and the Planning District Worksheet (next activity). If you usually use different terms, change the handouts to avoid confusing your students.

The Population Statistics Lesson explains the rationale behind the Percent of Change statistic that is used on the population charts. It also tells how to calculate it. Students with some numerical sense will be able to grasp this material by themselves. If there is time available for more thorough study, it should be possible for students to calculate a row of numbers (as on B 25-28) from the three numbers reprinted for each locality on EXCERPTS sheet (B 18): the census figure, the 1970 census figure, and the natural increase figure. They are the only ones that are documented.* The others are all manipulations.

A brief explanation might be worded this way:

* - 1980 census count - a matter of record

* - 1970 census count - a matter of record

- Numerical change is the difference between them. If the 1970 number was smaller, the growth was positive. If the 1970 number was larger, the growth was negative and the numerical change would be expressed as a minus (i.e., -405).

- Percent of change is described on the Population Statistics Lesson sheet. It is the numerical change divided by the 1970 count, since it describes the amount of change that happened to the earlier count.

* - Natural increase is a matter of record -- births minus deaths. If there were more births than deaths recorded, the number will be a positive one. If there were more deaths, the number will be a minus.

- Divide the natural increase number by the earlier (1970) count to find the percent of natural increase that occurred since then.

- Net migration is a manipulated figure. The difference between the two census counts, the numerical change, must be attributed to natural increase or to migration. Subtract the natural increase from the numerical change and the remainder must be the result of migration. This can be a positive number if more moved in than moved out, or a negative number if more moved out than in.

- The percent of net migration would be the net migration divided by the earlier (1970) census count.

Use a few examples from the Excerpts sheet -- the calculations can be checked on the charts (B 25-28) - "Growth in Virginia." STUDENTS USE THIS SKILL ON THE PLANNING DISTRICT WORKSHEETS, THE NEXT ACTIVITY IN THIS NOTEBOOK.

EXCERPTS FROM TAYLOE-MURPHY CHARTS ON POPULATION CHANGE IN VIRGINIA, 1970 - 1980

COUNTIES

	Population 1980	Population 1970	Natural Increase 1970-80
Accomack	31,268	29,004	-67
Albemarle	55,783	37,780	2,925
Alleghany	14,333	12,461	710
Amelia	8,405	7,592	331
Amherst	29,122	26,072	1,393
Appomattox	11,971	9,784	444
Arlington	152,599	174,284	9,012
Augusta	53,732	44,220	2,267
Bath	5,860	5,192	-5
Bedford	34,927	25,242	1,486
Bland	6,349	5,423	111
Botetourt	23,270	18,193	742
Brunswick	15,632	16,172	558
Buchanan	37,989	32,071	4,010
Buckingham	11,751	10,597	298
Campbell	45,424	34,248	3,602
Caroline	17,904	13,925	889
Carroll	27,270	23,092	832
Charles City	6,692	6,158	442
Charlotte	12,266	12,366	360
Chesterfield	141,372	77,045	10,353
Clarke	9,965	8,102	179
Craig	3,948	3,524	80
Culpeper	22,620	18,218	1,149
Cumberland	7,881	6,179	229
Dickenson	19,806	16,077	1,482
Dinwiddie	22,602	21,668	1,034
Essex	8,864	7,099	294
Fairfax	596,901	454,275	48,845
Fauquier	35,889	26,375	1,776
Floyd	11,563	9,775	104
Fluvanna	10,244	7,621	427
Franklin	35,740	28,163	1,676
Frederick	34,150	24,107	2,357
Giles	17,810	16,741	569
Gloucester	20,107	14,059	737
Goochland	11,761	10,069	590
Grayson	16,579	15,439	284
Greene	7,625	5,248	477
Greensville	10,903	9,604	798
Halifax	30,418	30,076	1,359
Hanover	50,398	37,479	2,408
Henrico	180,735	154,463	10,083
Henry	57,654	50,901	4,444
Highland	2,937	2,529	-21
Isle of Wight	21,603	18,285	1,313
James City	22,763	17,853	1,717
King and Queen	5,968	5,491	207
King George	10,543	8,039	713
King William	9,327	7,497	325
Lancaster	10,129	9,126	-158
Lee	25,956	20,321	563
Loudoun	57,427	37,150	4,671
Louisa	17,825	14,004	654
Lunenburg	12,124	11,687	138
Madison	10,232	8,638	292
Mathews	7,995	7,168	-471
Mecklenburg	29,444	29,426	1,018
Middlesex	7,719	6,295	-238
Montgomery	63,516	46,813	3,580
Nelson	12,206	11,702	141
New Kent	8,781	5,300	537
Northampton	14,625	14,442	122
Northumberland	9,828	9,239	-292
Nottoway	14,666	14,260	216
Orange	17,827	13,792	540
Page	19,401	16,581	572
Patrick	17,585	15,282	706
Pittsylvania	66,147	58,782	3,671
Powhatan	13,062	7,696	486
Prince Edward	16,456	14,379	563
Prince George	25,733	24,371	2,845
Prince William	146,703	93,500	21,219
Pulaski	35,229	29,564	2,100
Rappahannock	6,093	5,199	88
Richmond	6,952	6,504	61
Roanoke	72,945	53,817	3,827
Rockbridge	17,911	16,637	468
Rockingham	57,038	47,890	3,434
Russell	31,761	24,533	1,696
Scott	25,068	24,376	810
Shenandoah	27,559	22,852	217
Smyth	33,366	31,349	1,588
Southampton	18,731	18,582	620
Spotsylvania	34,435	16,424	2,657
Stafford	40,470	24,587	3,580
Surry	6,046	5,882	243
Sussex	10,874	11,464	418
Tazewell	50,511	39,816	3,350
Warren	21,200	15,301	748
Washington	46,487	36,033	1,993
Westmoreland	14,041	12,142	227
Wise	43,863	35,947	3,346
Wythe	25,522	22,139	898
York	35,463	27,762	1,780
TOTAL COUNTIES	3,326,173	2,676,631	201,845

CITIES

	Population 1980	Population 1970	Natural Increase 1970-80
Alexandria	103,217	110,927	10,005
Bedford	5,991	6,011	-415
Bristol	19,042	19,653	79
Buena Vista	6,717	6,425	319
Charlottesville	39,916	38,880	1,809
Chesapeake	114,226	89,580	9,748
Clifton Forge	5,046	5,501	-155
Colonial Heights	16,509	15,097	813
Covington	9,063	10,060	111
Danville	45,642	46,398	1,060
Emporia	4,840	5,300	111
Fairfax	19,390	22,727	1,896
Falls Church	9,515	10,772	443
Franklin	7,308	6,880	318
Fredericksburg	15,322	14,450	406
Galax	6,524	6,278	92
Hampton	122,617	120,779	12,783
Harrisonburg	19,671	14,605	442
Hopewell	23,397	23,471	2,006
Lexington	7,292	7,597	-44
Lynchburg	66,743	64,640	1,786
Manassas	15,438	10,758	1,993
Manassas Park	6,524	6,844	862
Martinsville	18,149	19,653	844
Newport News	144,903	138,177	17,075
Norfolk	266,979	307,951	29,511
Norton	4,757	4,172	174
Petersburg	41,055	44,202	2,362
Poquoson	8,726	5,441	338
Portsmouth	104,577	110,963	8,971
Radford	13,225	11,940	395
Richmond	219,214	249,332	6,174
Roanoke	100,427	105,637	2,452
Salem	23,958	21,982	781
South Boston	7,093	6,889	95
Staunton	21,857	24,504	303
Suffolk	47,621	45,024	2,373
Virginia Beach	262,199	172,106	25,324
Waynesboro	15,329	16,707	896
Williamsburg	9,870	9,069	243
Winchester	20,217	19,429	50
TOTAL CITIES	2,020,106	1,976,817	144,828

POPULATION STATISTICS LESSON

POPULATION = the number of people in a particular area. Count them! Then, count them ten years later, as the government does in the census, and you'll probably come up with a different number. Subtract one total from the other and you'll have the difference, or numerical change.

NUMERICAL CHANGE = the difference between official counts at different times. Since population over the world is generally increasing, the numerical change usually will be an increase or a plus (+). When the second count shows fewer people, the change will be a decrease or a minus (-). Many cities have decreased populations today. (Richmond's 1970-1980 numerical change was -30,118.)

THE IMPACT OF POPULATION CHANGE

Example A - Suppose a city had 100,000 (one hundred thousand) people in 1970. By 1980, it had grown to 105,000 (one hundred five thousand) people -- some apartments were added in one part of town. Life in the immediate area was changed (the small buildings are gone and tall ones now block the view), but the city absorbed the increase without tremendous upheaval in traffic, trash pickups, police and fire protection, though they did have to adjust a school district line. The urban services were already in place. The added tax revenue might have been even more than the increased cost of services.

Example B - Suppose a rural area allowed a suburban developer to build many housing units that increased population by 5,000. They grew from 500 people in 1970 to 5,500 in 1980. The original 500 people needed and expected minimum government services. They took care of their own trash and didn't want streetlights. This new crowd can't bury their trash in their flower gardens. They need water mains, police and fire protection. The county needs a new school for their children. The Board of Supervisors is no longer worrying only about broken cattle fences -- it is being asked to spend money for "city" services. This kind of development, sometimes even larger and more dramatic, has happened in Virginia many times. Military bases, theme parks, Dulles Airport, the town of Reston -- all were built rapidly in rural areas. Has anything like this happened near you?

WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF 5,000 PEOPLE LEAVING THE CITY (Example A)?
WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF 5,000 PEOPLE LEAVING THE COUNTY (Example B)?

These two examples show that a numerical change of 5,000 people can have a very different impact on different areas. We need a way to express the change that describes the real impact of the change. One way is using percent of change, also called rate of change.

PERCENT OF CHANGE = a number that tells how great the change is on what was there before.

In Example A (above):

$$\frac{\text{Increase}}{\text{First Count}} = \frac{5,000}{100,000} = \begin{array}{r} .05 \\ 100,000\overline{)5,000.00} \\ \underline{5,000.00} \end{array} = 5\%$$

- NOT a great change, particularly for a good-sized city.

In Example B (above):

$$\frac{\text{Increase}}{\text{First Count}} = \frac{5,000}{500} = \begin{array}{r} 10.00 \\ 500\overline{)5,000.00} \end{array} = 1000\%$$

- a VERY great change for any area.

Percent of change is a convenient way to express the impact of change. A high percent of population change probably means a great change in the way of life in an area--and a change in the government.

Population Statistics (cont'd)

Now, let's try an example from the charts:

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
Mecklenburg	29,444	29,426	18	.1	1,018	3.5	-1,001	-3.4

Read: Mecklenburg's population in 1980 was 29,444. In 1970 it was 29,426, making the numerical change 18 people and the percent of change .1% (one-tenth of one percent). There was a natural increase of 1,018 more births than deaths (3.5%) and a -1,001 (-3.4%) net migration, meaning that a thousand more people left the county than moved in. Why did they leave? Were they elderly people going elsewhere to retire? Were they young people seeking opportunities? Were they people who could not find jobs? Did some leave for each of these reasons? During ten years when almost every county in Virginia gained population, why did 3 counties lose population and a few more stay almost the same? What questions would you ask?

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
Spotsylvania	34,435	16,424	18,011	___	2,657	16.2	15,354	93.5

Can you calculate the percent of this change? These figures show that the population doubled. Some of the increase is documented in the birth and death statistics, but most of it must be due to migration, people moving into Spotsylvania -- one of the counties in the metropolitan growth arc that curves south and east from Washington, D. C. to Richmond and on to the Tidewater ports. The statistics tell us that there must be many new homes, young families, new schools, and expanded government to take care of the increased population. Actually, 25 of Virginia's 95 counties have more population than Spotsylvania, though it is one of the fastest growing counties in the Commonwealth. Look down the list on the EXCERPTS chart (B 18) and find some other interesting examples. Calculate their net migration and the percentages of change, natural increase, and net migration.

OTHER IMPORTANT STATISTICAL CATEGORIES

SMSA = Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

As the city grows, land becomes too expensive for single-family homes, and high-rise apartments and office buildings take their place. People move into the open land and developments around the city, and the county land becomes suburban, the bedroom for the city. Then industries, unable to find land for expansion, also move to the county, and all the area's relationships change. The Bureau of the Census has created a new category of data that accommodates the interdependence of cities and their surrounding areas. The population and economic statistics are grouped in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, or SMSAs that include a central city or cities and the surrounding/supporting counties. Virginia has ten SMSAs that include thirteen major cities and about 70% of the state's population. Can you identify them? (Hint: three of them extend across Virginia's borders.)

RPD = Regional Planning District

The entire state is divided into Regional Planning Districts -- 22 of them, each with a policy commission and a staff of planners to help the cities, towns, and counties in its district coordinate capital improvements, programs, and services, to avoid duplication, and to encourage sharing and economies of scale. Since most natural and human resource problems do not stop at local government borders, programs that are funded by state and federal grants are coordinated by the RPD commission. Which planning district includes this community? What other cities and counties are part of it? Where is the office located? What specific programs does it oversee? coordinate? assist?

Note: If you like to look for questions behind numbers, ask at your library to see Statistical Abstracts, published annually by the Department of Labor. Look up Virginia in all those lists, and share the information with your class. It is fascinating to see how we rank in different categories of information.

VIRGINIA PLANNING DISTRICTS

1. **LENOWISCO**
   - Norton City
   - Lee County
   - Scott County
   - Wise County
2. **Cumberland Plateau**
   - Buchanan County
   - Dickenson County
   - Russell County
   - Tazewell County
3. **Mount Rogers**
   - Bristol City
   - Galax City
   - Bland County
   - Carroll County
   - Grayson County
   - Smyth County
   - Washington County
   - Wythe County
4. **New River Valley**
   - Radford City
   - Floyd County
   - Giles County
   - Montgomery County
   - Pulaski County
5. **Fifth**
   - Clifton Forge City
   - Covington City
   - Roanoke City
   - Salem City
   - Alleghany County
   - Botetourt County
   - Craig County
   - Roanoke County
6. **Central Shenandoah**
   - Buena Vista City
   - Harrisonburg City
   - Lexington City
   - Staunton City
   - Waynesboro City
   - Augusta County
   - Bath County
   - Highland County
   - Rockbridge County
   - Rockingham County
7. **Lord Fairfax**
   - Winchester City
   - Clarke County
   - Frederick County
   - Page County
   - Shenandoah County
   - Warren County
8. **Northern Virginia**
   - Alexandria City
   - Fairfax City
   - Falls Church City
   - Manassas City
   - Manassas Park City
   - Arlington County
   - Fairfax County
   - Loudoun County
   - Prince William County
9. **Rappahannock-Rapidan**
   - Culpeper County
   - Fauquier County
   - Madison County
   - Orange County
   - Rappahannock County
10. **Thomas Jefferson**
    - Charlottesville City
    - Albemarle County
    - Fluvanna County
    - Greene County
    - Louisa County
    - Nelson County
11. **Central Virginia**
    - Bedford City
    - Lynchburg City
    - Amherst County
    - Appomattox County
    - Bedford County
    - Campbell County
12. **West Piedmont**
    - Danville City
    - Martinsville City
    - Franklin County
    - Henry County
    - Patrick County
    - Pittsylvania County
13. **Southside**
    - South Boston City
    - Brunswick County
    - Halifax County
    - Mecklenburg County
14. **Piedmont**
    - Amelia County
    - Buckingham County
    - Charlotte County
    - Cumberland County
    - Lunenburg County
    - Nottoway County
    - Prince Edward County
15. **Richmond Regional**
    - Richmond City
    - Charles City County
    - Chesterfield County
    - Goochland County
    - Hanover County
    - Henrico County
    - New Kent County
    - Powhatan County
16. **RADCO**
    - Fredericksburg City
    - Caroline County
    - King George County
    - Spotsylvania County
    - Stafford County
17. **Northern Neck**
    - Lancaster County
    - Northumberland County
    - Richmond County
    - Westmoreland County
18. **Middle Peninsula**
    - Essex County
    - Gloucester County
    - King and Queen County
    - King William County
    - Mathews County
    - Middlesex County
19. **Crater**
    - Colonial Heights City
    - Emporia City
    - Hopewell City
    - Petersburg City
    - Dinwiddie County
    - Greensville County
    - Prince George County
    - Surry County
    - Sussex County
20. **Southeastern Virginia**
    - Chesapeake City
    - Franklin City
    - Norfolk City
    - Portsmouth City
    - Suffolk City
    - Virginia Beach City
    - Isle of Wight County
    - Southampton County
21. **Peninsula**
    - Hampton City
    - Newport News City
    - Poquoson City
    - Williamsburg City
    - James City County
    - York County
22. **Accomack-Northampton**
    - Accomack County
    - Northampton County

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS OF VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
- Charlottesville City
- Albemarle County
- Fluvanna County
- Greene County

Danville
- Danville City
- Pittsylvania County

Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, Tenn.-Va.
- Virginia portion:
  - Bristol City
  - Scott County
  - Washington County
- Tennessee portion:
  - Carter County
  - Hawkins County
  - Sullivan County
  - Unicol County
  - Washington County

Lynchburg
- Lynchburg City
- Amherst County
- Appomattox County
- Campbell County

Newport News-Hampton
- Hampton City
- Newport News City
- Poquoson City
- Williamsburg City
- Gloucester County
- James City County
- York County

Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, Va.-N.C.
- Virginia portion:
  - Chesapeake City
  - Norfolk City
  - Portsmouth City
  - Suffolk City
- North Carolina portion:
  - Currituck County

Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell
- Colonial Heights City
- Hopewell City
- Petersburg City
- Dinwiddie County
- Prince George County

Richmond
- Richmond City
- Charles City County
- Chesterfield County
- Goochland County
- Hanover County
- Henrico County
- New Kent County
- Powhatan County

Roanoke
- Roanoke City
- Salem City
- Botetourt County
- Craig County
- Roanoke County

Washington D.C.-Md.-Va.
- Virginia portion:
  - Alexandria City
  - Fairfax City
  - Falls Church City
  - Manassas City
  - Manassas Park City
  - Arlington County
  - Fairfax County
  - Loudoun County
  - Prince William County
- District of Columbia portion:
  - District of Columbia
- Maryland portion:
  - Charles County
  - Montgomery County
  - Prince George's County

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
THE COLGATE DARDEN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
Tayloe Murphy Institute

1980 Census Analysis Series, Volume 1

Growth in Virginia

Between 1970 and 1980 the state of Virginia gained 694,831 persons, for a total change of 14.9 percent. Growth in the South Atlantic Division, of which Virginia is a part, was 20.4 percent. Within this division Florida had the highest growth rate, 43.4 percent, followed by South Carolina with 20.4 percent, Georgia with 19.1 percent, North Carolina with 15.5 percent, West Virginia with 11.8 percent, Delaware with 8.6 percent, and Maryland with 7.5 percent, while the District of Columbia, also part of this division, lost 15.7 percent of its population. Between 1970 and 1980, then, the heaviest concentration of population growth in this division was in Florida, where the rate of growth was more than double that of any other South Atlantic state.

In general there are two mechanisms of population change, natural increase and net migration. Natural increase is defined as the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths; net migration is defined as the number of people who moved into an area minus the number of people who moved out. Natural increase will be positive if births exceeded deaths during a given period of time and negative if more deaths than births occurred. Similarly, net migration will be positive if more people moved into an area than out, and negative if the reverse is true. Population growth may therefore result from either positive natural increase or positive net migration or both.

Between 1970 and 1980 population growth in Virginia resulted from both positive natural increase and positive net migration. Of the total population change during the decade, we estimate that natural increase resulted in a gain of 346,663 persons, or 49.9 percent of the total increase. This is in marked contrast to the 1960-70 decade, during which natural increase accounted for 78.2 percent of the total growth, while net migration accounted for 21.8 percent. During the past decade, counties as a group tended to gain population, while cities tended to lose. Exceptions to this overall trend were the counties of Charlotte, Brunswick, and Sussex, which lost population during the decade, and several cities, most notably Harrisonburg, Manassas, Poquoson, and Virginia Beach. Each of these four cities had growth rates of over 30 percent. However, all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, each of which includes one or more independent cities as well as one or more counties, gained population at rates ranging from 0.4 percent in the Petersburg-Colonial Heights SMSA to 26.9 percent in the newly created Charlottesville SMSA.

Five areas in Virginia experienced particularly high population growth during the 1970-80 decade. The first of these is Northern Virginia, where

Loudoun, Prince William, Stafford, and Spotsylvania counties had growth rates of over 50.0 percent. Included in this area are also Frederick, Warren, and Fauquier counties, which grew by over a third. At its southernmost point this growth area touches the second high growth area, that surrounding Richmond City. Although the city itself lost population and the suburban counties of Henrico and Charles City grew only moderately, Hanover and New Kent counties to the north and Powhatan and Chesterfield counties to the south of Richmond had growth rates of over 33.3 percent. This area in turn is linked to the third and smaller growth area of Gloucester and James City counties to the east.

A fourth area of the state in which considerable population growth occurred was in central Virginia, including the counties of Greene, Albemarle, and Fluvanna, where growth in each exceeded 33.3 percent. With Fluvanna County as its easternmost segment, this group of counties comes very close to linkage with the Richmond SMSA growth areas. In the fifth area, however, no such linkage with nearby counties is apparent. This area includes the contiguous counties of Bedford, Roanoke, and Montgomery, all of which grew by over a third in contrast to the surrounding counties. Finally, although it does not constitute a separate area, the city of Virginia Beach had an extremely high growth rate of 52.3 percent while the adjoining cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth both lost population and Chesapeake gained only moderately.

In contrast to these high growth areas were the more moderate gains experienced in other major areas of the state. The counties of Southwest Virginia, for example, grew from 16.8 to 33.3 percent, as did a group of Shenandoah Valley counties and another group lying between the high growth areas of Northern Virginia and the central Virginia Albemarle-Greene-Fluvanna complex. Even lower rates of growth took place in a strip of western counties including Highland, Bath, Alleghany, Craig, and Giles, in a number of south central counties, and in the northeastern counties of Westmoreland, Northumberland, Richmond, Lancaster, Accomack, and Northampton. In addition, population loss among independent cities included some such as Fairfax City, Falls Church, and Alexandria, which are in or near high growth areas, as well as others such as Covington, Clifton Forge, Martinsville, and Danville, located in very slowly growing areas.

Table 1. Tayloe Murphy Institute
Population Change in Virginia Localities, 1970-1980[1]

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
Counties								
Accomack	31,268	29,004	2,264	7.8	-67	-.2	2,331	8.0
Albemarle	55,783	37,780	18,003	47.7	2,925	7.7	15,078	39.9
Alleghany	14,333	12,461	1,872	15.0	710	5.7	1,162	9.3
Amelia	8,405	7,592	813	10.7	331	4.4	483	6.4
Amherst	29,122	26,072	3,050	11.7	1,393	5.3	1,657	6.4
Appomattox	11,971	9,784	2,187	22.4	444	4.5	1,743	17.8
Arlington	152,599	174,284	-21,685	-12.4	9,012	5.2	-30,697	-17.6
Augusta	53,732	44,220	9,512	21.5	2,267	5.1	7,245	16.4
Bath	5,860	5,192	668	12.9	-5	-.1	673	13.0
Bedford	34,927	25,242	9,685	38.4	1,486	5.9	8,199	32.5
Bland	6,349	5,423	926	17.1	111	2.0	815	15.0
Botetourt	23,270	18,193	5,077	27.9	742	4.1	4,336	23.8
Brunswick	15,632	16,172	-540	-3.3	558	3.4	-1,098	-6.8
Buchanan	37,989	32,071	5,918	18.5	4,010	12.5	1,908	5.9
Buckingham	11,751	10,597	1,154	10.9	298	2.8	856	8.1
Campbell	45,424	34,248	11,176	32.6	3,602	10.5	7,575	22.1
Caroline	17,904	13,925	3,979	28.6	889	6.4	3,090	22.2
Carroll	27,270	23,092	4,178	18.1	832	3.6	3,346	14.5
Charles City	6,692	6,158	534	8.7	442	7.2	92	1.5
Charlotte	12,266	12,366	-100	-.8	360	2.9	-460	-3.7
Chesterfield	141,372	77,045	64,327	83.5	10,353	13.4	53,974	70.1
Clarke	9,965	8,102	1,863	23.0	179	2.2	1,684	20.8
Craig	3,948	3,524	424	12.0	80	2.3	344	9.8
Culpeper	22,620	18,218	4,402	24.2	1,149	6.3	3,253	17.9
Cumberland	7,881	6,179	1,702	27.5	229	3.7	1,474	23.8
Dickenson	19,806	16,077	3,729	23.2	1,482	9.2	2,248	14.0
Dinwiddie	22,602	21,668	934	4.3	1,034	4.8	-100	-.5
Essex	8,864	7,099	1,765	24.9	294	4.1	1,471	20.7
Fairfax	596,901	454,275	142,626	31.4	48,845	10.8	93,781	20.6
Fauquier	35,889	26,375	9,514	36.1	1,776	6.7	7,737	29.3
Floyd	11,563	9,775	1,788	18.3	104	1.1	1,684	17.2
Fluvanna	10,244	7,621	2,623	34.4	427	5.6	2,196	28.8
Franklin	35,740	28,163	7,577	26.9	1,676	6.0	5,901	21.0
Frederick	34,150	24,107	10,043	41.7	2,357	9.8	7,686	31.9
Giles	17,810	16,741	1,069	6.4	569	3.4	500	3.0
Gloucester	20,107	14,059	6,048	43.0	737	5.2	5,311	37.8
Goochland	11,761	10,069	1,692	16.8	590	5.9	1,102	10.9
Grayson	16,579	15,439	1,140	7.4	284	1.8	857	5.5
Greene	7,625	5,248	2,377	45.3	477	9.1	1,900	36.2
Greensville	10,903	9,604	1,299	13.5	798	8.3	501	5.2
Halifax	30,418	30,076	342	1.1	1,359	4.5	-1,017	-3.4
Hanover	50,398	37,479	12,919	34.5	2,408	6.4	10,511	28.0
Henrico	180,735	154,463	26,272	17.0	10,083	6.5	16,190	10.5
Henry	57,654	50,901	6,753	13.3	4,444	8.7	2,309	4.5
Highland	2,937	2,529	408	16.1	-21	-.8	429	16.9
Isle of Wight	21,603	18,285	3,318	18.1	1,313	7.2	2,005	11.0
James City	22,763	17,853	4,910	27.5	1,717	9.6	3,193	17.9
King and Queen	5,968	5,491	477	8.7	207	3.8	270	4.9
King George	10,543	8,039	2,504	31.1	713	8.9	1,791	22.3
King William	9,327	7,497	1,830	24.4	316	4.2	1,514	20.2
Lancaster	10,129	9,126	1,003	11.0	-158	-1.7	1,161	12.7
Lee	25,956	20,321	5,635	27.7	563	2.8	5,072	25.0
Loudoun	57,427	37,150	20,277	54.6	4,671	12.6	15,606	42.0
Louisa	17,825	14,004	3,821	27.3	654	4.7	3,167	22.6
Lunenburg	12,124	11,687	437	3.7	138	1.2	299	2.6

Table 1. (continued)

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
Madison	10,232	8,638	1,594	18.5	292	3.4	1,302	15.1
Mathews	7,995	7,168	827	11.5	-471	-6.6	1,298	18.1
Mecklenburg	29,444	29,426	18	.1	1,018	3.5	-1,001	-3.4
Middlesex	7,719	6,295	1,424	22.6	-238	-3.8	1,662	26.4
Montgomery	63,516	46,813	16,703	35.7	3,580	7.6	13,123	28.0
Nelson	12,204	11,702	502	4.3	141	1.2	361	3.1
New Kent	8,781	5,300	3,481	65.7	537	10.1	2,944	55.6
Northampton	14,625	14,442	183	1.3	122	.8	61	.4
Northumberland	9,828	9,239	589	6.4	-292	-3.2	881	9.5
Nottoway	14,666	14,260	406	2.8	216	1.5	190	1.3
Orange	17,827	13,792	4,035	29.3	540	3.9	3,495	25.3
Page	19,401	16,581	2,820	17.0	572	3.4	2,248	13.6
Patrick	17,585	15,282	2,303	15.1	706	4.6	1,597	10.5
Pittsylvania	66,147	58,782	7,365	12.5	3,671	6.2	3,694	6.3
Powhatan	13,062	7,696	5,366	69.7	486	6.3	4,881	63.4
Prince Edward	16,456	14,379	2,077	14.4	563	3.9	1,514	10.5
Prince George	25,733	24,371	1,362	5.6	2,845	11.7	-1,483	-6.1
Prince William	144,703	93,500	51,203	54.8	21,219	22.7	29,984	32.1
Pulaski	35,229	29,564	5,665	19.2	2,100	7.1	3,565	12.1
Rappahannock	6,093	5,199	894	17.2	88	1.7	807	15.5
Richmond	6,952	6,504	448	6.9	61	.9	387	6.0
Roanoke	72,945	53,817	19,128	35.5	3,827	7.1	15,301	28.4
Rockbridge	17,911	16,637	1,274	7.7	468	2.8	806	4.8
Rockingham	57,038	47,890	9,148	19.1	3,434	7.2	5,714	11.9
Russell	31,761	24,533	7,228	29.5	1,696	6.9	5,532	22.5
Scott	25,068	24,376	692	2.8	810	3.3	-118	-.5
Shenandoah	27,559	22,852	4,707	20.6	217	.9	4,490	19.6
Smyth	33,366	31,349	2,017	6.4	1,588	5.1	429	1.4
Southampton	18,731	18,582	149	.8	620	3.3	-471	-2.5
Spotsylvania	34,435	16,424	18,011	109.7	2,657	16.2	15,354	93.5
Stafford	40,470	24,587	15,883	64.6	3,580	14.6	12,306	50.0
Surry	6,046	5,882	164	2.8	243	4.1	-79	-1.3
Sussex	10,874	11,464	-590	-5.1	418	3.6	-1,008	-8.8
Tazewell	50,511	39,816	10,695	26.9	3,350	8.4	7,345	18.4
Warren	21,200	15,301	5,899	38.6	748	4.9	5,151	33.7
Washington	46,487	36,033	10,454	29.0	1,993	5.5	8,462	23.5
Westmoreland	14,041	12,142	1,899	15.6	227	1.9	1,672	13.8
Wise	43,863	35,947	7,916	22.0	3,346	9.3	4,570	12.7
Wythe	25,522	22,139	3,383	15.3	898	4.1	2,485	11.2
York	35,463	27,762	7,701	27.7	1,780	6.4	5,920	21.3
TOTAL COUNTIES	3,326,173	2,674,631	651,542	24.4	201,835	7.5	449,707	16.8

Table 1. (continued)

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
Cities								
Alexandria	103,217	110,927	-7,710	-7.0	10,005	9.0	-17,715	-16.0
Bedford	5,991	6,011	-20	-.3	-415	-6.9	395	6.6
Bristol	19,042	19,659	-617	-3.1	79	.4	-696	-3.5
Buena Vista	6,717	6,425	292	4.5	319	5.0	-27	-.4
Charlottesville	39,916	38,880	1,036	2.7	1,809	4.7	-773	-2.0
Chesapeake	114,226	89,580	24,646	27.5	9,748	10.9	14,898	16.6
Clifton Forge	5,046	5,501	-455	-8.3	-155	-2.8	-300	-5.5
Colonial Heights	16,509	15,097	1,412	9.4	813	5.4	599	4.0
Covington	9,063	10,060	-997	-9.9	111	1.1	-1,108	-11.0
Danville	45,642	46,398	-756	-1.6	1,060	2.3	-1,816	-3.9
Emporia	4,840	5,300	-460	-8.7	111	2.1	-571	-10.8
Fairfax	19,390	22,727	-3,337	-14.7	1,896	8.3	-5,233	-23.0
Falls Church	9,515	10,772	-1,257	-11.7	443	4.1	-1,700	-15.8
Franklin	7,308	6,880	428	6.2	318	4.6	111	1.6
Fredericksburg	15,322	14,450	872	6.0	406	2.8	466	3.2
Galax	6,524	6,278	246	3.9	92	1.5	154	2.4
Hampton	122,617	120,779	1,838	1.5	12,783	10.6	-10,945	-9.1
Harrisonburg	19,671	14,605	5,066	34.7	442	3.0	4,624	31.7
Hopewell	23,397	23,471	-74	-.3	2,006	8.5	-2,080	-8.9
Lexington	7,292	7,597	-305	-4.0	-44	-.6	-261	-3.4
Lynchburg	66,743	64,640	2,103	3.3	1,786	2.8	317	.5
Manassas	15,438	10,758	4,680	43.5	1,993	18.5	2,688	25.0
Manassas Park	6,524	6,844	-320	-4.7	862	12.6	-1,182	-17.3
Martinsville	18,149	19,653	-1,504	-7.7	844	4.3	-2,348	-11.9
Newport News	144,903	138,177	6,726	4.9	17,075	12.4	-10,349	-7.5
Norfolk	266,979	307,951	-40,972	-13.3	29,511	9.6	-70,483	-22.9
Norton	4,757	4,172	585	14.0	174	4.2	411	9.9
Petersburg	41,055	44,202	-3,147	-7.1	2,362	5.3	-5,509	-12.5
Poquoson	8,726	5,441	3,285	60.4	338	6.2	2,947	54.2
Portsmouth	104,577	110,963	-6,386	-5.8	8,971	8.1	-15,358	-13.8
Radford	13,225	11,940	1,285	10.8	395	3.3	890	7.5
Richmond	219,214	249,332	-30,118	-12.1	6,174	2.5	-36,293	-14.6
Roanoke	100,427	105,637	-5,210	- 4.9	2,452	2.3	-7,662	-7.3
Salem	23,958	21,982	1,976	9.0	781	3.6	1,195	5.4
South Boston	7,093	6,889	204	3.0	95	1.4	109	1.6
Staunton	21,857	24,504	-2,647	-10.8	303	1.2	-2,950	-12.0
Suffolk	47,621	45,024	2,597	5.8	2,373	5.3	224	.5
Virginia Beach	262,199	172,106	90,093	52.3	25,324	14.7	64,770	37.6
Waynesboro	15,329	16,707	-1,378	-8.2	896	5.4	-2,274	-13.6
Williamsburg	9,870	9,069	801	8.8	243	2.7	558	6.2
Winchester	20,217	19,429	788	4.1	50	.3	739	3.8
TOTAL CITIES	2,020,106	1,976,817	43,289	2.2	144,828	7.3	-101,539	-5.1

Table 1. (continued)

Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Natural Increase 1970-80	Percent Natural Increase 1970-80	Net Migration 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
PDC 1	99,644	84,816	14,828	17.5	4,893	5.8	9,936	11.7
PDC 2	140,067	112,497	27,570	24.5	10,538	9.4	17,033	15.1
PDC 3	181,139	159,412	21,727	13.6	5,876	3.7	15,851	9.9
PDC 4	141,343	114,833	26,510	23.1	6,749	5.9	19,761	17.2
PDC 5	252,990	231,175	21,815	9.4	8,548	3.7	13,268	5.7
PDC 6	208,344	186,306	22,038	11.8	8,059	4.3	13,979	7.5
PDC 7	132,492	106,372	26,120	24.6	4,121	3.9	21,999	20.7
PDC 8	1,105,714	921,237	184,477	20.0	98,945	10.7	85,532	9.3
PDC 9	92,661	72,222	20,439	28.3	3,844	5.3	16,595	23.0
PDC 10	143,597	115,235	28,362	24.6	6,432	5.6	21,930	19.0
PDC 11	194,178	165,997	28,181	17.0	8,297	5.0	19,885	12.0
PDC 12	240,917	219,179	21,738	9.9	12,401	5.7	9,337	4.3
PDC 13	82,587	82,563	24	.0	3,022	3.7	-2,998	-3.6
PDC 14	83,549	77,060	6,489	8.4	2,134	2.8	4,355	5.7
PDC 15	632,015	547,542	84,473	15.4	31,073	5.7	53,401	9.8
PDC 16	118,674	77,425	41,249	53.3	8,244	10.6	33,005	42.6
PDC 17	40,950	37,011	3,939	10.6	-162	-.4	4,101	11.1
PDC 18	59,980	47,609	12,371	26.0	845	1.8	11,526	24.2
PDC 19	161,959	161,059	900	.6	10,631	6.6	-9,731	-6.0
PDC 20	843,244	769,371	73,873	9.6	78,177	10.2	-4,304	-.6
PDC 21	344,342	319,081	25,261	7.9	33,937	10.6	-8,676	-2.7
PDC 22	45,893	43,446	2,447	5.6	55	.1	2,393	5.5
Bristol SMSA	90,597	80,068	10,529	13.2	2,881	3.6	7,649	9.6
Charlottesville SMSA	113,568	89,529	24,039	26.9	5,637	6.3	18,402	20.6
Danville SMSA	111,789	105,180	6,609	6.3	4,731	4.5	1,878	1.8
Lynchburg SMSA	153,260	134,744	18,516	13.7	7,225	5.4	11,291	8.4
Newport News SMSA	364,449	333,140	31,309	9.4	34,674	10.4	-3,365	-1.0
Norfolk SMSA	795,602	725,624	69,978	9.6	75,927	10.5	-5,949	-.8
Petersburg SMSA	129,296	128,809	487	.4	9,061	7.0	-8,574	-6.7
Richmond SMSA	632,015	547,542	84,473	15.4	31,073	5.7	53,401	9.8
Roanoke SMSA	224,548	203,153	21,395	10.5	7,881	3.9	13,514	6.7
Northern VA SMSA	1,105,714	921,237	184,477	20.0	98,945	10.7	85,532	9.3
TOTAL METROPOLITAN	3,720,838	3,269,026	451,812	13.8	278,034	8.5	173,778	5.3
TOTAL NONMETROPOLITAN	1,625,441	1,382,422	243,019	17.6	68,629	5.0	174,390	12.6
TOTAL VIRGINIA	5,346,279	4,651,448	694,831	14.9	346,663	7.5	348,168	7.5

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[1] All 1970 numbers in this table are adjusted for annexations and boundary changes occurring between 1970 and 1980. All calculations involving 1970 numbers are based on these adjusted figures.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
THE COLGATE DARDEN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
Tayloe Murphy Institute

1980 Census Analysis Series, Volume 1

Virginia's Black Population

Between 1970 and 1980 Virginia's black population increased by 143,157 persons, a 16.5 percent increase. However, while blacks constituted 18.6 percent of the total population in 1970, in 1980 this percentage had grown only to 18.9. Thus while the number of blacks has grown substantially, the proportion of blacks in the total population has not.

The black population continues to be concentrated in the eastern half of the state, where the percentage of blacks ranges from 10.0 to over 70.0 percent, with a great many areas having populations 30.0 percent or more black. Adjacent to this area is a band of lesser concentration, running from Clarke County in the north to Henry County in the south. In this belt the concentration of blacks is similar to the less concentrated areas in the eastern half, generally from 10.0 to 29.9 percent. Still fewer blacks are found in northern Virginia, and west of the Blue Ridge are located the lowest proportions of all, under 5.0 percent.

Within these broad regions, however, some change in the distribution of the black population has occurred during the past decade. In the eastern half of the state those areas which had high proportions of blacks in 1970 continue to do so, but in many cases actual numbers of blacks are declining. Decline is also noticeable in counties west of the mountains, where areas that began with a low proportion of blacks are losing still more. Meanwhile the number of blacks in northern Virginia and in the counties around Richmond is increasing, although the proportion of blacks are losing still more. Meanwhile other areas which have experienced substantial gains in numbers are Albemarle, Montgomery, Henry, and York counties, as well as the cities of Chesapeake and Virginia Beach. In all of these areas the black population has increased by 20.0 percent or more.

In the state as a whole the number of blacks living in metropolitan areas has increased, but the actual proportion of the metropolitan population which is black has decreased. This decrease has occurred mainly in the two new SMSAs, Charlottesville and Danville, where the percent of the population which is black fell from 15.7 to 15.0 and 30.0 to 28.8 respectively. Although the Bristol SMSA also showed a slight drop, from 2.5 to 2.3 percent, without the two new metropolitan areas the overall percent of metropolitan population which is black would have shown a slight increase rather than a slight decrease.

Table 2.
Change in the Black Population of Virginia, 1970-1980[1]

Name	Black Population 1980	Black Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Percent of Population 1970	Percent of Population 1980	Difference in Percents 1980-70
Counties							
Accomack	11,401	10,839	562	5.2	37.4	36.5	- .9
Albemarle	6,183	5,019	1,164	23.2	13.3	11.1	-2.2
Alleghany	356	361	-5	-1.4	2.9	2.5	- .4
Amelia	3,215	3,587	-372	-10.4	47.2	38.3	-8.9
Amherst	5,963	5,554	409	7.4	21.3	20.5	- .8
Appomattox	2,778	2,426	352	14.5	24.8	23.2	-1.6
Arlington	14,029	10,076	3,953	39.2	5.8	9.2	3.4
Augusta	2,031	1,947	84	4.3	4.4	3.8	- .6
Bath	553	555	-2	-.4	10.7	9.4	-1.3
Bedford	3,971	4,439	-468	-10.5	17.6	11.4	-6.2
Bland	198	135	63	46.7	2.5	3.1	.6
Botetourt	1,124	1,485	-361	-24.3	8.2	4.8	-3.4
Brunswick	8,972	9,440	-468	-5.0	58.4	57.4	-1.0
Buchanan	21	34	-13	-38.2	.1	.1	.0
Buckingham	4,979	4,687	292	6.2	44.2	42.4	-1.8
Campbell	6,861	6,792	69	1.0	19.8	15.1	-4.7
Caroline	7,693	7,074	619	8.8	50.8	43.0	-7.8
Carroll	94	99	-5	-5.1	.4	.3	- .1
Charles City	4,726	4,569	157	3.4	74.2	70.6	-3.6
Charlotte	4,737	4,923	-186	-3.8	39.8	38.6	-1.2
Chesterfield	13,910	8,672	5,238	60.4	11.3	9.8	-1.5
Clarke	1,144	1,193	-49	-4.1	14.7	11.5	-3.2
Craig	8	11	-3	-27.3	.3	.2	- .1
Culpeper	4,653	4,376	277	6.3	24.0	20.6	-3.4
Cumberland	3,393	2,961	432	14.6	47.9	43.1	-4.8
Dickenson	94	103	-9	-8.7	.6	.5	- .1
Dinwiddie	9,653	10,955	-1,302	-11.9	50.6	42.7	-7.9
Essex	3,543	3,198	345	10.8	45.0	40.0	-5.0
Fairfax	34,994	16,603	18,391	110.8	3.7	5.9	2.2
Fauquier	5,635	5,858	-223	-3.8	22.2	15.7	-6.5
Floyd	384	472	-88	-18.6	4.8	3.3	-1.5
Fluvanna	3,013	2,734	279	10.2	35.9	29.4	-6.5
Franklin	4,324	3,832	492	12.8	13.6	12.1	-1.5
Frederick	484	454	30	6.6	1.9	1.4	- .5
Giles	354	379	-25	-6.6	2.3	2.0	- .3
Gloucester	3,088	3,123	-35	-1.1	22.2	15.4	-6.8
Goochland	4,275	4,375	-100	-2.3	43.5	36.3	-7.2
Grayson	550	579	-29	-5.0	3.8	3.3	- .5
Greene	576	563	13	2.3	10.7	7.6	-3.1
Greensville	6,175	5,506	669	12.2	57.3	56.6	- .7
Halifax	12,119	12,052	67	.6	40.1	39.8	- .3
Hanover	6,558	6,718	-160	-2.4	17.9	13.0	-4.9
Henrico	27,096	10,106	16,990	168.1	6.5	15.0	8.5
Henry	13,478	11,035	2,443	22.1	21.7	23.4	1.7
Highland	6	11	-5	-45.5	.4	.2	- .2
Isle of Wight	8,875	9,058	-183	-2.0	49.5	41.1	-8.4
James City	6,439	6,226	213	3.4	34.9	28.3	-6.6
King and Queen	2,764	2,786	-22	- .8	50.7	46.3	-4.4
King George	2,385	2,125	260	12.2	26.4	22.6	-3.8
King William	3,253	3,189	64	2.0	42.5	34.9	-7.6
Lancaster	3,360	3,535	-175	-5.0	38.7	33.2	-5.5
Lee	89	97	-8	-8.2	.5	.3	- .2
Loudnun	5,018	4,648	370	8.0	12.5	8.7	-3.8
Louisa	5,801	5,399	402	7.4	38.6	32.5	-6.1
Lunenburg	4,764	5,051	-287	-5.7	43.2	39.3	-3.9

Table 2. (continued)

Name	Black Population 1980	Black Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Percent of Population 1970	Percent of Population 1980	Difference in Percents 1980-70
Madison	1,831	1,761	70	4.0	20.4	17.9	-2.5
Mathews	1,432	1,662	-230	-13.8	23.2	17.9	-5.3
Mecklenburg	11,867	12,404	-537	-4.3	42.2	40.3	-1.9
Middlesex	2,244	2,331	-87	-3.7	37.0	29.1	-7.9
Montgomery	1,897	1,416	481	34.0	3.0	3.0	.0
Nelson	2,916	3,344	-428	-12.8	28.6	23.9	-4.7
New Kent	2,287	2,332	-45	-1.9	44.0	26.0	-18.0
Northampton	7,289	7,555	-266	-3.5	52.3	49.8	-2.5
Northumberland	3,306	3,607	-301	-8.3	39.0	33.6	-5.4
Nottoway	5,725	5,701	24	.4	40.0	39.0	-1.0
Orange	3,104	2,945	159	5.4	21.4	17.4	-4.0
Page	499	480	19	4.0	2.9	2.6	- .3
Patrick	1,344	1,287	57	4.4	8.4	7.6	- .8
Pittsylvania	19,988	19,823	165	.8	33.7	30.2	-3.5
Powhatan	3,320	2,799	521	18.6	36.4	25.4	-11.0
Prince Edward	6,169	5,258	911	17.3	36.6	37.5	.9
Prince George	7,481	7,483	-2	-.0	30.7	29.1	-1.6
Prince William	11,919	5,173	6,746	130.4	5.5	8.2	2.7
Pulaski	1,867	1,794	73	4.1	6.1	5.3	- .8
Rappahannock	689	859	-170	-19.8	16.5	11.3	-5.2
Richmond	2,218	2,379	-161	-6.8	36.6	31.9	-4.7
Roanoke	1,685	1,791	-106	-5.9	3.3	2.3	-1.0
Rockbridge	581	691	-110	-15.9	4.2	3.2	-1.0
Rockingham	788	669	119	17.8	1.4	1.4	.0
Russell	300	297	3	1.0	1.2	.9	- .3
Scott	157	211	-54	-25.6	.9	.6	- .3
Shenandoah	374	367	7	1.9	1.6	1.4	- .2
Smyth	594	546	48	8.8	1.7	1.8	.1
Southampton	8,999	10,065	-1,066	-10.6	54.2	48.0	-6.2
Spotsylvania	5,082	3,578	1,504	42.0	21.8	14.8	-7.0
Stafford	2,904	2,284	620	27.1	9.3	7.2	-2.1
Surry	3,779	3,853	-74	-1.9	65.5	62.5	-3.0
Sussex	6,635	7,247	-612	-8.4	63.2	61.0	-2.2
Tazewell	1,304	1,194	110	9.2	3.0	2.6	- .4
Warren	1,189	933	256	27.4	6.1	5.6	- .5
Washington	798	775	23	3.0	2.2	1.7	- .5
Westmoreland	5,335	5,361	-26	-.5	44.2	38.0	-6.2
Wise	857	860	-3	-.3	2.4	2.0	- .4
Wythe	910	820	90	11.0	3.7	3.6	- .1
York	6,118	4,778	1,340	28.0	17.2	17.3	.1
TOTAL COUNTIES	439,921	380,737	59,184	15.5	14.2	13.2	-1.0
Cities							
Alexandria	23,005	16,082	6,923	43.0	14.5	22.3	7.8
Bedford	1,159	1,048	111	10.6	17.4	19.3	1.9
Bristol	1,122	1,046	76	7.3	5.3	5.9	.6
Buena Vista	265	220	45	20.5	3.4	3.9	.5
Charlottesville	7,229	5,749	1,480	25.7	14.8	18.1	3.3
Chesapeake	31,510	20,669	10,841	52.5	23.1	27.6	4.5
Clifton Forge	797	875	-78	-8.9	15.9	15.8	- .1
Colonial Heights	52	8	44	550.0	.1	.3	.2
Covington	1,209	1,209	0	0	12.0	13.3	1.3
Danville	13,573	10,486	3,087	29.4	22.6	29.7	7.1
Emporia	1,953	2,024	-71	-3.5	38.2	40.4	2.2
Fairfax	585	383	202	52.7	1.7	3.0	1.3
Falls Church	223	152	71	46.7	1.4	2.3	.9
Franklin	4,045	3,494	551	15.8	50.8	55.4	4.6
Fredericksburg	3,104	2,511	593	23.6	17.4	20.3	2.9
Galax	307	338	-31	-9.2	5.4	4.7	- .7
Hampton	42,072	30,619	11,453	37.4	25.4	34.3	8.9
Harrisonburg	874	669	205	30.6	4.6	4.4	- .2
Hopewell	4,661	3,597	1,064	29.6	15.3	19.9	4.6
Lexington	896	1,190	-294	-24.7	15.7	12.3	-3.4

Table 2. (continued)

Name	Black Population 1980	Black Population 1970	Numerical Change 1970-80	Percent Change 1970-80	Percent of Population 1970	Percent of Population 1980	Difference in Percents 1980-70
Lynchburg	15,807	12,583	3,224	25.6	19.5	23.7	4.2
Manassas	1,403	765	638	83.4	7.1	9.1	2.0
Manassas Park	286	13	273	2,100.0	.2	4.4	4.2
Martinsville	5,728	5,622	106	1.9	28.6	31.6	3.0
Newport News	45,584	39,196	6,388	16.3	28.4	31.5	3.1
Norfolk	93,987	87,261	6,726	7.7	28.3	35.2	6.9
Norton	249	235	14	6.0	5.6	5.2	- .4
Petersburg	25,080	21,062	4,018	19.1	47.6	61.1	13.5
Poquoson	25	25	0	0	.5	.3	- .2
Portsmouth	47,185	44,320	2,865	6.5	39.9	45.1	5.2
Radford	860	518	342	66.0	4.3	6.5	2.2
Richmond	112,357	104,686	7,671	7.3	42.0	51.3	9.3
Roanoke	22,019	17,784	4,235	23.8	16.8	21.9	5.1
Salem	1,063	1,205	-142	-11.8	5.5	4.4	-1.1
South Boston	2,562	2,288	274	12.0	33.2	36.1	2.9
Staunton	2,461	2,532	-71	-2.8	10.3	11.3	1.0
Suffolk	22,682	22,702	-20	- .1	50.4	47.6	-2.8
Virginia Beach	26,291	15,693	10,598	67.5	9.1	10.0	.9
Waynesboro	1,294	1,094	200	18.3	6.5	8.4	1.9
Williamsburg	1,031	1,156	-125	-10.8	12.7	10.4	-2.3
Winchester	1,795	1,308	487	37.2	6.7	8.9	2.2
TOTAL CITIES	568,390	484,417	83,973	17.3	24.5	28.1	3.6
PDC 1	1,352	1,403	-51	-3.6	1.7	1.4	- .3
PDC 2	1,719	1,628	91	5.6	1.4	1.2	- .2
PDC 3	4,573	4,338	235	5.4	2.7	2.5	- .2
PDC 4	5,362	4,579	783	17.1	4.0	3.8	- .2
PDC 5	28,261	24,721	3,540	14.3	10.7	11.2	.5
PDC 6	9,749	9,578	171	1.8	5.1	4.7	- .4
PDC 7	5,485	4,735	750	15.8	4.5	4.1	- .4
PDC 8	91,462	53,895	37,567	69.7	5.9	8.3	2.4
PDC 9	15,912	15,799	113	.7	21.9	17.2	-4.7
PDC 10	25,718	22,808	2,910	12.8	19.8	17.9	-1.9
PDC 11	36,539	32,842	3,697	11.3	19.8	18.8	-1.0
PDC 12	58,435	52,085	6,350	12.2	23.8	24.3	.5
PDC 13	35,520	36,184	-664	-1.8	43.8	43.0	- .8
PDC 14	32,982	32,168	814	2.5	41.7	39.5	-2.2
PDC 15	174,529	144,257	30,272	21.0	26.3	27.6	1.3
PDC 16	21,168	17,572	3,596	20.5	22.7	17.8	-4.9
PDC 17	14,219	14,882	-663	-4.5	40.2	34.7	-5.5
PDC 18	16,324	16,289	35	.2	34.2	27.2	-7.0
PDC 19	65,469	61,735	3,734	6.0	38.3	40.4	2.1
PDC 20	243,574	213,262	30,312	14.2	27.7	28.9	1.2
PDC 21	101,269	82,000	19,269	23.5	25.7	29.4	3.7
PDC 22	18,690	18,394	296	1.6	42.3	40.7	-1.6
Bristol SMSA	2,077	2,032	45	2.2	2.5	2.3	- .2
Charlottesville SMSA	17,001	14,065	2,936	20.9	15.7	15.0	- .7
Danville SMSA	33,561	30,309	3,252	10.7	30.0	28.8	-1.2
Lynchburg SMSA	31,409	27,355	4,054	14.8	20.3	20.5	.2
Newport News SMSA	104,357	85,123	19,234	22.6	25.6	28.6	3.0
Norfolk SMSA	221,655	190,645	31,010	16.3	26.3	27.9	1.6
Petersburg SMSA	46,927	43,105	3,822	8.9	33.5	36.3	2.8
Richmond SMSA	174,529	144,257	30,272	21.0	26.3	27.6	1.3
Roanoke SMSA	25,899	22,276	3,623	16.3	11.0	11.5	.5
Northern VA SMSA	91,462	53,895	37,567	69.7	5.9	8.3	2.4
TOTAL METROPOLITAN	748,877	613,062	135,815	22.2	20.1	18.8	-1.3
TOTAL NONMETROPOLITAN	259,434	252,092	7,342	2.9	16.0	18.2	2.2
TOTAL VIRGINIA	1,008,311	865,154	143,157	16.5	18.6	18.9	.3

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[1] All 1970 numbers in this table are adjusted for annexations and boundary changes occurring between 1970 and 1980. All calculations involving 1970 numbers are based on these adjusted figures.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS LETTER

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POPULATION CHANGE IN VIRGINIA, 1970-1980

by Julia H. Martin and Michael A. Spar

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Virginia is a diverse state that has experienced considerable population growth and change during the past decade. This article describing some of these changes is based on two kinds of data: first, information from the 1970 and 1980 decennial censuses and second, annual births and deaths by race for Virginia localities and the South Atlantic states during the decade. Availability of these data enable us not only to measure change in the size of the total and nonwhite populations between 1970 and 1980, but also to estimate natural increase and net migration, the two mechanisms of population change. In turn, these estimates permit us to pinpoint some difference between Virginia and other South Atlantic states, as well as differences among areas within Virginia.

VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION

The group of states designated by the Bureau of the Census as the South Atlantic Division stretches along the eastern seaboard from Delaware in the north to Florida in the south; it includes, in addition to these two states, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Between 1970 and 1980 this area increased in population by about six million people, from almost 31 million to almost 37 million. Change in the individual states varied from a substantial decline in the District of Columbia to an extremely large increase in Florida. In fact, Florida alone accounted for almost half of the total growth in the division.

Instead of looking at raw numbers, however, it is often more useful to examine growth and decline as they relate to the original, or base year, population. Viewed this way, change between 1970 and 1980 would be calculated by subtracting the 1970 population from the 1980 population, dividing the result by the 1970 population, and multiplying this ratio by 100. The result is referred to as the percent change or growth rate, and it is useful because it enables us to compare areas of different sizes on the same basis. By this measure, we can say that the Division as a whole grew by 20.5 percent during the 1970-80 decade. However, we also can look at the *average* growth, which was quite different. The average rate of growth, calculated by summing the percent change of each individual state and dividing by nine, was 14 percent. Therefore, although Virginia's growth rate of 15 percent was lower than that of the Division as a whole, it was actually slightly above the average rate for the eight states and the District of Columbia.

Population size can change in only two ways, either through natural increase or net migration. Natural increase is the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths that have occurred in an area between two points in time; net migration is the difference between the number of people who moved in and the number who moved out. Either measure can be negative as well as positive, as when an excess of deaths over births produces a negative natural increase, or when more people move out of an area than into it, producing negative net migration.

Since births and deaths are registered but moves are not, we do not know directly how many people moved in and out of an area within any given time period. Natural increase can be used, however, to estimate the result of these moves, or net migration. An example using 1970 and 1980 populations will illustrate how this is done. First, using the number of registered births and deaths, the natural increase that occurred between the two dates is calculated. Second, this natural increase is added to the population. This indicates what the 1980 population would have been if no one had moved in or out of the area. Finally, since the only other way the population size could have changed was through migration, the difference between what the 1980 population would have been if just natural increase had occurred and what the 1980 population actually was has to be net migration.

Between 1960 and 1970 natural increase accounted for about two-thirds of Virginia's population growth. During the next decade, however, two new trends arose—declining birth rates and increased migration to the South. As a result, between 1970 and 1980 Virginia grew about as much from net migration as from natural increase. This was not true of the more northern South Atlantic states, as **Table 1** shows. In the District of Columbia the population would have declined even more than it did if part of the loss resulting from negative net migration had not been offset by positive natural increase.

On the whole, however, the South Atlantic Division experienced considerable gains from migration between 1970 and 1980. Approximately 4.2 million more people moved into the region than moved out of it, for an overall net migration rate of 13.7 percent. Again, the average net migration rate of 7.2 percent was much lower than the overall rate, and Virginia's rate of 7.5 percent was just about average. In general, therefore, the region was characterized by two extremes: the population loss in the District of Columbia and the very high gain in Florida.

POPULATION CHANGE IN VIRGINIA

During the 1970-80 decade, Virginia's growth rate was about average for the South Atlantic Division. Rates of change within the state were by no means uniform, however. Five major centers of population growth were all located either in or adjacent to metropolitan areas, and all contain a number of counties that grew by a third or more. The first of these centers is in Northern Virginia; it includes the metropolitan jurisdiction of Loudoun, Fairfax, Prince William, and the City of Manassas together with the adjacent counties of Frederick and Warren, and extends southward to Spotsylvania County. The southernmost part of this area borders on the second major growth center, surrounding the City of Richmond. Together these two areas create a crescent of population growth with one tip at Loudoun County in the north and the other at New Kent County in the eastern part of the state.

Table 1. Population Growth, Natural Increase, and Net Migration in the South Atlantic Division, 1970-1980

	Percent Change	Percent Net Migration	Percent Change Accounted for By: Natural Increase	Percent Change Accounted for By: Net Migration
Delaware	8.4	1.2	85.2	14.8
District of Columbia	-15.6	-19.9	—	—
Florida	43.5	40.0	8.1	91.9
Georgia	19.1	9.6	49.7	50.3
Maryland	7.5	1.2	83.5	16.5
North Carolina	15.7	7.8	50.0	50.0
South Carolina	20.5	10.6	48.5	51.5
Virginia	14.9	7.5	49.8	50.2
West Virginia	11.8	6.3	46.1	53.9
The Division				
Overall	20.5	13.7	33.2	66.8
Average	14.0	7.2	46.8	42.1

SOURCE: Computed by the authors from data obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau and the bureau of vital records and health statistics (or comparable agency) in each of the individual states.

Here growth skips over a small portion of King and Queen County to resume in the third center, where high growth rates occurred in Gloucester County and in several other of the southeastern counties and cities, most notably the cities of Poquoson and Virginia Beach.

Two other major growth centers remain. The fourth one includes the City of Charlottesville and the nearby counties of Greene, Albemarle, and Fluvanna in central Virginia. This center is separated from the Northern Virginia area by the counties of Rappahannock, Culpeper, Madison, and Orange, and from the Richmond area by the counties of Goochland and Louisa—all of which grew by a sixth to a third between 1970 and 1980. If this trend continues, it will be only a matter of time until the Charlottesville-area growth center merges with those of Northern Virginia and the City of Richmond to produce a single area comprising almost the entire northern half of the Commonwealth and extending diagonally all the way to Virginia Beach at the southeastern tip. Finally, the fifth and last area of high growth in Virginia includes the counties of Bedford, Roanoke, and Montgomery, adjacent to one another and included in or bordering the Lynchburg and Roanoke metropolitan areas.

Of course, not all Virginia localities experienced such high growth rates. Some areas had very low or negative rates of growth between 1970 and 1980. One of these extends along the western border of the state from Highland County south to Giles County, including the County of Rockbridge to the east. Another begins along the southern border but extends north all the way to Prince Edward, Amelia, Dinwiddie, Prince George, and Surry counties. This area includes three of the four counties that experienced population loss during the decade: Charlotte, Brunswick, and Sussex (the fourth being Arlington). A third low growth area lies in Central Virginia. It is located between the two growth centers of Charlottesville and Lynchburg-Roanoke and includes the counties of Amherst, Nelson, and Buckingham. Finally, the Eastern Shore and Northern Neck counties of Westmoreland, Northumberland, Richmond, Lancaster, Accomack, and Northampton also experienced relatively little growth.

Besides this geographical variation in growth, there were also significant differences between counties and cities. In general, counties tended to gain population, while independent cities tended either to lose population or to have relatively small gains. This is reflected in the overall growth rate of 24.4 percent for counties *versus* only 2.2 percent for cities. Even within the high growth areas described above, population declines occurred in the majority of the urban centers—Arlington, Alexandria, Roanoke City, Richmond City, Norfolk, and Portsmouth, for example.

Although data is not yet available from the 1980 Census giving the origins of migrants, these figures seem to suggest that a current trend in Virginia is movement from independent cities into counties, most probably from cities into surrounding or bordering counties. Examining net migration figures for the two kinds of areas leads us also to suspect that immigrants to the state tend to choose counties rather than cities as their destinations. For example, only eleven of ninety-five counties experienced negative net migration, while twenty-four of forty-one cities, or over half, experienced this phenomenon. In addition, Arlington County, the only county that is classified by the Bureau of the Census as totally urban, had the largest negative net migration rate among counties, with a rate of -17.6 percent. In fact, the next greatest loss, a rate of -8.8 percent in Sussex County, was only half that of Arlington.

Between 1970 and 1980, then, counties tended to grow at much higher rates than did independent cities. Many more counties than cities had positive net migration rates, and the overall net migration rate for counties of 16.8 percent was much higher than that for cities—which was, in fact, a negative rate of -5.1 percent. Outmigration of the population from any area is likely to have serious consequences. Those who move out may or may not be entirely replaced. If they are not replaced and population decline results, one immediate effect is likely to be the loss of funds allocated according to formulas that include population as one of the factors. If outmigrants from urban areas *are* partially or wholly replaced, it is often by populations with lower socioeconomic status, who require more in the way of support services than did the original population. In addition, at the same time as the demand for services increases and funds allocated to the locality decrease, tax revenues tend to decline, since business and industry often prefer to locate in or near growing areas.

Not all Virginia cities are metropolitan. A Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), as designated by the Bureau of the Census, is a particular kind of geographical area typically including one or more large cities, known as central cities, and several surrounding counties. The rules for designation of an SMSA are quite complicated and involve several indicators of the social and economic linkages among the jurisdictions included.

An SMSA can be located in more than one state. In 1970 Virginia contained six complete SMSAs: Lynchburg, Newport News-Hampton, Norfolk-Portsmouth, Petersburg-Colonial Heights, Richmond, and Roanoke. It also contained portions of two SMSAs that cross state boundaries—Northern Virginia, a part of the Washington, D.C. SMSA; and Bristol, part of the Johnson City-Kingsport SMSA, split between Virginia and Tennessee. Between 1970 and 1980 several jurisdictions were added to Virginia SMSAs. One was Currituck County, North Carolina, which became part of the Norfolk-Portsmouth metropolitan area. Virginia Beach also was added to this SMSA, so the name was changed to reflect its inclusion as a central city. Another name change of this kind occurred in the Petersburg-Colonial Heights SMSA, where Hopewell was added to form the Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell SMSA.

In 1980 two new SMSAs were designated in Virginia: the Charlottesville SMSA, including the City of Charlottesville and Albemarle, Fluvanna, and Greene counties; and the Danville SMSA, consisting of the City of Danville and Pittsylvania County. Despite these additions, the proportion of the state's population living in metropolitan areas or in areas that would become metropolitan in 1980 actually declined very slightly, from 70.3 to 69.6 percent.[1] Taken together, Virginia's SMSAs grew by 13.8 percent during the 1970-1980 decade, with a net migration rate of 5.3 percent. Again, however, this overall figure masks considerable diversity. Although no metropolitan area lost population, the Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell SMSA grew by less than 1 percent and had a negative net migration rate. Two others, Newport News-Hampton and Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, grew a bit more but also had

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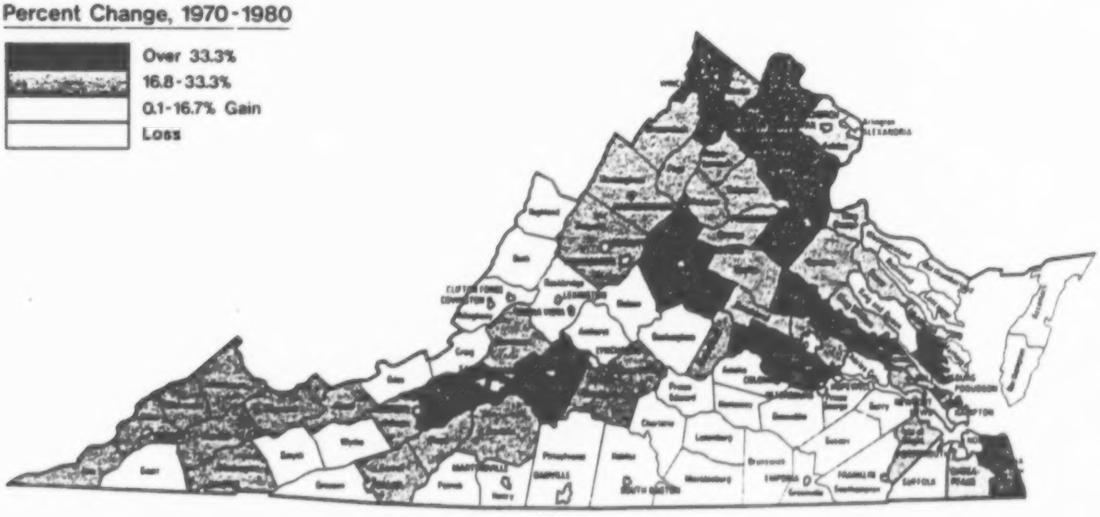
[1] In addition to the designation of new SMSAs, counties were added to already-existing SMSAs during the decade. Consequently, 1970 metropolitan areas have been reconstructed to correspond to 1980 boundaries.

Figure 1.
Population Change in Virginia Localities, 1970-1980



negative net migration rates. In contrast, the largest SMSA, Northern Virginia, and one of the smallest, Charlottesville, both had very high growth rates, with 20.0 percent for Northern Virginia and 26.9 percent for Charlottesville, the fastest-growing SMSA in the state.

When the jurisdictions that make up the SMSAs are examined, we find that the pattern of urban loss and suburban-rural gain continues within the metropolitan areas. Of the thirteen central cities present in the ten SMSAs, eight—Danville, Bristol, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Hopewell, Petersburg, Richmond, and Roanoke—lost population; the remaining ones generally had very small gains. Virginia Beach, with an extremely unusual growth rate of 52.3 percent, was an exception. Much more typical were Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Hampton, and Newport News, all with growth rates under 5 percent.

Between 1970 and 1980, then, metropolitan growth in Virginia took place largely in the suburban counties of the SMSAs. The Richmond SMSA is a good example. Overall, the Richmond SMSA had only the third highest growth rate among the SMSAs, due partly to a substantial loss in the City of Richmond. At the same time, it includes three counties that experienced some of the largest percentage gains in the state—Chesterfield County, with over 80 percent, and New Kent and Powhatan Counties, each with over 65 percent. Except for the small City of Poquoson in the Newport News-Hampton SMSA, no other metropolitan area included jurisdictions with growth rates this high. Another example is the Northern Virginia portion of the Washington, D.C. SMSA. The jurisdictions of Arlington and Alexandria, close to the central city of Washington, lost population (as did Washington itself). As we move south, however, growth rates increase dramatically. Prince William County, at the southern edge of the SMSA, increased its population by more than half. Further south, two counties adjacent to the SMSA, Stafford and Spotsylvania, grew even more, with Spotsylvania more than doubling its population. Evidently the trend toward suburbanization continued in Virginia throughout the 1970s. Nor do we yet see any evidence of a turnaround in the process. Rather, growth seems to be pushing farther and farther out on the peripheries of the metropolitan areas.

THE NONWHITE POPULATION

The nonwhite population in the Census officially contains, in addition to blacks, thirteen other categories. The South Atlantic Division between 1970 and 1980 experienced an increase of about 4.5 million white persons and slightly more than 1.5 million nonwhites; the nonwhite population increased by 26.7 percent, compared to an increase in white population of 18.8 percent. The racial balance in the region did not change very much over the course of the decade, however.

In 1970 nonwhites constituted a little over a fifth of the Division's population, and in 1980 only slightly more. Similarly, in Virginia the 1970 figure was slightly less than 20 percent, and the 1980 figure was only slightly greater. At both points in time the region contained extremes. In both 1970 and 1980, the population of the District of Columbia was almost three-quarters nonwhite, while in West Virginia nonwhites constituted less than one-twentieth of the total population. The largest increases between 1970 and 1980 in the proportions of nonwhites were in the two northernmost states of the Division, Delaware and Maryland; these increases resulted from relatively low rates of nonwhite natural increase and relatively high rates of net migration.

In Virginia, 92.5 percent of all nonwhites are black, but sizeable numbers of American Indians (9,039), Chinese (9,360), Filipinos (18,901), Asian Indians (8,483), Koreans (12,550), and Vietnamese (10,000) also reside in the state. Although these figures may not be significant on a statewide basis, the populations tend to be concentrated in particular areas. In Northern Virginia, for example, one third of the nonwhite population is other than black, while both Norfolk and Virginia Beach have significant Filipino populations.

Most Virginia jurisdictions had about the same ratio of nonwhites to total population in 1980 as they did in 1970. On the whole the distribution of the nonwhite population continues to follow a pattern that long has been present in the Commonwealth, in which the Blue Ridge Mountains act as a boundary between two distinct areas of the state. To the west of the mountains, most counties have populations that are less than 5 percent nonwhite, with slightly higher proportions in the independent cities. To the east of the mountains, the nonwhite population usually is 10 percent or more, with particularly high concentrations of nonwhites in the southeastern counties of Charles City, Surry, Sussex, Greenville, and Brunswick. In all these counties, and in the cities of Richmond and Franklin as well, the population is over 50 percent nonwhite.

Again, there are differences between counties and independent cities. Between 1970 and 1980 the percent nonwhite population in the counties remained about the same, while that in the cities increased by about five percentage points. As **Table 2** indicates, however, this generalization masks some very important differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan

Table 2. Nonwhite Population Change in Virginia by Metropolitan Status, 1970-1980

	Percent of Total Population 1970	Percent of Total Population 1980	Percent Change 1970-80	Percent Net Migration 1970-80
All Counties	14.5	15.2	30.4	21.1
Metropolitan Counties	10.9	14.3	66.7	54.0
Nonmetropolitan Counties	19.0	16.5	4.5	-2.2
All Independent Cities	25.1	30.2	23.1	12.4
Metropolitan Cities	26.2	31.7	23.7	12.8
Nonmetropolitan Cities	14.7	16.3	11.6	6.0

SOURCE: Computed by the authors from data obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau and the Virginia Department of Health, Bureau of Vital Records and Health Statistics.

jurisdictions. To examine these differences we have to divide our localities into four types: counties located in SMSAs (metropolitan counties), counties outside SMSAs (nonmetropolitan counties), independent cities located in the SMSAs (metropolitan cities), and cities outside SMSAs (nonmetropolitan cities). For example, in all of the state's ninety-five counties, the nonwhite population increased by about 30 percent; but in metropolitan counties, the increase was almost 67 percent, while in nonmetropolitan counties it was under 5 percent. Similarly, the growth rate of the nonwhite population both in all of the forty-one independent cities and in the metropolitan cities was about 23 percent, while in nonmetropolitan cities it was only half that rate.

Unlike the total population, then, the nonwhite population has tended increasingly to concentrate in metropolitan areas. This has been a longstanding pattern in many areas of the country. A relatively new development, however, is the increase of the nonwhite population in suburban counties. This becomes increasingly obvious if we look at net migration rates for the four types of jurisdictions, as shown in Table 2. The net migration rate for nonwhites in metropolitan counties is over 50 percent and that for nonmetropolitan counties is actually negative. For metropolitan cities, the nonwhite net migration rate is slightly over twice that for nonmetropolitan cities. Finally, at the same time as the proportion of nonwhites in nonmetropolitan counties decreased, the proportion in metropolitan counties increased by over four percentage points.

This change is not taking place uniformly among Virginia's SMSAs. In fact, the state exhibits two distinct patterns of metropolitan nonwhite population change. While each of these includes an increasing nonwhite population in the central city or cities, they differ in the amount of suburban growth. The first pattern is seen in the Charlottesville, Bristol, Norfolk, Richmond, and Northern Virginia area SMSAs. Here growth in one or more of the counties bordering on the central city or cities is at least as large as that in the central portion of the SMSA. The City of Richmond, for example, had 8,899 more nonwhites in 1980 than in 1970; but in adjacent Henrico County the increase of 19,040 nonwhites was more than twice that amount, and Chesterfield County also had a substantial increase of 6,693. These figures are in a contrast to the nonwhite population increases in the remainder of the Richmond SMSA—549 for Powhatan County, 201 for Charles City County, 25 for New Kent County, and losses of 79 and 10 in Goochland and Hanover counties, respectively.

The second pattern of nonwhite metropolitan change limits growth to the central city segment of the SMSA. This is the pattern found in the Danville, Lynchburg, Newport News-Hampton, and Roanoke metropolitan areas. The City of Roanoke, for example, gained 4,814 nonwhites between 1970 and 1980, while adjacent Roanoke County gained 201 and the City of Salem and the counties of Botetourt and Craig actually los small numbers of nonwhites. Finally, th Petersburg - Colonial Heights - Hopewell SMSA does not quite fit either pattern. Like the first group, it had both central city and suburban growth; but it also had a loss of 1,032 nonwhites in Dinwiddie County, a decrease very nearly as large as the increase in the City of Hopewell.

SUMMARY

Between 1970 and 1980 Virginia grew at a rate that was just about average for the South Atlantic Division. But considerable differences existed within the state, ranging from the high growth rates in the five metropolitan-centered growth areas to very low rates or losses in portions of western and south central Virginia. Many independent cities lost population during the decade, with a concomitant growth in the populations of the surrounding counties. This pattern of suburbanization is particularly noticeable in SMSAs.

The distribution of the nonwhite population on a statewide basis continues to follow a long-established pattern, with very few nonwhites living west of the Blue Ridge and heavy concentrations of nonwhites living in metropolitan areas. Within these areas, however, the distribution of nonwhites appears to be in the process of changing. In at least half of Virginia's SMSAs, substantia net migration of nonwhites into suburban counties occurred, particularly in those counties closest to the central cities. The significance of this movement may well be considerable, but further analysis must wait until more data on detailed population characteristics become available.

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ECONOMICS - USING THE PLANNING DISTRICT WORKSHEET

1 - THIS ACTIVITY STARTS WITH THE POPULATION STATISTICS LESSON. When students understand the source and use of population numbers, they are ready to proceed with other aspects of the economic analysis on the Planning District Worksheet.

2 - The teacher should read the News Letter: "The Geography of Virginia," immediately following this instruction sheet in the notebook. Notice that 22 planning districts are grouped into 9 regions, which are described demographically and economically. THOSE 9 REGION SUMMARIES ARE THE ANSWER KEY TO THE ACTIVITY. Students use the resources in this section to reconstruct the region summaries. Additional data is included in the News Letter so you can supplement the group reports.

3 - If you have not already done it, show the transparencies in the front pocket of this notebook. End with the map of Economic Regions. Augment the presentation with information from your files, slides or comments from your travels, and knowledge of Virginia. If you think your students will take better notes on a sheet with a mini-map on it, make up one using one of the maps from B 5 or 6. Another idea is to give out the map-note sheet AFTER the transparency presentation, give students 8 - 10 minutes to write down what they remember, then review it briefly.

4 - Using the Planning District Worksheet:

a) Describe a planning district to the class:

"Virginia is divided into 22 planning districts, each including several local governments that share natural, economic, or other resources. Since problems and resources (such as water) do not start and stop at city and county borders, planning district commissions assist and encourage local governments to coordinate the physical, social, and economic elements of their districts in comprehensive plans. Though the planning districts are only advisory, they do have some clout since they review local applications for state and federal aid. As grant funds become more scarce and regional special purpose agencies spin off from the commission, the coordinating function has grown. Regional Planning District Commissions help local governments accomplish more with limited funds through closer cooperation."

- Add anything you know about the activities of your planning district.

b) Assign the 22 planning districts to students in each class, one per student or whatever arrangement is best for the size and particular talents of the group. Consider the groups that will be forming for the wording of the report in the second phase of the activity:

Districts 8 and 15 will be working by themselves.
Districts 6 & 7, and 20 & 21 will be working in pairs.
Districts 1-2-3, 9-10-16, and 17-18-22 will be working in threes.
Districts 4-5-11-12 will be working in a group of four.

c) Be sure students understand that information from charts is only useful in relation to state averages or information from neighboring communities. Example: Knowing that the median family income in Chesterfield County (1980) was $27,471 is interesting, but knowing that the median family income for all the counties in the state was $22,223 (more than $5,000 less) AND that nextdoor neighbor, Amelia County, had a median income of only $15,774, puts it all in a different and more useful perspective.

Using the Planning District Worksheet (cont'd)

d) Hand out Planning District Worksheets. Be sure that all the information called for is available in the room and that students know how to record it on the Worksheet. Write the deadline for completed worksheets on the board. You will have to judge how long it will take the groups to complete their task of coordinating the data. (Assigning some students whom you believe to have good math comprehension to each group will speed the task and improve the quality of the work.)

e) Supervise by walking around and being available to help. You may find that some students or whole classes need some of the charts explained. The News Letters and the introductory pages provide the information.

5 - When most students have filled in their Planning District Worksheets, ask them to group themselves by the economic regions on the map, and compose a report on their combined information.

These two steps may take 1 or 2 class periods if the research is thorough and the coordination of district reports is carefully done. (Hint: They may get down to work more quickly if you start the class with a brief current events or other discussion, concluding with the reminder of their deadline.)

Urge groups to summarize their data into 4 or 5 major points that best represent their region, and to word a question on each -- a question that can be answered in 10 - 15 words. Spot-check the questions. Questions can be written on the board as an outline of the group's report, or worded into quiz or test questions.

6 - REPORT DAY. Hand out copies of Economic Regions half-sheet map with space for student notes. Ask for reports from each group. As each group finishes its presentation, ask for summary statements from the rest of the class, then tie it up with the political questions:

"If you lived in this area, what views would you be likely to hold on the controversial issues in Virginia? How would you probably feel about....[coal severance tax (tax on all coal taken from the ground)?...increased tobacco tax?...state expenditures to encourage tourism?...legislation that would share water from wet to dry areas of the state?...increased aid to schools?...increased foreign trade? ...import duties/restrictions?...extension of the D.C. Metrorail?... highway repair/construction formulas giving each area similar money allocations OR programs based on miles or need, regardless of terrain and cost of construction?...a more progressive income tax schedule? ...increased state aid for job-training programs?...]

Use questions appropriate to point out the area's major concerns AND some issues that may not concern them at all (useful for vote-trading).

"If you were running for the general assembly from this area, what would your platform be? Can you see two different points of view that might be held by the parties in this area?

7 - Follow up with your Chamber of Commerce, industrial commission, Business & Professional Women's Club, or other business group speakers to tell about industries and job opportunity in the economic mix of your community.

8 - When general assembly committee assignments are announced, save the clipping. Can your classes predict the fate of certain bills by analyzing the committee lists? See Section E...and The Almanac of Virginia Politics.

PLANNING DISTRICT WORKSHEET - District = __ - ______________________ Name ______________________________

1. Using the "Excerpts" chart on population, fill in the 1980, 1970, and Natural Increase figures for each city and county in this planning district. Calculate and fill in the other numbers to complete columns 1 - 8. Be ready to explain how you figured the numbers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
City/County Name	Population 1980	Population 1970	Numerical Change	Percent Change	Natural Increase	% Natural Increase	Net Migration	% Net Migration

2. Look up the figures for black population in this planning district, and fill in the figures for columns 9 - 14 on the next page.

3. Look on the Median Income Tables for the median income for each city and county in this planning district. Write in the data in column 15 on the next page. Look over the income distribution tables and briefly describe any ususual or different pattern in this district.

   How does it compare with other parts of the state?

   How does it compare with neighboring districts?

4. From maps and information in the classroom, briefly describe the topography and water resources of this district.

5. Describe manufacturing and transportation facilities in this district.

6. Describe agricultural land and natural resources of this district.

7. Is there a community college or institution of higher learning in this district? or nearby?

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Planning District Worksheet (cont'd)

City/County	9 1980 - Black Population	10 1970 - Black Population	11 Numerical Change	12 Percent Change 1970-80	13 1970 - % of Total Pop.	14 1980 - % of Total Pop.	15 Median Income

8. What questions or problems have you with this data? Is there anything that doesn't add up? Can you identify information or research that may require other resources?

9. Write a summary of the information you have found about this district.

10. Check the Economic Regions map to find the other districts in your region and the students assigned to research them. Combine your information into a regional report and plan how you will share it with the class. (Please be careful not to disturb others who are still working on the basic information on this sheet.)

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
THE COLGATE DARDEN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
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Virginia Annual Gross State Product, 1958-1984

John L. Knapp and Robert W. Cox

This report presents estimates for Virginia gross state product (GSP) over the 1958-1984 time period. Latest in an annual series, this report provides information for 1984 and revisions for previous years.

Gross state product is the term applied to the value of all final goods and services produced in a state in a given year.[1] For purposes of comparison, one can assume GSP to be the state's equivalent of gross national product (GNP). However, since data are lacking for all income earned by Virginia residents outside the state, and for all income earned within Virginia by nonresidents, GSP more closely resembles the gross domestic product (GDP), a measure of output produced within the boundaries of the nation. Since GNP and GDP are nearly identical in the United States, gross state product is usually compared to GNP.[2]

Virginia gross state product in current dollars (unadjusted for inflation) rose to almost $87 billion in 1984 (see Table 1), which showed a rise of more than $9.6 billion over 1983. In the 1958-1984 period, GSP increased at an annual rate of 9.4 percent.[3] During this same period, GNP in current dollars rose an annual average of 8.3 percent. From 1983 to 1984, GSP grew 12.5 percent, greater than the 10.8 percent rise in GNP.

Virginia GSP in constant 1972 dollars (gross state product converted to a constant purchasing power based on 1972 dollars) grew from $12.5 billion in 1958 to $38.9 billion in 1984 (see Table 2). This represented an average annual growth of 4.3 percent over the time period (see Figure 1). GNP increased by an average of 3.3 percent over the same period. Except for the recessions of 1969-1970 and 1974-1975, Virginia experienced steady growth. From 1983 to 1984, real GSP grew a sharp 8.0 percent, higher than the 6.8 rise in real GNP.

Virginia's current dollar GSP as a percent of GNP is shown in Figure 2. When the rate of growth of GSP exceeds that of GNP, Virginia's share of GNP increases. Since 1958, the percentage has grown from 1.82 percent to 2.37 percent in 1984. The constant rise from 1980 to 1984 provides evidence that Virginia has fared better than the nation as a whole during the last two recessions (1980 and 1981-1982).

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[1] Some confusion may arise in the reader's mind as to what constitutes a "final good." In this report final good refers to all products that are not used as inputs for other products and to all products exported outside the state.

[2] John W. Kendrick and C. Milton Jaycox, "The Concept and Estimation of Gross State Product," *The Southern Economic Journal* 32 (October 1965), pp. 154-155.

[3] All growth rates were computed using the least squares method.

Figure 1.
Virginia Gross State Product, 1958-1984 (billions of 1972 dollars)

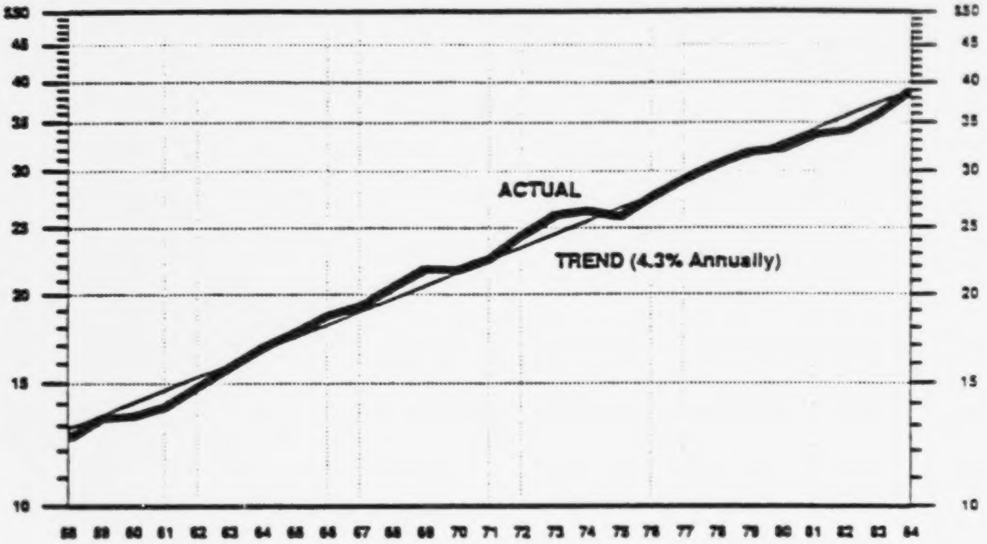


Figure 2.
Virginia GSP as a Percent of GNP, 1958-1984 (current dollars)

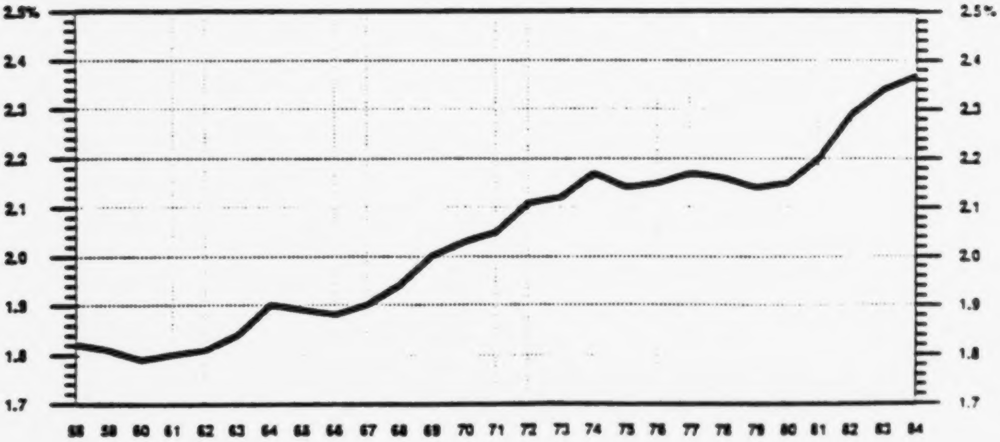
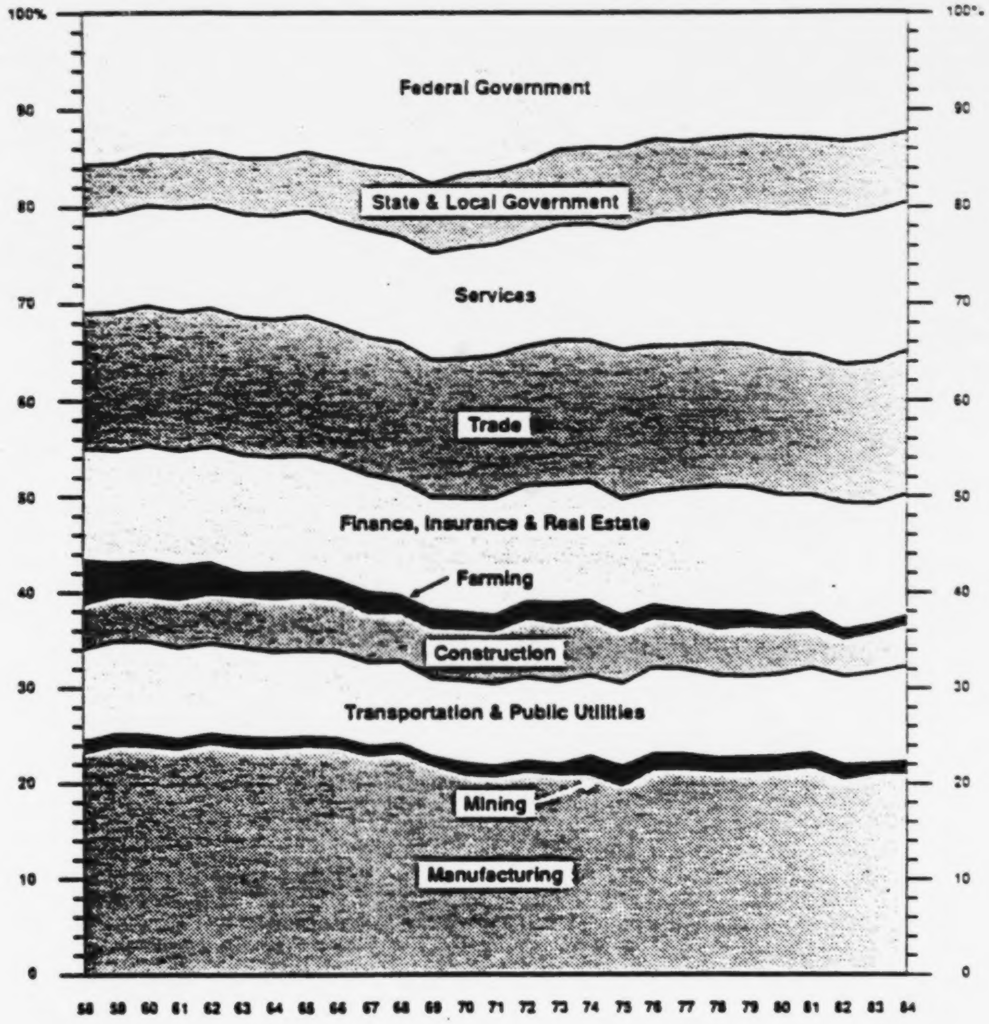


Figure 3.
Industrial Shares of Virginia GSP, 1958-1984 (current dollars)



On an industry-by-industry basis, the relative shares of GSP have been fairly stable for some industries, and have changed dramatically for others (see Figure 3 and Table 3). Construction; finance, insurance, and real estate; mining; wholesale and retail trade; and transportation and public utilities have maintained a more or less constant share of GSP. Farming has fallen from 4.7 percent in 1958 to only 1.0 percent in 1984. The federal government has also lost about a 3 percentage point share. Manufacturing has fallen from a high of 24.2 percent in 1962 to 21.1 percent in 1984. However, manufacturing's share has remained roughly constant for the last ten years, and it still is the largest industrial sector in the state. The services sector has experienced long-term growth, as has state and local government. However, state and local government has decreased since the mid 1970's.

Once adjustments are made for inflation, the relative positions of the industrial sectors remain basically the same as when measured in current dollars. Manufacturing; wholesale and retail trade; services; and finance, insurance and real estate have the largest shares of real Virginia GSP, followed by the federal government. Transportation and public utilities, state and local government, construction, farming and mining each contribute less than 10 percent to real GSP.

Per capita gross state product in current dollars stood at $15,428 in 1984, 99.5 percent of per capita GNP (see Table 4). Virginia per capita GSP as a percent of the U.S. has been rising constantly since 1979, and since 1958 is up from 80.6 percent.

Gross farm product, a component of Virginia gross state product, is derived from the U.S. Department of Agriculture's state farm income statistics for Virginia. This is accomplished by subtracting intermediate production expenses from the value of total farm output. Government payments are omitted from the value of farm output. In addition, farm wages are not included as production expenses and therefore are considered part of gross state product. The following table illustrates the computation of Virginia gross farm product for 1984 (current dollars).

Value from total farm output (millions of dollars)	
Cash receipts from marketing	1,794.4
Nonmonetary income	243.9
Other farm income	79.2
Net changes in inventories	-88.5
Subtotal	2,029.0
Less intermediate production expenses	
Feed	328.6
Livestock purchased	47.1
Seed, plants, and bulbs	36.2
Fertilizer and lime	130.8
Repairs/operation of capital items	244.8
Miscellaneous operating expenses	333.2
Subtotal	1,120.7
Gross farm product	908.3

A detailed statement of the methodology used for all industrial sectors is available upon request.

Table 1.
Virginia Gross State Product in Current Dollars, 1958-1984 (millions of dollars)

Year	Total	Construction	Farming	Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	Federal Government	State and Local Government	Manufacturing	Mining	Services[a]	Trade	Transportation and Public Utilities
1958	8,148.2	380.4	382.6	939.7	1,269.9	425.4	1,891.8	114.5	812.5	1,157.0	774.4
1959	8,816.6	413.6	326.9	1,011.3	1,357.7	453.4	2,119.8	117.9	893.1	1,278.1	844.8
1960	9,035.6	421.8	347.9	1,068.8	1,299.1	494.8	2,156.2	116.1	934.7	1,319.3	877.0
1961	9,437.1	465.3	353.4	1,125.1	1,360.8	536.5	2,228.8	117.9	984.0	1,371.3	894.0
1962	10,206.4	518.1	353.5	1,217.3	1,442.7	593.5	2,473.4	119.4	1,066.7	1,476.8	944.9
1963	10,958.5	593.5	269.9	1,345.3	1,621.8	647.4	2,606.2	131.6	1,166.4	1,568.4	1,008.1
1964	12,055.3	649.7	355.2	1,446.8	1,784.9	721.9	2,855.7	145.1	1,286.4	1,735.3	1,074.4
1965	12,990.4	727.0	353.6	1,567.7	1,843.5	804.9	3,108.4	142.5	1,393.8	1,887.8	1,161.1
1966	14,126.5	768.5	306.9	1,710.5	2,100.3	919.3	3,366.5	154.3	1,524.4	2,022.9	1,253.0
1967	15,133.4	772.9	355.6	1,825.8	2,367.8	1,021.4	3,471.8	160.3	1,659.0	2,176.8	1,322.1
1968	16,863.2	851.3	337.3	1,991.5	2,693.8	1,197.3	3,929.1	169.5	1,834.3	2,434.1	1,425.1
1969	18,689.8	953.8	373.8	2,195.5	3,264.3	1,367.9	4,086.9	178.0	2,042.8	2,696.7	1,530.1
1970	19,925.6	1,057.4	386.5	2,345.7	3,297.1	1,543.1	4,173.9	269.2	2,260.6	2,906.6	1,685.6
1971	21,840.2	1,189.9	383.9	2,642.8	3,558.2	1,670.2	4,516.4	257.2	2,491.5	3,245.8	1,884.3
1972	24,747.4	1,514.9	468.2	2,973.0	3,805.2	1,866.5	5,261.1	286.5	2,824.9	3,617.8	2,129.3
1973	27,679.5	1,651.5	623.2	3,397.8	3,886.2	2,189.3	5,796.9	339.7	3,274.2	4,129.1	2,391.4
1974	30,613.2	1,777.9	627.0	3,736.1	4,184.1	2,467.0	6,388.5	638.2	3,719.3	4,517.7	2,557.3
1975	32,749.8	1,757.1	603.6	3,924.9	4,489.4	2,821.2	6,452.5	710.4	4,099.8	5,061.9	2,829.0
1976	36,997.0	1,881.9	601.5	4,343.9	4,818.5	3,119.1	7,969.5	648.8	4,749.2	5,618.9	3,245.6
1977	41,580.2	2,090.5	558.9	5,214.8	5,489.8	3,351.0	8,932.2	751.4	5,383.1	6,190.0	3,618.6
1978	46,640.3	2,390.8	805.5	6,001.2	6,018.0	3,734.1	9,876.9	741.5	6,144.4	6,943.5	3,984.5
1979	51,832.9	2,724.0	853.1	6,635.7	6,459.3	4,121.5	10,979.2	904.8	7,146.3	7,707.0	4,302.0
1980	56,702.8	2,723.6	696.9	7,163.4	7,176.8	4,556.5	12,104.3	984.9	8,049.6	8,420.2	4,826.6
1981	64,963.3	2,771.0	1,027.8	7,868.7	8,346.3	5,027.8	14,070.3	1,115.9	9,518.9	9,568.4	5,648.3
1982	70 236.8	2,725.0	872.4	9,152.4	9,324.6	5,413.8	14,365.9	1,134.2	10,699.3	10,189.2	6,359.8
1983	77,289.3	3,140.1	750.6	9,583.8	9,907.3	5,857.0	16,230.7	947.3	12,091.2	11,423.1	7,358.3
1984	86,953.0	3,769.6	908.3	10,931.0	10,575.8	6,264.2	18,325.7	1,191.2	13,437.7	12,979.0	8,570.6

Sources: Earnings: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *Survey of Current Business*, 65 (August 1985), pp 10, 16 (Table 3); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *State Personal Income: 1929-82* (Washington: GPO, 1984), pp. 32-33, 192-193 (Table 8); National Income: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, unpublished preliminary 1984 estimates. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *Survey of Current Business*, 64 (July 1984), p. 70 (Table 6.3 B), 63 (July 1983), p. 69 (Table 6.3B), and 62 (July 1982), p. 79 (Table 6.3B); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1926-76 Statistical Tables* (Washington: GPO, 1981), pp. 232-233 (Table 6.3B); Product Accounts: Unpublished tabulations from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, National Income and Wealth Division; Manufacturing Adjustment: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1982 Census of Manufacturers*, Vol. 2, U.S. Summary, pp. 4-5; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufactures* (selected editions). Agriculture: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Economic Indicators of the Farm Sector: State Income and Balance Sheet Statistics, 1983* (Washington: GPO, 1984); Unpublished revisions and historical cost figures from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Division.

[a] Includes agricultural services, forestry and fisheries, and "rest of the world", which includes operations of foreign governments and international organizations in the United States.

Table 2.
Virginia Gross State Product in Constant Dollars, 1958-1984 (millions of 1972 dollars)

Year	Total	Construction	Farming	Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	Federal Government	State and Local Government	Manufacturing	Mining	Services[a]	Trade	Transportation and Public Utilities
1958	12,532.4	763.9	511.3	1,406.7	2,834.6	889.9	2,341.3	155.1	1,300.0	1,690.9	992.9
1959	13,324.4	823.9	463.7	1,480.7	2,919.7	912.3	2,569.4	169.1	1,390.0	1,828.8	1,070.8
1960	13,374.1	836.9	496.2	1,531.2	2,764.1	951.6	2,576.0	168.2	1,422.0	1,870.0	1,099.0
1961	13,845.7	903.6	507.0	1,600.4	2,883.1	993.4	2,653.3	173.3	1,452.5	1,908.2	1,106.5
1962	14,728.3	977.6	490.3	1,712.1	2,974.6	1,045.0	2,923.7	182.8	1,531.2	2,049.6	1,158.0
1963	15,735.4	1,083.0	386.4	1,842.9	3,143.0	1,101.0	3,147.5	201.2	1,648.8	2,161.9	1,237.0
1964	16,766.3	1,135.8	524.5	1,942.0	3,275.0	1,193.2	3,449.0	207.6	1,748.5	2,325.8	1,300.7
1965	17,664.6	1,205.6	488.2	2,054.6	3,240.0	1,289.9	3,722.7	213.2	1,818.6	2,507.9	1,409.1
1966	18,692.4	1,169.7	377.7	2,162.5	3,512.1	1,397.1	3,960.6	222.6	1,925.9	2,629.8	1,522.5
1967	19,270.1	1,100.9	482.5	2,229.3	3,806.7	1,444.7	3,972.3	233.5	2,017.6	2,697.8	1,573.9
1968	20,493.8	1,172.6	434.3	2,342.9	3,915.4	1,583.7	4,341.5	252.2	2,102.4	2,878.2	1,698.5
1969	21,664.1	1,149.1	446.5	2,512.0	4,484.0	1,686.7	4,413.5	259.0	2,211.4	2,985.6	1,771.0
1970	21,591.5	1,154.4	456.0	2,566.4	4,055.4	1,751.5	4,320.8	296.6	2,301.5	3,079.1	1,866.6
1971	22,485.8	1,286.4	448.7	2,747.2	4,007.0	1,771.2	4,539.1	266.0	2,375.2	3,314.0	1,964.8
1972	24,279.2	1,514.9	468.2	2,973.0	3,805.2	1,866.5	5,261.1	286.5	2,585.9	3,617.8	2,129.3
1973	25,908.4	1,497.3	394.9	3,257.7	3,683.6	2,038.5	5,779.6	287.7	2,772.8	3,952.5	2,315.0
1974	26,334.9	1,369.8	416.0	3,412.0	3,699.4	2,175.5	5,844.9	316.0	2,905.3	3,906.4	2,329.1
1975	25,743.1	1,214.3	458.5	3,412.9	3,664.9	2,289.9	5,216.2	301.9	2,989.8	4,008.9	2,365.4
1976	27,584.6	1,296.1	450.3	3,546.1	3,620.2	2,345.2	6,163.5	296.1	3,206.9	4,265.2	2,521.8
1977	29,237.7	1,326.4	440.7	3,920.9	3,924.1	2,351.6	6,519.8	320.9	3,410.1	4,453.4	2,649.1
1978	30,554.4	1,375.6	500.8	4,116.0	4,020.0	2,464.7	6,802.3	283.8	3,590.1	4,699.0	2,767.0
1979	31,750.9	1,370.9	464.4	4,248.2	4,039.6	2,564.7	7,152.6	341.6	3,792.7	4,830.2	2,873.7
1980	32,108.7	1,187.8	436.4	4,233.7	4,187.2	2,621.7	7,304.9	364.7	3,970.3	4,851.6	2,904.1
1981	33,736.4	1,130.1	609.6	4,257.9	4,402.0	2,663.0	7,864.9	371.7	4,343.4	5,120.4	3,088.2
1982	34,246.5	1,076.7	569.8	4,624.8	4,533.1	2,646.0	7,670.0	352.2	4,530.4	5,210.1	3,139.1
1983	35,992.0	1,206.4	500.5	4,478.4	4,584.6	2,639.5	8,308.0	322.7	4,782.2	5,680.6	3,417.7
1984	36,854.7	1,392.0	534.9	4,845.3	4,654.8	2,622.1	9,241.4	385.5	5,140.9	6,343.5	3,783.9

Sources: The sources cited in Table 1; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Crop Reporting Board, Statistical Reporting Service, *Agricultural Prices, 1984 Summary* (Washington: GPO, 1985), p. 7 and earlier summaries; U.S. Deparment of Agriculture, *Agricultural Statistics, 1976* (Washington: GPO, 1977), p. 457.

[a] Includes agricultural services, forestry and fisheries, and "rest of the world", which includes operations of foreign governments and international organizations in the United States.

Table 3.
Percentage Distribution of Virginia Gross State Product, 1958-1984 (current dollars)

Year	Total	Construction	Farming	Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	Federal Government	State and Local Government	Manufacturing	Mining	Services	Trade	Transportation and Public Utilities
1958	100.0%	4.8%	4.7%	11.5%	15.6%	5.2%	23.2%	1.4%	10.0%	14.2%	9.5%
1959	100.0	4.7	3.7	11.5	15.4	5.2	24.0	1.3	10.1	14.5	9.6
1960	100.0	4.7	3.9	11.8	14.4	5.5	23.9	1.3	10.3	14.6	9.7
1961	100.0	4.9	3.7	11.9	14.4	5.7	23.6	1.2	10.4	14.5	9.5
1962	100.0	5.1	3.5	11.9	14.1	5.8	24.2	1.2	10.5	14.5	9.3
1963	100.0	5.4	2.5	12.3	14.8	5.9	23.8	1.2	10.6	14.3	9.2
1964	100.0	5.4	2.9	12.0	14.8	6.0	23.7	1.2	10.7	14.4	8.9
1965	100.0	5.6	2.7	12.1	14.2	6.2	23.9	1.1	10.7	14.5	8.9
1966	100.0	5.4	2.2	12.1	14.9	6.5	23.8	1.1	10.8	14.3	8.9
1967	100.0	5.1	2.3	12.1	15.6	6.7	22.9	1.1	11.0	14.4	8.7
1968	100.0	5.0	2.0	11.8	16.0	7.1	23.3	1.0	10.9	14.4	8.5
1969	100.0	5.1	2.0	11.7	17.5	7.3	21.9	1.0	10.9	14.4	8.2
1970	100.0	5.3	1.9	11.8	16.5	7.7	20.9	1.4	11.3	14.6	8.5
1971	100.0	5.4	1.8	12.1	16.3	7.6	20.7	1.2	11.4	14.9	8.6
1972	100.0	6.1	1.9	12.0	15.4	7.5	21.3	1.2	11.4	14.6	8.6
1973	100.0	6.0	2.3	12.3	14.0	7.9	20.9	1.2	11.8	14.9	8.6
1974	100.0	5.8	2.0	12.2	13.7	8.1	20.9	2.1	12.1	14.8	8.4
1975	100.0	5.4	1.8	12.0	13.7	8.6	19.7	2.2	12.5	15.5	8.6
1976	100.0	5.1	1.6	11.7	13.0	8.4	21.5	1.8	12.8	15.2	8.8
1977	100.0	5.0	1.3	12.5	13.2	8.1	21.5	1.8	12.9	14.9	8.7
1978	100.0	5.1	1.7	12.9	12.9	8.0	21.2	1.6	13.2	14.9	8.5
1979	100.0	5.3	1.6	12.8	12.5	8.0	21.2	1.7	13.8	14.9	8.3
1980	100.0	4.8	1.2	12.6	12.7	8.0	21.3	1.7	14.2	14.8	8.5
1981	100.0	4.3	1.6	12.1	12.8	7.7	21.7	1.7	14.7	14.7	8.7
1982	100.0	3.9	1.2	13.0	13.3	7.7	20.5	1.6	15.2	14.5	9.1
1983	100.0	4.1	1.0	12.4	12.8	7.6	21.0	1.2	15.6	14.8	9.5
1984	100.0	4.3	1.0	12.6	12.2	7.2	21.1	1.4	15.5	14.9	9.9

Source: Table 1.

Table 4.
Virginia GSP Per Capita and GNP Per Capita, 1958-1984 (current and 1972 dollars)

Year	Current Dollars Virginia Per Capita	 U.S. Per Capita	 Virginia as a % of U.S.	1972 Dollars Virginia Per Capita	 U.S. Per Capita	 Virginia as a % of U.S.
1958	$ 2,081	$ 2,582	80.6%	$3,201	$3,907	81.9%
1959	2,231	2,755	81.0	3,372	4,075	82.8
1960	2,267	2,815	80.5	3,355	4,097	81.9
1961	2,304	2,867	80.4	3,381	4,136	81.7
1962	2,442	3,042	80.3	3,524	4,309	81.8
1963	2,563	3,167	80.9	3,680	4,418	83.3
1964	2,767	3,338	82.9	3,848	4,587	83.9
1965	2,945	3,572	82.4	4,005	4,804	83.4
1966	3,170	3,867	82.0	4,195	5,038	83.3
1967	3,357	4,051	82.9	4,275	5,125	83.4
1968	3,700	4,382	84.4	4,496	5,309	84.7
1969	4,051	4,690	86.4	4,695	5,403	86.9
1970	4,276	4,871	87.8	4,633	5,327	87.0
1971	4,595	5,210	88.2	4,731	5,427	87.2
1972	5,126	5,667	90.5	5,029	5,667	88.7
1973	5,641	6,276	89.9	5,280	5,935	89.0
1974	6,149	6,723	91.5	5,290	5,842	90.6
1975	6,477	7,190	90.1	5,091	5,716	89.1
1976	7,208	7,897	91.3	5,374	5,967	90.1
1977	7,987	8,729	91.5	5,424	6,233	87.0
1978	8,827	9,743	90.6	5,782	6,477	89.3
1979	9,735	10,766	90.4	5,963	6,588	90.5
1980	10,576	11,585	91.3	5,989	6,493	92.2
1981	11,951	12,887	92.7	6,206	6,588	94.2
1982	12,805	13,242	96.7	6,244	6,385	97.8
1983	13,911	14,122	98.5	6,478	6,558	98.8
1984	15,428	15,510	99.5	6,894	6,942	99.3

Source: Tables 1 and 2 and unpublished July 1st population estimates from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Measurement Division.

Manufacturing

Employment in Manufacturing Industries Virginia, Selected Years

	1983	1984	1985*
Durable goods	182,900	194,800	194,700
Lumber and wood products	21,100	22,800	22,800
Furniture and fixtures	23,000	23,700	23,000
Stone, clay, and glass products	12,400	13,500	14,300
Primary metal industries	10,100	10,900	10,500
Fabricated metal products	18,300	18,600	18,700
Machinery, except electrical	12,900	15,000	14,900
Electric and electronic equipment	38,200	41,300	40,600
Transportation equipment	40,500	42,200	43,100
Instruments and related products	3,500	3,600	3,600
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	2,900	3,200	3,200
Nondurable goods	220,700	225,300	224,200
Food and kindred products	39,000	38,800	39,400
Tobacco manufactures	17,200	16,100	16,900
Textile mill products	43,400	43,400	41,000
Apparel and other textile products	32,000	32,600	32,100
Paper and allied products	14,800	15,500	15,500
Printing and publishing	25,400	27,800	29,300
Chemicals and allied products	32,300	32,700	31,300
Petroleum, rubber, and plastics products	13,300	15,000	15,600
Leather and leather products	3,400	3,400	3,100
Total	403,600	420,100	418,900

Note: Employment estimates are based on the 1972 Standard Industrial Classification coding structure.

Source: Virginia Employment Commission

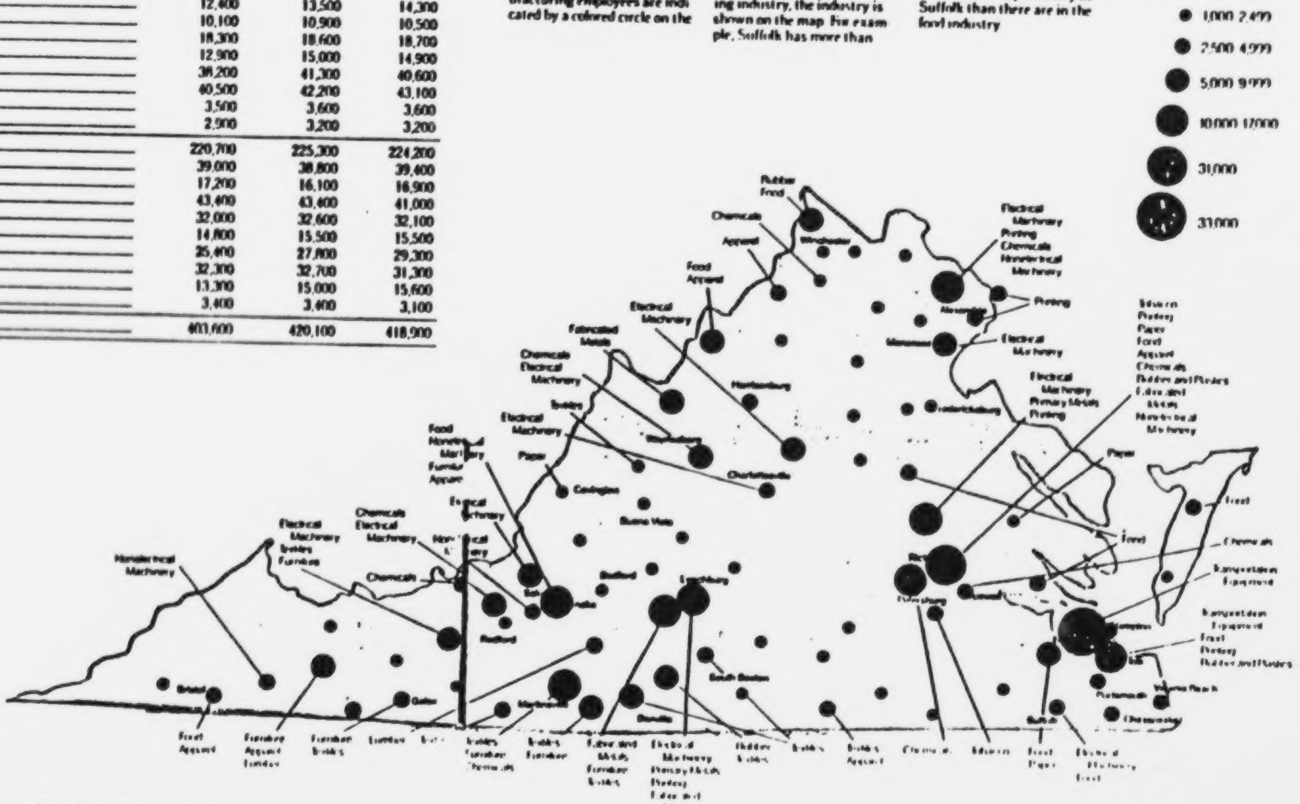
*Ten month average

In recent years all areas of Virginia have attracted major new industrial plants. Manufacturing employment is found in every county and city in the State. The counties and cities which have 1,000 or more manufacturing employees are indicated by a colored circle on the map. The larger the circle, the greater the number of workers in the locality (see map legend).

If a county or city has 1,000 or more persons employed within a specific manufacturing industry, the industry is shown on the map. For example, Suffolk has more than 1,000 employees in both the electrical machinery and food industries. In addition, industries are ranked according to employment size; thus, there are more employees in the electrical machinery industry in Suffolk than there are in the food industry.

Industrial Concentrations in Virginia

Legend
Number of Manufacturing Employees in County or City

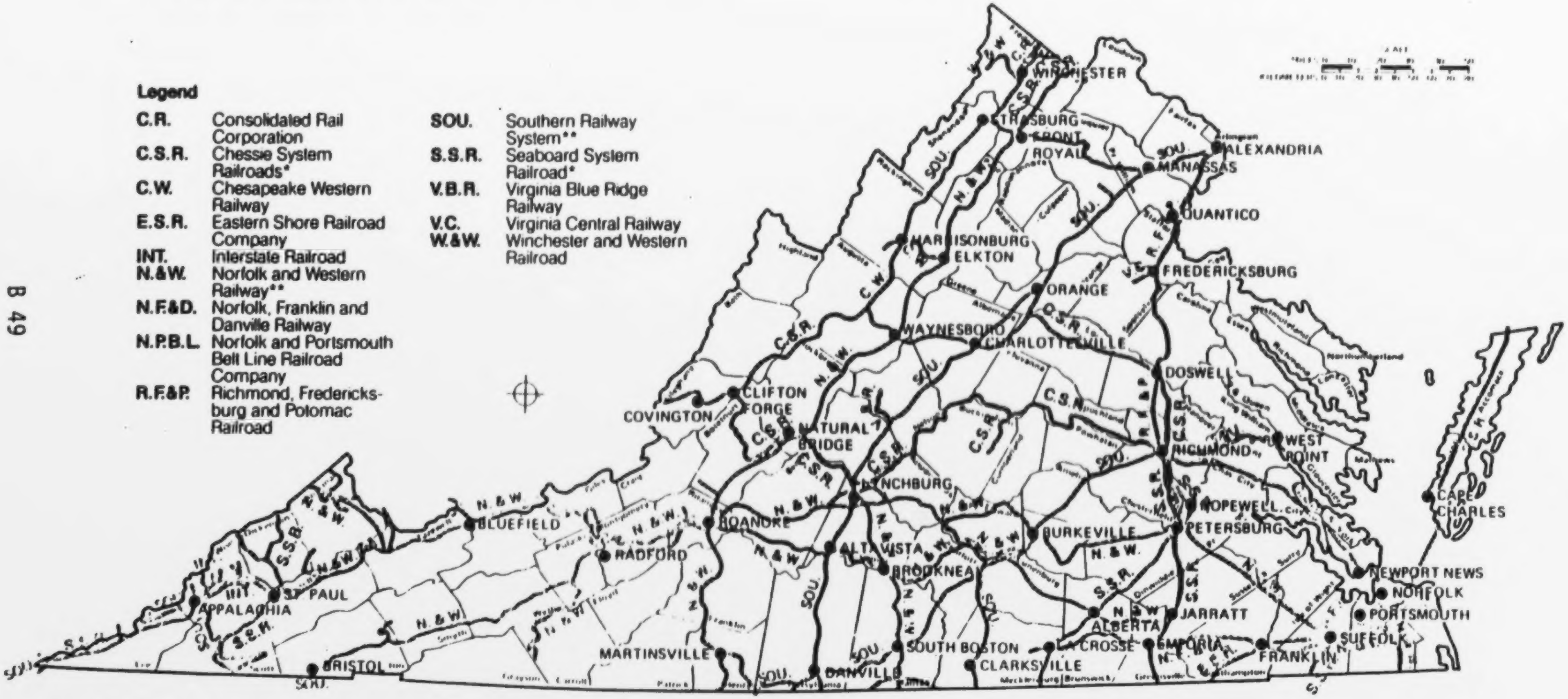


1,000 2,499
2,500 4,999
5,000 9,999
10,000 17,000
31,000
31,000
Winchester
Alexandria
Harrisonburg
Charlottesville
Fredericksburg
Covington
Buena Vista
Bedford
Lynchburg
Radford
Petersburg
South Boston
Danville
Martinsville
Galax
Bristol
Hampton
Suffolk
Portsmouth
Virginia Beach
Chesapeake
Rubber
Food
Chemicals
Apparel
Electrical Machinery
Printing
Nonelectrical Machinery
Fabricated Metals
Primary Metals
Paper
Furniture
Textiles
Lumber
Tobacco
Transportation Equipment

Source: Virginia Employment Commission, 1st Quarter 1985 records

RAILROADS OPERATING IN VIRGINIA - 1983

The network of rail lines that serves Virginia includes 3,693 miles of track. Two Virginia-based systems (CSX, and Norfolk Southern) connect to major lines in neighboring states, and a number of shorter lines serve specific areas. Passenger service is provided north and south, and east and west, by Amtrak.


WINCHESTER
STRASBURG
FRONT ROYAL
ALEXANDRIA
MANASSAS
QUANTICO
HARRISONBURG
ELKTON
FREDERICKSBURG
ORANGE
WAYNESBORO
CHARLOTTESVILLE
DOSWELL
COVINGTON
CLIFTON FORGE
NATURAL BRIDGE
RICHMOND
WEST POINT
LYNCHBURG
HOPEWELL
PETERSBURG
CAPE CHARLES
BLUEFIELD
ROANOKE
RADFORD
ALTAVISTA
BROOKNEAL
BURKEVILLE
ST. PAUL
APPALACHIA
NEWPORT NEWS
NORFOLK
PORTSMOUTH
ALBERTA
JARRATT
SUFFOLK
BRISTOL
MARTINSVILLE
SOUTH BOSTON
LA CROSSE
EMPORIA
FRANKLIN
CLARKSVILLE
DANVILLE
N.&W.
SOU.
C.S.R.
C.W.
S.S.R.
R.F.&P.
E.S.R.

Legend

C.R.	Consolidated Rail Corporation	**SOU.**	Southern Railway System**
C.S.R.	Chessie System Railroads*	**S.S.R.**	Seaboard System Railroad*
C.W.	Chesapeake Western Railway	**V.B.R.**	Virginia Blue Ridge Railway
E.S.R.	Eastern Shore Railroad Company	**V.C.**	Virginia Central Railway
INT.	Interstate Railroad	**W.&W.**	Winchester and Western Railroad
N.&W.	Norfolk and Western Railway**		
N.F.&D.	Norfolk, Franklin and Danville Railway		
N.P.B.L.	Norfolk and Portsmouth Belt Line Railroad Company		
R.F.&P.	Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad		

*Part of CSX Corp but operated as independent railroads

**Part of Norfolk Southern Corp but operated as independent railroads.

Source Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation, Rail Transportation Division

Major Commercial and Commuter Airlines Serving Virginia — *1983*

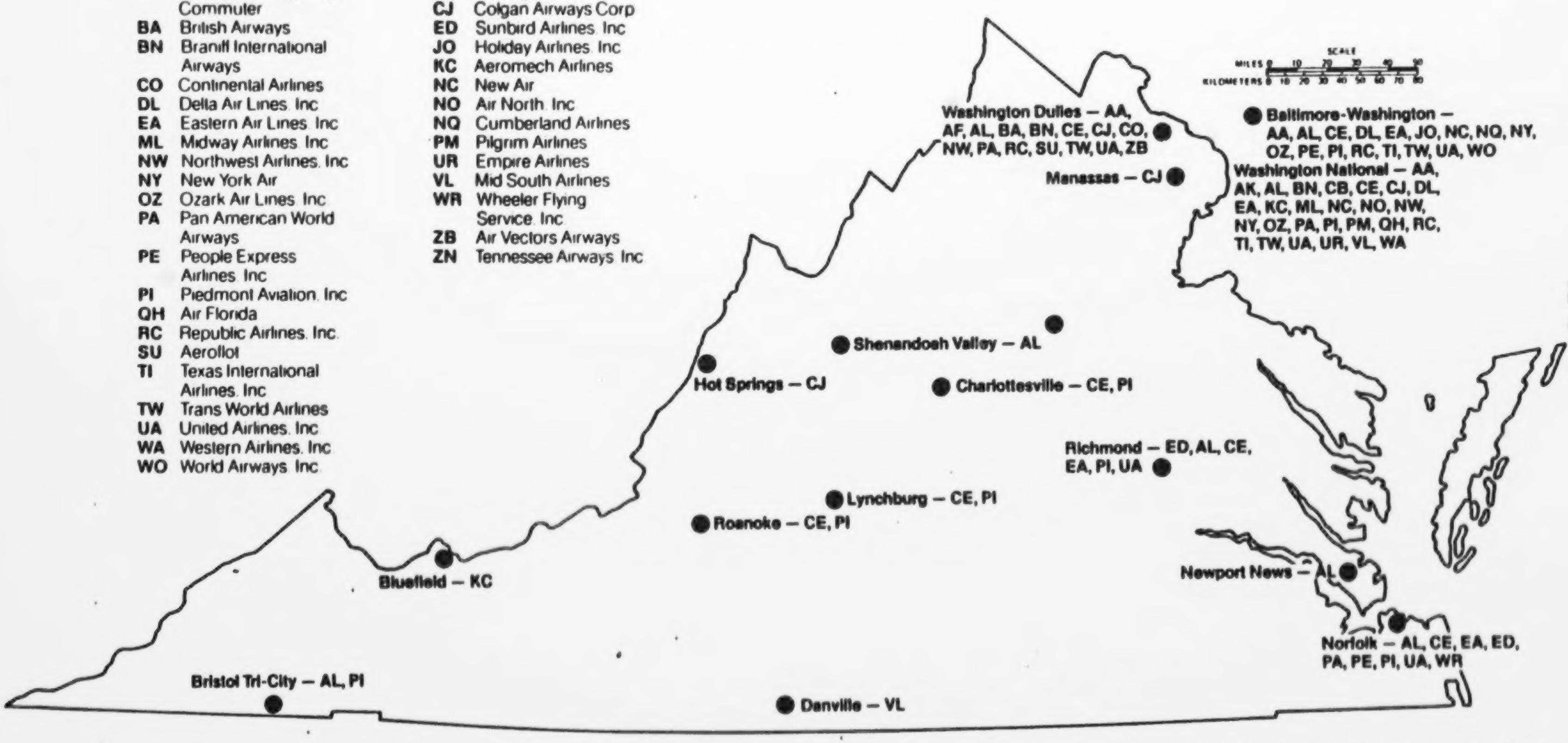
Legend

Major Airlines

AA	American Airlines Inc
AF	Air France
AL	USAir and Allegheny Commuter
BA	British Airways
BN	Braniff International Airways
CO	Continental Airlines
DL	Delta Air Lines Inc
EA	Eastern Air Lines Inc
ML	Midway Airlines Inc
NW	Northwest Airlines Inc
NY	New York Air
OZ	Ozark Air Lines Inc
PA	Pan American World Airways
PE	People Express Airlines Inc
PI	Piedmont Aviation Inc
QH	Air Florida
RC	Republic Airlines Inc
SU	Aeroflot
TI	Texas International Airlines Inc
TW	Trans World Airlines
UA	United Airlines Inc
WA	Western Airlines Inc
WO	World Airways Inc

Commuter Airlines

CB	Commuter Airlines
CE	Air Virginia
CJ	Colgan Airways Corp
ED	Sunbird Airlines Inc
JO	Holiday Airlines Inc
KC	Aeromech Airlines
NC	New Air
NO	Air North Inc
NQ	Cumberland Airlines
PM	Pilgrim Airlines
UR	Empire Airlines
VL	Mid South Airlines
WR	Wheeler Flying Service Inc
ZB	Air Vectors Airways
ZN	Tennessee Airways Inc

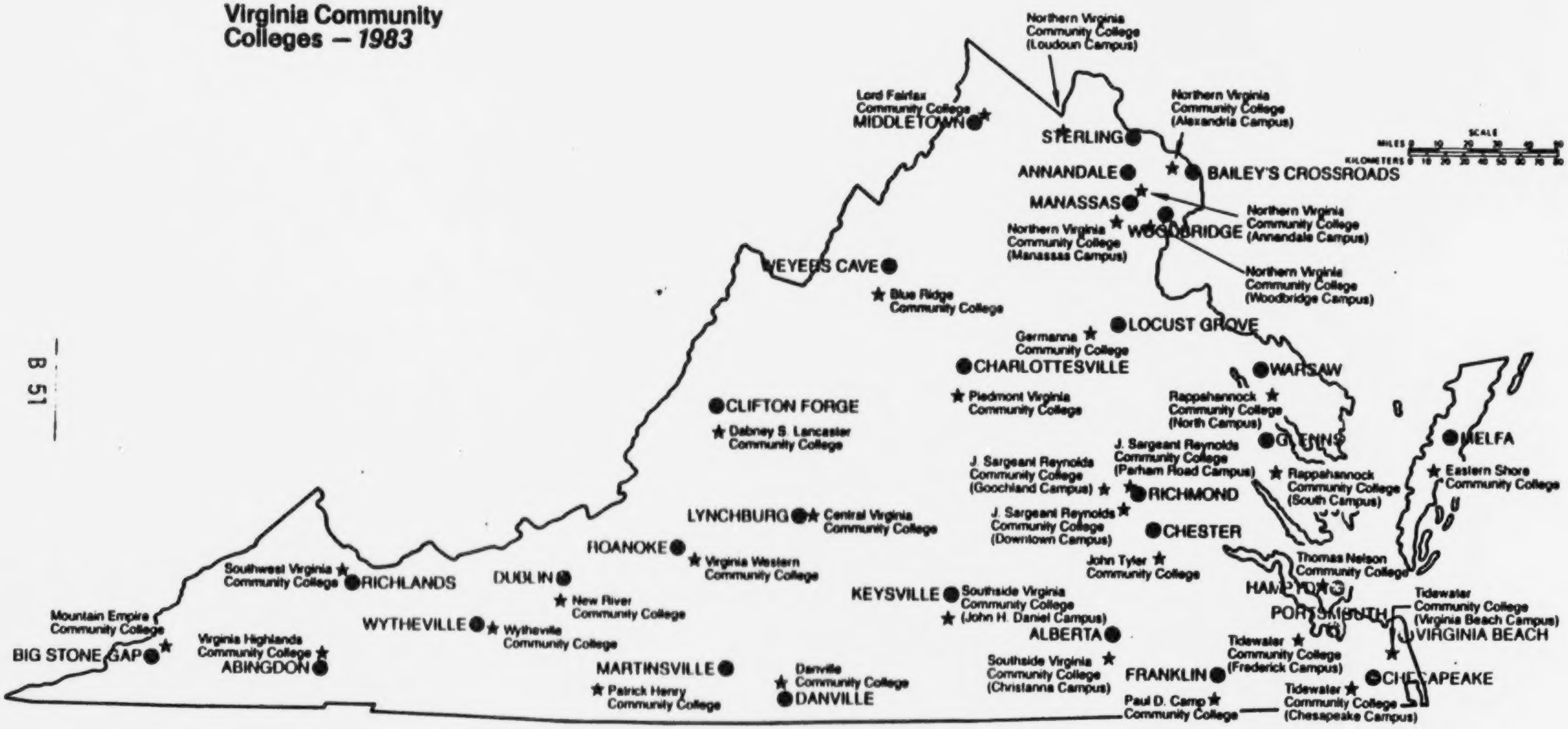

SCALE
MILES 0 10 20 30 40 50
KILOMETERS 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Washington Dulles — AA, AF, AL, BA, BN, CE, CJ, CO, NW, PA, RC, SU, TW, UA, ZB
Baltimore-Washington — AA, AL, CE, DL, EA, JO, NC, NQ, NY, OZ, PE, PI, RC, TI, TW, UA, WO
Manassas — CJ
Washington National — AA, AK, AL, BN, CB, CE, CJ, DL, EA, KC, ML, NC, NO, NW, NY, OZ, PA, PI, PM, QH, RC, TI, TW, UA, UR, VL, WA
Shenandoah Valley — AL
Hot Springs — CJ
Charlottesville — CE, PI
Richmond — ED, AL, CE, EA, PI, UA
Lynchburg — CE, PI
Roanoke — CE, PI
Bluefield — KC
Newport News — AL
Norfolk — AL, CE, EA, ED, PA, PE, PI, UA, WR
Bristol Tri-City — AL, PI
Danville — VL

Note In addition to the commercial airlines serving Virginia there are several air cargo companies which provide air cargo service to airports both inside and outside the State

Source Virginia Department of Aviation

Note: The 14 commercial airports shown on this map provide sheduled airline service. In addition, 65 airports are licensed for public use by general aviation (private, cargo, rental, charter, and corporate planes). In 1982, the 3 Washington-area airports handled over 225 million pounds of air freight and more than 20 million passengers. National, Dulles, and Baltimore-Washington airports schedule about 1200 arrivals or departures each day.

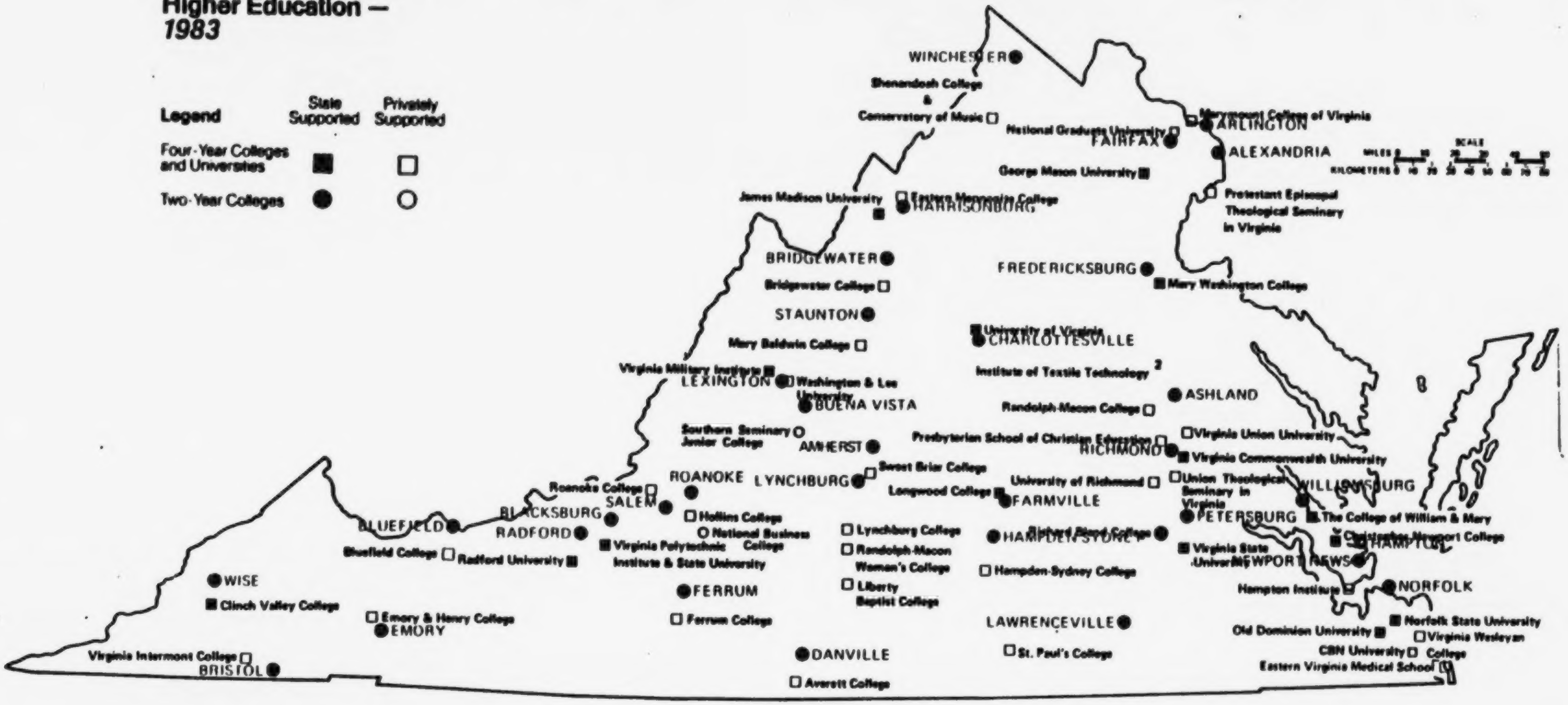
Virginia Community Colleges — *1983*


Northern Virginia Community College (Loudoun Campus)
Lord Fairfax Community College
MIDDLETOWN
STERLING
Northern Virginia Community College (Alexandria Campus)
MILES 0 10 20 30 40 50
SCALE
KILOMETERS 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
ANNANDALE
BAILEY'S CROSSROADS
MANASSAS
Northern Virginia Community College (Annandale Campus)
Northern Virginia Community College (Manassas Campus)
WOODBRIDGE
WEYERS CAVE
Northern Virginia Community College (Woodbridge Campus)
Blue Ridge Community College
LOCUST GROVE
Germanna Community College
CHARLOTTESVILLE
WARSAW
CLIFTON FORGE
Piedmont Virginia Community College
Rappahannock Community College (North Campus)
Dabney S. Lancaster Community College
GLENNS
MELFA
J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College (Parham Road Campus)
J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College (Goochland Campus)
Rappahannock Community College (South Campus)
Eastern Shore Community College
RICHMOND
LYNCHBURG
Central Virginia Community College
J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College (Downtown Campus)
CHESTER
ROANOKE
Virginia Western Community College
Southwest Virginia Community College
RICHLANDS
DUBLIN
John Tyler Community College
Thomas Nelson Community College
HAMPTON
KEYSVILLE
Southside Virginia Community College (John H. Daniel Campus)
New River Community College
Tidewater Community College (Virginia Beach Campus)
Mountain Empire Community College
PORTSMOUTH
WYTHEVILLE
Wytheville Community College
ALBERTA
VIRGINIA BEACH
Virginia Highlands Community College
Tidewater Community College (Frederick Campus)
BIG STONE GAP
ABINGDON
Southside Virginia Community College (Christanna Campus)
MARTINSVILLE
Danville Community College
FRANKLIN
CHESAPEAKE
Patrick Henry Community College
DANVILLE
Tidewater Community College (Chesapeake Campus)
Paul D. Camp Community College

B 51

Virginia Institutions of Higher Education — *1983*

Legend	State Supported	Privately Supported
Four-Year Colleges and Universities	■	☐
Two-Year Colleges	●	○


WINCHESTER
Shenandoah College & Conservatory of Music
Marymount College of Virginia
ARLINGTON
National Graduate University
FAIRFAX
ALEXANDRIA
SCALE
MILES 0 10 20 30 40 50
KILOMETERS 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
George Mason University
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia
James Madison University
Eastern Mennonite College
HARRISONBURG
BRIDGEWATER
Bridgewater College
FREDERICKSBURG
Mary Washington College
STAUNTON
Mary Baldwin College
University of Virginia
CHARLOTTESVILLE
Institute of Textile Technology 2
Virginia Military Institute
LEXINGTON
Washington & Lee University
BUENA VISTA
ASHLAND
Randolph-Macon College
Southern Seminary Junior College
AMHERST
Presbyterian School of Christian Education
RICHMOND
Virginia Union University
Virginia Commonwealth University
Sweet Briar College
ROANOKE
LYNCHBURG
University of Richmond
Union Theological Seminary in Virginia
WILLIAMSBURG
Roanoke College
SALEM
Longwood College
FARMVILLE
BLUEFIELD
BLACKSBURG
Hollins College
National Business College
PETERSBURG
The College of William & Mary
RADFORD
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University
Lynchburg College
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Richard Bland College
HAMPDEN-SYDNEY
Christopher Newport College
HAMPTON
Bluefield College
Radford University
Virginia State University
NEWPORT NEWS
WISE
Liberty Baptist College
Hampden-Sydney College
Hampton Institute
NORFOLK
Clinch Valley College
FERRUM
Emory & Henry College
EMORY
Ferrum College
LAWRENCEVILLE
Norfolk State University
Old Dominion University
Virginia Wesleyan College
Virginia Intermont College
BRISTOL
DANVILLE
St. Paul's College
CBN University
Eastern Virginia Medical School
Averett College

B 52

Note: Professional schools in institutions shown include five law schools and two medical schools.

[2] A specialized institution offering only graduate degrees.

VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

The maps and charts on these pages offer us a chance to play oracle and detective. The U. S. Department of Commerce publishes the Census of Agriculture every five or six years. The next issue is due in 1984. Charts from the state of Virginia do not include a breakdown by county or planning district. Here is one way you might proceed:

- Find your assigned district on the 1978 maps and charts.
- Consider what has happened in this district since 1978. Some areas have had great population growth, so you could speculate that there is less land in crops and livestock today. Other areas have remained almost unchanged, so you might assume that there has been little change in the agricultural picture.

Sometimes agricultural reporters, clippings from the newspapers, or a call to the local government office of the Extension Service will yield helpful information. Watch for up-dating sheets to replace these pages.

RANK: Principal Crops and Livestock, Virginia, 1981

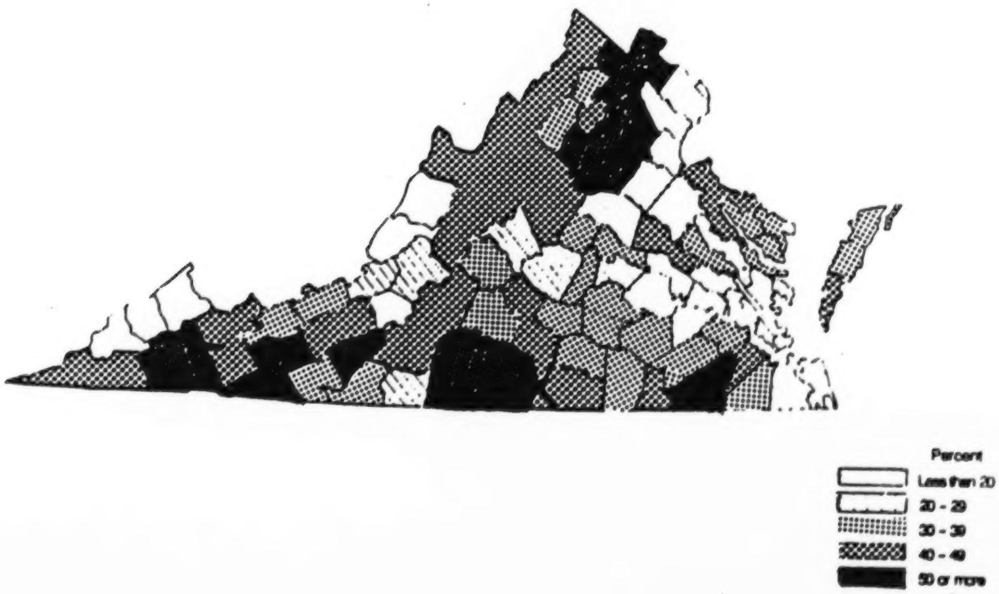
Commodity	Rank Within State Based on						Rank With Other States Based on Production 1/		Virginia Production as Percent of U.S. Total 1/
	Acres Harvested 1/		Value of Production 1/		Cash Receipts 2/				
	Acres	Rank	Thousand Dollars	Rank	Thousand Dollars	Rank	Number Producing States	Virginia Rank	
CROPS:									
Tobacco, All 3/	73,340	7	264,017	1	242,989	1	18	4	7.57
Soybeans	635,000	2	102,651	4	85,357	2	29	20	.84
Peanuts	105,000	5	92,941	5	83,784	3	10	5	8.16
Corn for Grain	625,000	3	151,875	2	65,002	4	41	20	.69
Wheat	390,000	4	57,486	6	56,256	5	41	26	.61
Potatoes	16,000	9	22,388	7	19,135	6	38	18	.70
Tomatoes	2,900	12	15,420	8	15,420	7	26	10	.66
Hay	975,000	1	123,000	3	11,112	8	48	28	1.15
Barley	97,000	6	12,426	9	6,614	9	29	12	1.24
Sweet Potatoes	2,300	13	4,347	10	4,997	10	12	8	2.73
Snap Beans	1,800	16	3,266	11	3,266	11	29	9	.63
Corn, Sweet	2,200	14	2,174	12	2,174	12	29	20	.31
Orchardgrass Seed	2,000	15	179	16	781	13	4	2	4.41
Rye	13,000	10	1,092	15	613	14	26	12	1.93
Oats	20,000	8	1,739	13	383	15	36	31	.19
Sorghum Grain	11,000	11	1,207	14	219	16	23	23	.06
Cotton Lint and Seed	300	17	92	17	91	17	17	17	.01
FRUITS:									
Apples	------	--	48,314	1	51,583	1	35	5	6.04
Peaches, Freestone	------	--	3,990	2	4,348	2	32	9	1.93
LIVESTOCK AND PRODUCTS: 4/									
Milk and Cream					282,001	1	50	19	1.51
Cattle and Calves					215,005	2	50	30	1.22
Broilers 5/					157,395	3	31	10	3.40
Hogs					101,089	4	50	19	1.07
Turkeys					66,600	5	32	6	5.38
Eggs 5/					62,345	6	50	23	1.36
Sheep and Lambs					5,603	7	41	19	1.58
Chickens, Farm 5					2,267	8	50	20	1.61
Honey					2,066	9	49	23	1.22
Wool					822	10	41	22	.87
LIVESTOCK INVENTORY:							Rank Based on Inventory		
All Cattle and Calves January 1, 1982							50	26	1.60
Milk Cows January 1, 1982							50	18	1.55
Hogs and Pigs December 1, 1981							50	18	1.09
Sheep and Lambs January 1, 1982							41	19	1.30
All Chickens, (excludes commercial broilers) December 1, 1981							50	22	1.46
Turkey Breeder Hens, December 1, 1981							24	6	4.86

1/ 1981 crop year. 2/ Preliminary. 3/ Does not include Maryland Type 32 tobacco. 4/ Calendar year basis except as noted for broilers, eggs, and farm chickens. 5/ Year begins December 1, 1980 and ends November 30, 1981.

(1982 data will be published in December 1983)

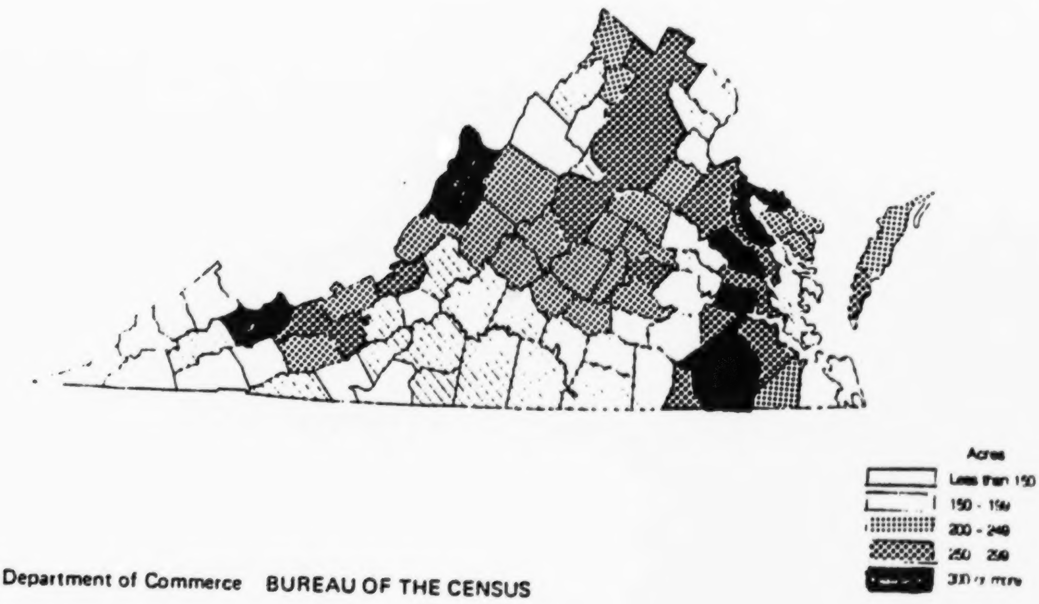
Map 1. Land in Farms by County: 1978
As percent of land in county

State average 39.1 percent


Percent
Less than 20
20 - 29
30 - 39
40 - 49
50 or more

Map 2. Average Size of Farm by County: 1978

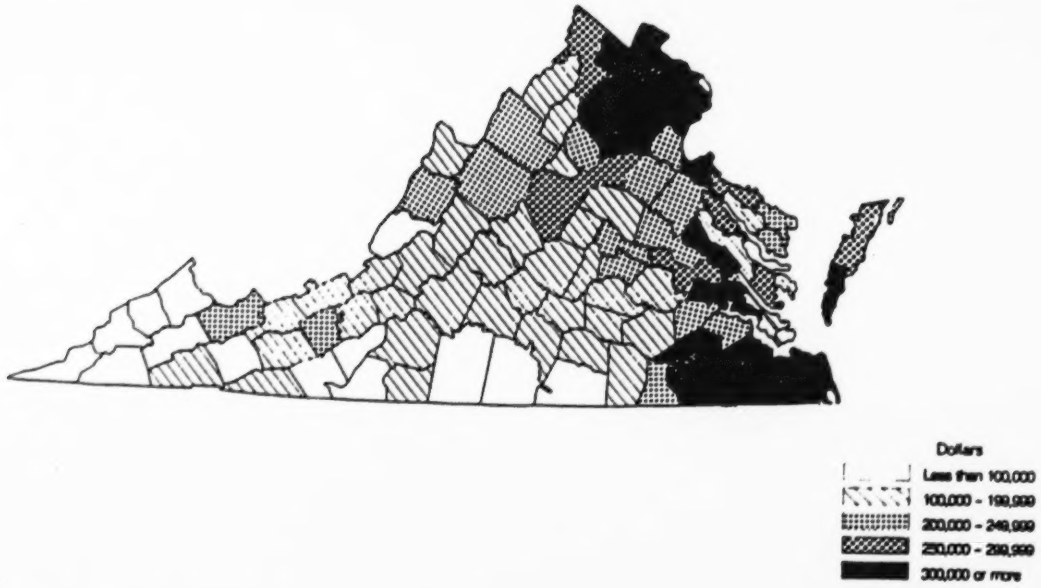
Average size 175 acres


Acres
Less than 150
150 - 199
200 - 249
250 - 299
300 or more

Map 3. Value of Land and Buildings by County: 1978

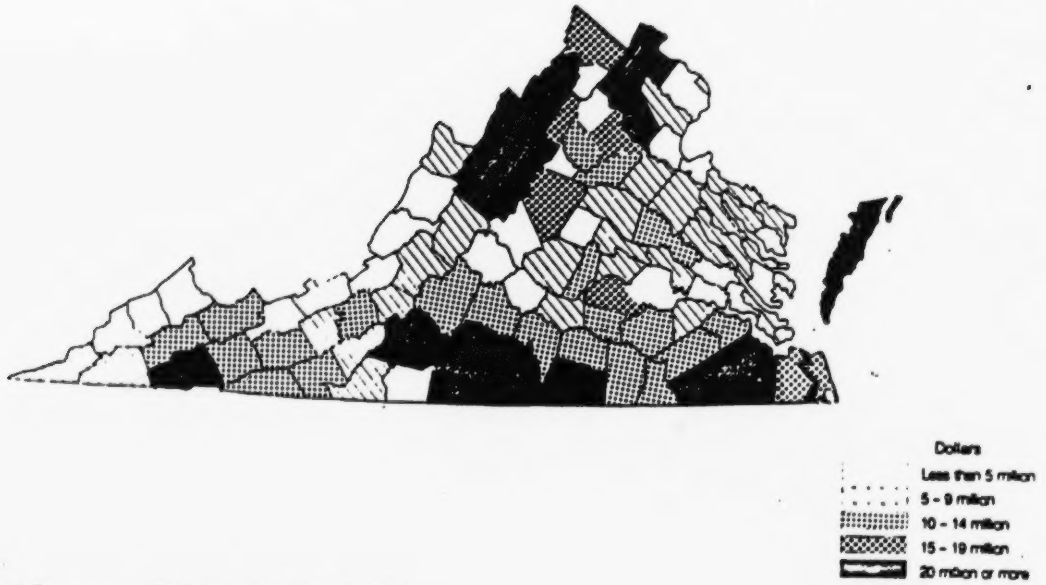
Average per farm

State average $163,918


Dollars
Less than 100,000
100,000 - 199,999
200,000 - 249,999
250,000 - 299,999
300,000 or more

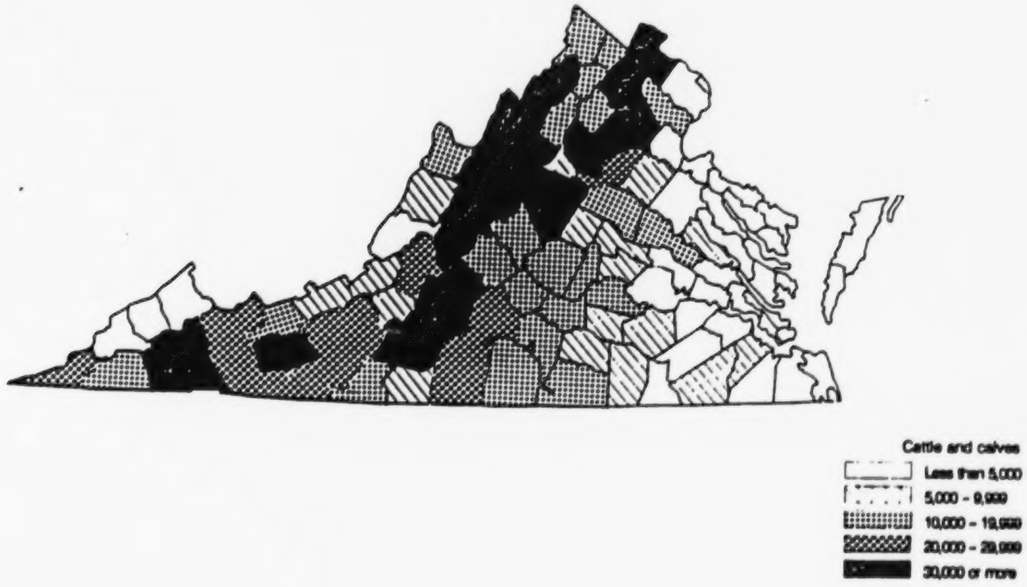
Map 4. Value of Agricultural Products Sold by County: 1978

State total $1,304,164,000


Dollars
Less than 5 million
5 - 9 million
10 - 14 million
15 - 19 million
20 million or more

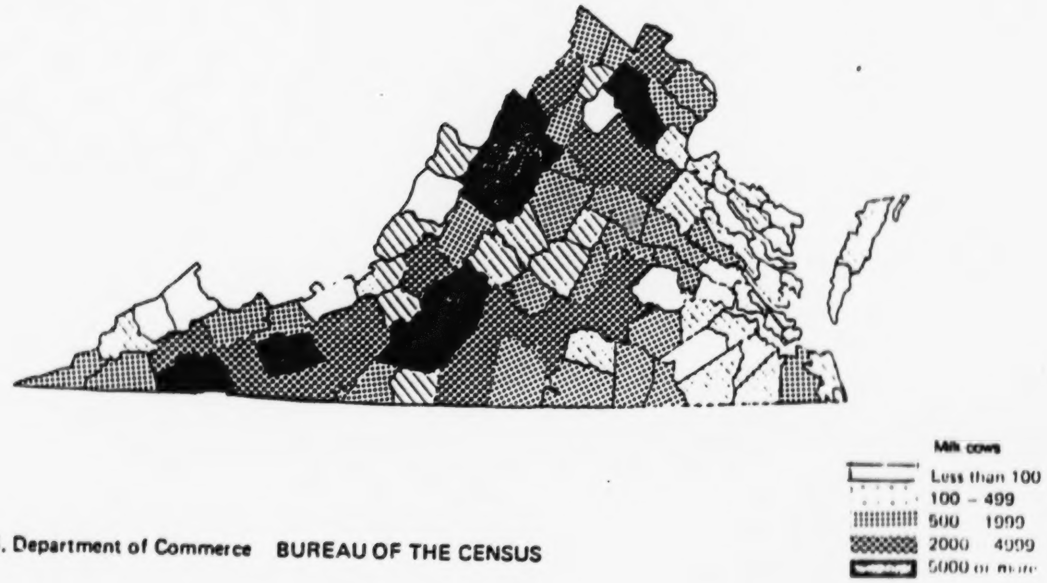
Map 5. Cattle and Calves Inventory by County: 1978

State total 1,500,168


Cattle and calves
Less than 5,000
5,000 - 9,999
10,000 - 19,999
20,000 - 29,999
30,000 or more

Map 6. Milk Cows Inventory by County: 1978

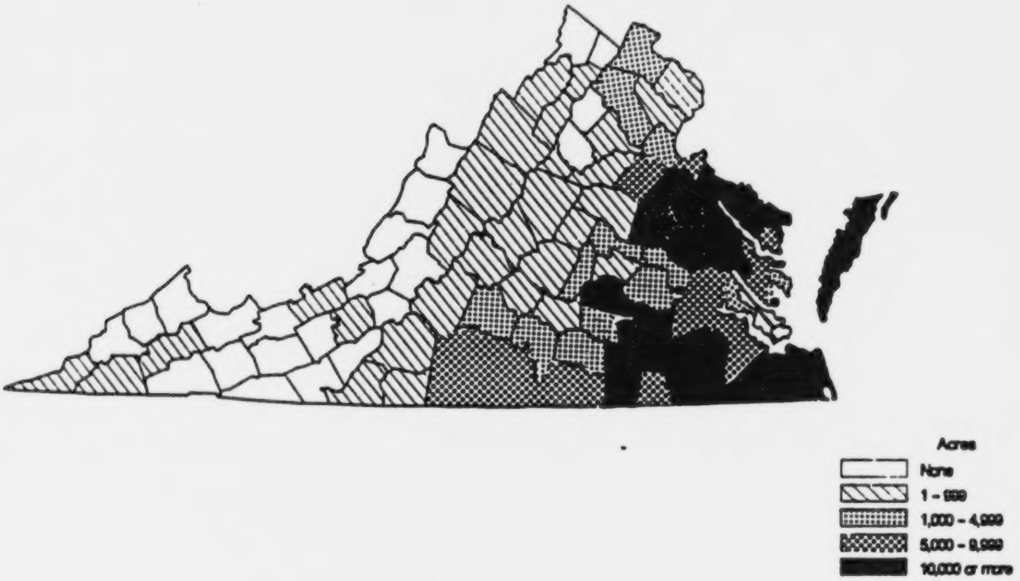
State total 169,053


Milk cows
Less than 100
100 - 499
500 1999
2000 4999
5000 or more

U.S. Department of Commerce BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

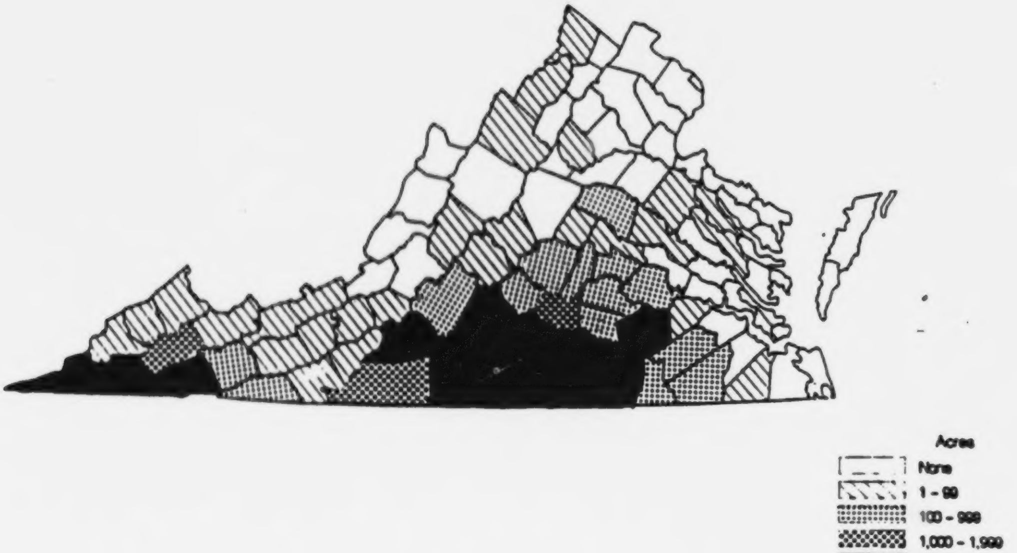
Map 7. Soybeans Harvested for Beans by County: 1978

State total 486,515 acres


Acres
None
1 - 999
1,000 - 4,999
5,000 - 9,999
10,000 or more

Map 8. Tobacco Harvested by County: 1978

State total 76,021 acres


Acres
None
1 - 99
100 - 999
1,000 - 1,999
2,000 or more

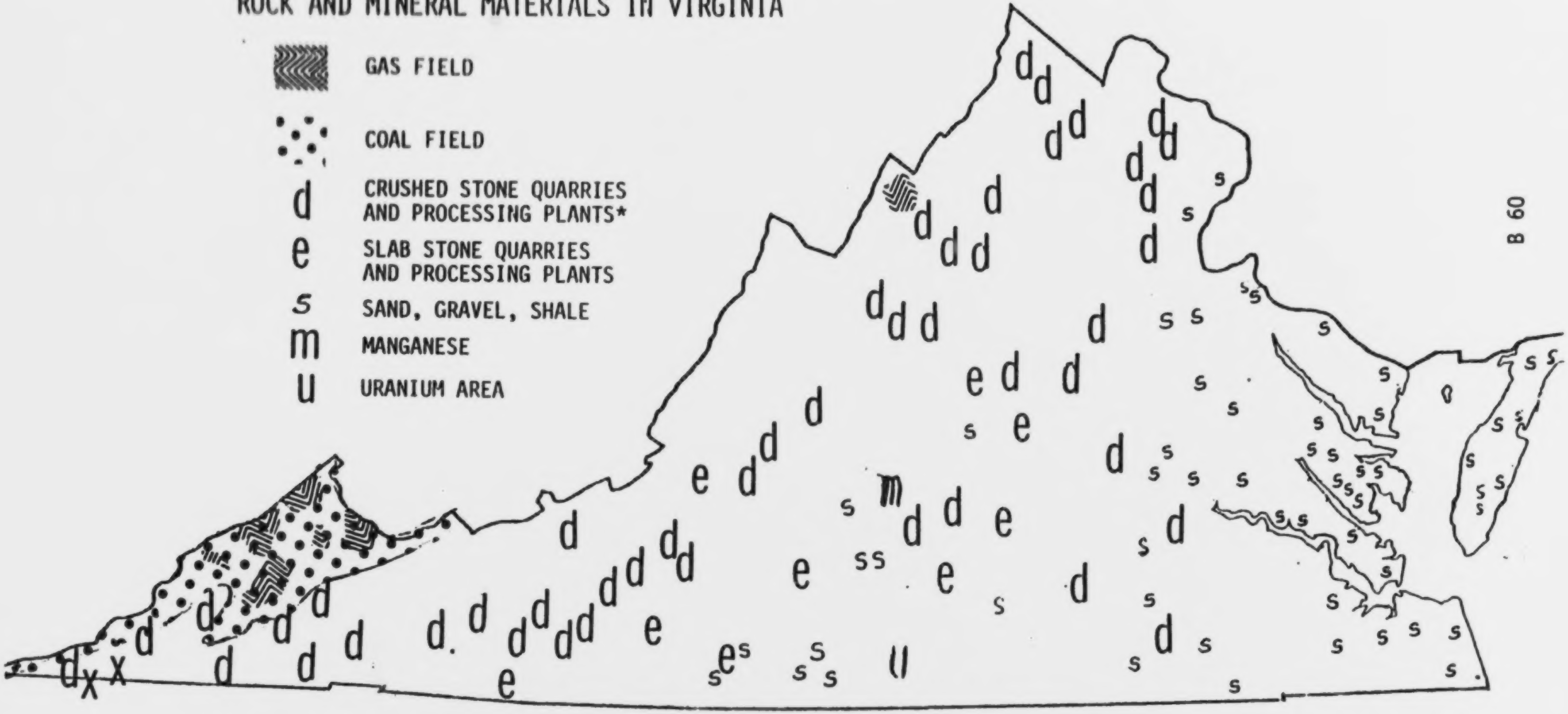
VALUE OF STANDING TIMBER CUT IN 1981 IN VIRGINIA COUNTIES

(Data from Virginia Division of Forestry)

Accomack	$1,399,400
Albemarle	1,054,200
Alleghany	446,400
Amelia	2,144,000
Amherst	3,311,800
Appomattox	801,000
Augusta	620,700
Bath	195,600
Bedford	1,509,500
Bland	62,800
Botetourt	368,000
Brunswick	4,497,600
Buchanan	11,300
Buckingham	1,757,100
Campbell	1,632,100
Caroline	2,460,700
Carroll	843,900
Charles City	1,714,100
Charlotte	1,396,500
Chesapeake	144,800
Chesterfield	1,222,100
Clarke	40,700
Craig	203,600
Culpeper	721,000
Cumberland	674,000
Dickenson	74,600
Dinwiddie	4,760,700
Essex	951,200
Fairfax	44,000
Fauquier	181,200
Floyd	527,700
Fluvanna	625,400
Franklin	771,100
Frederick	475,700
Giles	26,800
Gloucester	833,200
Goochland	420,000
Grayson	611,800
Greene	145,400
Greensville	2,803,700
Halifax	1,235,100
Hanover	1,637,400
Henrico	430,500
Henry	922,600
Highland	591,400
Isle of Wight	3,461,000
James City	183,400
King & Queen	1,538,700
King George	955,500
King William	1,908,900
Lancaster	235,600
Lee	116,800
Loudoun	222,800
Louisa	1,178,600
Lunenburg	1,849,300
Madison	584,200
Mathews	259,900
Mecklenburg	1,915,200
Middlesex	399,100
Montgomery	61,100
Nelson	1,076,800
New Kent	1,620,200
Northampton	811,100
Northumberland	474,400
Nottoway	1,133,700
Orange	1,567,900
Page	39,200
Patrick	590,500
Pittsylvania	1,602,700
Powhatan	703,500
Prince Edward	1,178,700
Prince George	2,177,200
Prince William	409,200
Pulaski	4,200
Rappahannock	201,200
Richmond	470,700
Roanoke	64,800
Rockbridge	1,019,000
Rockingham	269,800
Russell	1,065,000
Scott	115,500
Shenandoah	252,300
Smyth	124,600
Southampton	5,417,000
Spotsylvania	1,037,300
Stafford	531,500
Suffolk	4,690,000
Surry	1,899,100
Sussex	6,435,700
Tazewell	87,900
Virginia Beach	91,200
Warren	179,400
Washington	492,300
Westmoreland	901,800
Wise	221,300
Wythe	41,500
York	353,400
State Total	$100,903,000

Note: Since county boundaries are not drawn in the woods, there may be slight inaccuracies in the reports totaled for these figures.

APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS PRODUCING AND PROCESSING ROCK AND MINERAL MATERIALS IN VIRGINIA


GAS FIELD
COAL FIELD
d CRUSHED STONE QUARRIES AND PROCESSING PLANTS*
e SLAB STONE QUARRIES AND PROCESSING PLANTS
s SAND, GRAVEL, SHALE
m MANGANESE
u URANIUM AREA

B 60

* Crushed stone includes amphibolite, basalt types, diabase, feldspar, granite types, limestone-dolomite (the most common(, metavolcanic rocks, quartzite-sandstone, and shale.

This map is a simplified version. Contact Division of Mineral Resources for exact information.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS LETTER

Vol. 57, No. 11

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF VIRGINIA

By James W. Fonseca

Mr. Fonseca is an associate professor of geography in the Department of Public Affairs, George Mason University.

The human geography of contemporary Virginia is the product of complex interaction between the state's physical environment and its human population. The diverse physiographic regions of the state—the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, the Blue Ridge, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Appalachian Plateau—are important influences, but they are not the only factors explaining regional population distribution and economic activity in the Commonwealth. One of the more critical factors influencing Virginia's geography is the location of the state in reference to larger multistate regions, such as Megalopolis, Appalachia, and the Piedmont Manufacturing Belt. The boundaries of these regions are seldom sharply demarcated, either on the national or the Virginia landscape. However, a useful approximation of their spatial extent in Virginia can be obtained by analyzing the state's physical geography in terms of social and economic data for nine contemporary regions that are based on the boundaries of the state's twenty-two planning districts (see **Figure 1**). This analysis will begin in Northern Virginia, proceed clockwise around the periphery of the state, and conclude with an examination of the Richmond Region in the heart of the state.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Northern Virginia is an integral part of Megalopolis, a region first analyzed by internationally known geographer Jean Gottman. Megalopolis reaches from the New Hampshire suburbs of Boston to the Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C. Northern Virginia shares in the relative wealth and dense population of this economically complex, urbanized region, but it is less oriented to manufacturing than is Megalopolis as a whole. Instead, Northern Virginia is more oriented both to government employment and to indirect, government-related employment with concerns such as consulting firms, legal offices, public interest groups, trade associations, and firms specializing in government contracts. Although the cutbacks in federal spending can be expected to have an adverse impact upon the region's economy, other recent developments such as the relocation of regional and national headquarters of large corporations may counter this effect. Mobil Oil, American Telephone and Telegraph, and Time-Life are examples of corporate offices that have relocated in Northern Virginia in the last few years.

Northern Virginia's population will continue to grow, although most likely not so rapidly as during the 1970-1980 period. During that interval, the region grew by almost 20 percent, to more than 1.1 million people. Recently, however, growth in the entire Washington metropolitan area has slowed, although Northern Virginia continues to grow much faster than the area as a whole.

The landscape of Northern Virginia is increasingly an urban rather than a suburban landscape. Arlington and Alexandria have characteristics of many of the nation's central cities, including substantial black population, diverse ethnic communities, urban deterioration, and population loss—more than 31,000 people between 1970-1980. The continuing construction of the Metro subway system and the development of a highrise skyline in downtown Arlington (Rosslyn) add to the urban appearance. About five miles from the Potomac River, this urban landscape grades into a zone of dense suburbanization (e.g., condominiums, office parks, and townhouse clusters) that extends to I-495, the Capital Beltway. Beyond the beltway, a suburban landscape of single family homes predominates until the rural fringe of western Loudoun and Prince William counties is reached.

CHESAPEAKE FRINGE

Despite its proximity to Northern Virginia, the Virginia portion of the Chesapeake Fringe of Megalopolis—Northern Neck, the Middle Peninsula, and the Eastern Shore—is a very different area. The Chesapeake Fringe has preserved enough of its natural environment to be able to take advantage of the "Four Fs" of farming, fishing, forestry, and fun (tourism, water recreation, and vacation homes). The importance of these activities can be seen, for example, in Accomack's rank as one of the five counties in the state with the largest agricultural production, as measured in terms of sales value; in Northern Neck's role as a vacation and retirement home area; in the numerous coastal towns dependent upon fishing and oystering; and in the rather high dependence of Northern Neck and the Middle Peninsula upon the forestry products industry.

The Chesapeake Fringe thus is still quite tied economically to its physical geographic qualities, including its scenic beauty. Encroachment upon the region by the three large, close urban concentrations of Richmond, Tidewater, and Northern Virginia appears inevitable. The Chesapeake Fringe gained approximately 17,810 people between 1970 and 1980, giving it a population growth rate of 13.9 percent, compared to the 14.4 percent rate for the state as a whole. Also, as of 1978, the Middle Peninsula (Planning District No. 18), in particular, had the second highest net in-migration rate among the state's twenty-two planning districts.

TIDEWATER

Urban Tidewater, consisting of the Census Bureau's two Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) of Newport News-Hampton and Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, is a sprawling, polycentric urban area of some 1.15 million people,

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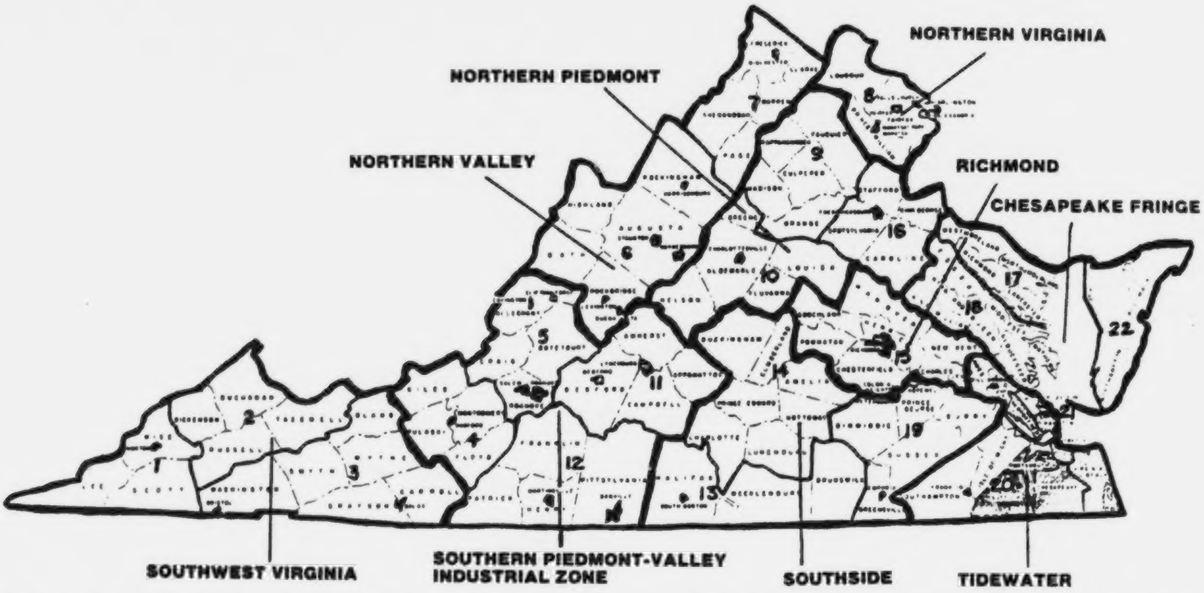
Author's note: The information and statistics used in the article are drawn from a variety of sources, including publications of the Tayloe Murphy Institute, University of Virginia; the School of Forestry and Wildlife Resources, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University; the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the Virginia Employment Commission; and the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Jean Gottman's texts are *Megalopolis* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961) and *Virginia in Our Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969).

[illegible] GOVERNMENT [illegible] OF VIRGINIA CHARLOTTESVILLE JULY 1981

FIGURE 1. CONTEMPORARY VIRGINIA REGIONS



SOURCE: Constructed by the author from a map of planning districts provided by the Office of Local Development Programs, Virginia Department of Housing.

NOTE: The numbers in each region identify the state's twenty-two planning districts.

worthy of being called the "Los Angeles of Virginia." The Census Bureau's division of this area into two separate SMSAs makes it easy to lose sight of the impressive size of this urban agglomeration. The combined metropolitan region not only is the largest metropolitan area in Virginia but also, with the exception of Atlanta, is the largest urban concentration in a vast area of the southern United States whose boundary to the north extends to Washington, D.C., to the south to Tampa, and to the west to Houston.

Urban Tidewater's economic base is port-related, including shipbuilding, ship repair, naval installations, cargo transfer and storage, and manufacturing related to the processing of imports and exports. Associated with the ports' military role are almost 50,000 federal civilian employees. The tourist industry of Virginia Beach and the Williamsburg area and the agricultural activity of Suffolk and Southhampton counties add variety to the region's economy. Meat processing (especially pork products), soybeans, and peanuts are among that area's specialties.

Tidewater's economic future is bright for many reasons. Increased defense spending, particularly for shipbuilding, will aid the region. In addition, Tidewater's hinterland for all types of cargo is a bustling Sunbelt region that extends well west of the Appalachians into the Tennessee Valley, and well beyond the Coastal Plain into the Piedmont of the Southern Atlantic coast. Tidewater also stands to benefit from its own momentum. The increasing concentration of population and manufacturing within the Tidewater region itself makes the ports both a producer and consumer of more and more of their low bulk, high value general cargo. This type of cargo generates much more employment growth in Tidewater than does coal, which is the principal export of the Hampton Roads area. The coal exports, while not an exceptional generator of employment, also have increased tremendously over recent years.

SOUTHSIDE

Southside, which includes planning districts 13, 14, and 19, is Virginia's poorest region. It is located mainly on the Piedmont and partly on the Coastal Plain of south central Virginia. Southside forms part of a larger region that includes much of adjacent north central North Carolina. This area, which has a large black population, is just outside the reach of the economic spillover effects from Tidewater, Richmond, and Lynchburg. Low incomes, low educational attainment, high unemployment, and general lack of economic opportunity make this area one of exceptionally slow growth (2.0 percent). In income levels, for example, Greensville County had the lowest per capita personal income for all 136 of the state's cities and counties in 1978 ($4,296, only 56 percent of the state's average).

An important factor in the economic base of most of this region is general agriculture, with tobacco a particularly important product in the western half of the region. Southside's agriculture is characterized by a high rate of tenant farming, a small proportion of part-time farmers, a large number of farms operated by blacks, and a relatively low investment in farm machinery.

Manufacturing is also important to the economy, but it is not well distributed throughout the region. Most manufacturing is concentrated in Halifax and Mecklenburg counties, adjacent to the Piedmont-Valley Industrial Zone, and in the cities of Petersburg and Hopewell, adjacent to the Richmond Region. Manufacturing is primarily of a low wage type, such as textiles, apparel, and forest products. Three Southside counties are included among the six Virgin counties that produce the most hardwo timber, and three Southside counties are among the six highest in softwood timber production as well.

Petersburg and Hopewell are exceptions to the manufacturing pattern in Southside. The specialties of these cities are cigarette and chemical production, both of which pay higher wages than other Southside industries. Petersburg and Hopewell could, in fact, be considered part of the Richmond Region, in which case the importance of agriculture and forestry to Southside would be much more striking. Thus, in a fashion similar to the Chesapeake Fringe, the physical environment and its primary products, overall, greatly influence the economic character of this region.

SOUTHERN PIEDMONT-VALLEY INDUSTRIAL ZONE

Virginia's southwestern Piedmont area is the northernmost extension of the Piedmont Manufacturing Belt. This industrial zone, a dynamic belt of small- and medium-sized manufacturing cities, sprawls across the Piedmont from northern Georgia to Lynchburg. Although the western edge of this industrial zone in the rest of the South corresponds closely with the Blue Ridge Mountains, in Virginia's case the river gaps cut in the Blue Ridge by the James an Roanoke rivers have helped to shape t state's transportation corridors and hav allowed the industrial development of the Piedmont to spill west beyond the Blue Ridge. Therefore, it is appropriate to add Roanoke and several adjacent cities in the Southern Valley to the zone. The whole Virginia region, appropriately called the Southern Piedmont-Valley Industrial Zone, includes planning districts 4, 5, 11, and 12. The region is home to about 827,000 people, 15.5 percent of the state's 1980 population.

A wide variety of products are manufactured in the cities and counties of this region, but most employment derives from the manufacture of textiles, apparel, shoes, and furniture. Chemicals, primary and fabricated metals, electrical machinery, and food processing are secondary specializations. In total, this region employs more than 125,000 manufacturing workers, about one-third of the state's labor force in manufacturing.

Lynchburg and Roanoke are the two largest metropolitan areas in the region. While metropolitan Lynchburg's specialties are electrical machinery and primary and fabricated metals, all manufacturing categories important to the zone are located in the Lynchburg SMSA. Roanoke, by comparison, is a more diversified city. Despite a larger population—223,000 in the Roanoke SMSA and 154,000 in the Lynchburg SMSA—the Roanoke SMSA has 8,000 fewer manufacturing employees. Instead, Roanoke is more specialized in transportation, communications, trade, and services. This partly reflects the location in Roanoke of the headquarters of the Norfolk & Western Railroad, as well as the city's geographic situation at the crossroads of two major transportation corridors: the north-south I-81 corridor through the Shenandoah Valley and Route 460 east to Lynchburg and the Richmond Region. Roanoke is in a better position than Lynchburg to capture wholesale and retail trade from all of the Southern Valley and from Southwest Virginia.

To the south of Roanoke and Lynchburg is the Danville-Martinsville complex, an urban concentration that could be called Virginia's "undesignated SMSA." These two cities, only thirty miles apart, together with their surrounding counties of Henry and Pittsylvania, are home to 183,000 people—29,000 more people than in metropolitan Lynchburg. Approximately 43,500 manufacturing employees work in these four cities and counties—a remarkable figure in comparison to population size. Thus, the urban-industrial core of Virginia's Southern Piedmont-Valley Industrial Zone is best thought of as centered not simply along the Lynchburg-Roanoke axis, but rather as centered about a triangle whose three points are Danville-Martinsville, Roanoke, and Lynchburg.

In addition to manufacturing, this region also has important agricultural and forestry production. Pittsylvania is one of the five Virginia counties with the largest agricultural production, as measured in terms of value; and the Valley counties of the region produce a variety of livestock products and crops, especially tobacco. Because of the importance of the furniture industry as well as forestry production, the region's Planning District 12 is dependent on the forest products industry for one-third of its base employment, the largest proportion of dependence among all of the state's planning districts.

SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

Southwest Virginia straddles two very different physiographic regions, the Ridge and Valley Province and the Appalachian Plateau. The high, rugged topography of the plateau is most pronounced in the three counties of Wise, Dickenson, and Buchanan. Southwest Virginia is also part of two larger, overlapping regions of national importance, Appalachia and the Tennessee Valley. Both regions have been designated as areas in need of economic development and have benefited greatly from federal assistance through the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Almost all of Southwest Virginia (generally, planning districts 1, 2, and 3) falls under the jurisdiction of both of these authorities. (The exceptions are Buchanan and Carroll counties, which are not included in the TVA.)

The last decade has seen the economy of Southwest Virginia change dramatically. Traditionally a poor, predominantly white area characterized by many of the same limited opportunities that have hindered Southside, Southwest Virginia is now an area of reduced unemployment, higher educational attainment, and better incomes. Even with such improved conditions, however, Southwest Virginia is not as well off as the state as a whole, according to various socioeconomic measures. Perhaps the most promising sign is that Southwest Virginia now not only retains much of its native population but also is experiencing net in-migration. Planning districts 1 and 2 illustrate this with growth rates of 15.5 percent and 23.6 percent, respectively, between 1970 and 1980.

The renewed demand for coal, of course, is part of the reason for the renaissance of Southwest Virginia. But coal production is not widely dispersed throughout the region; it is extremely concentrated within the plateau counties of Buchanan, Dickenson, and Wise, which accounted for about 83 percent of the state's production in 1976. In the counties of the southern Appalachian Valley, manufacturing, agriculture, trade, and transportation-related employment add substantially to the economy.

Galax, a Valley city, contributes to the region's urban economy with its specialization in the manufacture of many of the same products as the Piedmont-Valley Industrial Zone, particularly furniture and textiles. Bristol, located on the Virginia-Tennessee border, is a Tennessee Valley city and part of the Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol SMSA of 411,000 people, of which 90,500 are in Virginia. While Bristol also has many workers in the textile, apparel, and furniture industries, it is much more specialized in industries such as printing and publishing, fabricated metals, and nonelectrical machinery. This specialization in less traditional industries is perhaps responsible for the Bristol area's very rapid growth as a manufacturing center. The value added by manufacture in the Virginia portion of the SMSA grew by 138 percent between 1972 and 1977, a figure far in excess of the state average growth of 76 percent.

Agriculture is the leading economic activity in Planning District 3, as measured by employment, and is second only to mining in planning districts 1 and 2. This is true despite the fact that Southwest Virginia as a whole presents some of Virginia's poorest opportunities for agriculture. Farming in the three plateau counties is particularly limited due to topography. The Southern Valley has a better quality of land but is handicapped by distance from large markets. As a result of these factors, a specialization has developed in the raising of beef and dairy cattle and sheep. A high percentage of farmland is devoted to pasture, and a high percentage of cropland is devoted to hay production. Many farm operations are of a part-time nature with limited sales.

NORTHERN VALLEY

The Northern Shenandoah Valley is characterized by a nicely balanced, diverse landscape combining natural beauty, agriculture, rural towns, and small cities. The cities and towns have one or more functions based on agricultural supply, manufacturing, college, or resort specializations. The economic ties of the Northern Valley to its regional continuation northward through West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania are now weak, due to the eastward pull of the Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond markets. Yet the historical ties of the Northern Valley to the larger Appalachian Valley region have indelibly shaped its culture and landscape. The northern portion of the Shenandoah Valley was settled initially by German and Scotch-Irish pioneers who traveled through the Valley southward from Pennsylvania.

The main economic base of the Northern Valley is agriculture, a specialization expressed most fully in Rockingham and Augusta counties. Rockingham County is the leading county in the state in terms of the sales value of agricultural products. Livestock is the region's agricultural mainstay. Pigs, beef and dairy cattle, sheep, and poultry are raised. Alfalfa and grain for livestock are major crops, and the northern counties of the region, especially Frederick and Clarke, also specialize in apples and apple products. Unlike the Southern Valley portion of Southwest Virginia, farming is largely a full-time operation; and unlike Southside, investment in farm buildings and machinery is high.

Manufacturing, the second most important activity of the region, is present in all of the cities of the Northern Valley; but the largest concentrations of manufacturing employment are found in the cities of Waynesboro and Winchester and Rockingham County, each of which has more than 5,000 workers. Electrical machinery, apparel, and food processing are the region's manufacturing specialties.

Per capita income is slightly below the state average in the Northern Valley, while population growth has been slightly above average. The three largest cities of the region are Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Winchester; the counties surrounding these cities (Augusta, Rockingham, and Frederick, respectively) experienced the majority of the Northern Valley's population growth between 1970 and 1980.

NORTHERN PIEDMONT

The Northern Piedmont is a diverse, rapidly growing, nonmetropolitan region concentrated primarily on the Piedmont and partly on the Coastal Plain. It is generally the area encompassed by planning districts 9, 10, and 16.

The economic base of this large region is diverse and defies simple generalization. Employment in construction is important to all three planning districts, due to rapid population growth in the region as well as to long-distance commuting by some construction workers living in the region to jobs in Washington and Richmond. Government is a large employer also. Planning District 16 is second only to the Northern Virginia planning district in the number of workers specializing in public administration; this is largely attributable to residents commuting to Northern Virginia to work. Another concentration of government workers is located in Charlottesville and adjacent Albemarle County. This area has more than 12,000 state employees, most related to the University of Virginia, as well as 1,000 federal workers. Agriculture is a major employer in planning districts 9 and 10. A variety of crops are grown, and livestock—particularly beef and dairy cattle and horses—also contributes to the economy.

Albemarle County-Charlottesville and Spotsylvania County-Fredericksburg are the region's two largest manufacturing concentrations. Interestingly, a disproportionate number of industrial workers in the Northern Piedmont work for foreign-affiliated companies. In particular, in a continuous strip of Piedmont counties beginning with Loudoun (in the Northern Virginia region) and proceeding south through Fauquier, Culpeper, Orange, Louisa, and Fluvanna, ten foreign-affiliated manufacturing plants employ approximately 2,400 workers, or about 39 percent of the manufacturing workers in the six counties.

The Northern Piedmont accounted for more than one-third of all the nonmetropolitan population growth in the state between 1970 and 1980. During that same period thirteen of the region's fourteen counties (the exception being Nelson County) experienced growth in excess of the state average of 14.4 percent. A variety of factors appear to be contributing to this growth. Some of the growth is a spillover both from Northern Virginia and from Richmond. Growth in Albemarle County is tied directly to the growth of the University of Virginia, as well as indirectly to that institution through its attraction of engineering firms, high technology firms, and state and federal agencies.

RICHMOND REGION

The Richmond Region straddles the Fall Line, the meeting zone of the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont. It is home to approximately 631,000 Virginians, a gain in population of about 15 percent between 1970 and 1980. Approximately 220,000 of the region's residents live in the City of Richmond, a drop of about 30,000 from 1970. However, this loss of population is more than made up by migration into the suburban ring. Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties, in particular, have experienced growth rates of 83 percent, 34 percent, and 17 percent, respectively, over the last decade.

Richmond is well situated to play an important role among Virginia's regions. It is located approximately equidistant from Northern Virginia, Tidewater, and Lynchburg and is very close to the state's center of gravity of population—which, by the 1980 calculation, is located thirty miles west of Richmond near the Powhatan-Goochland County border. The city also benefits from an excellent position in reference to the state's transportation network, lying at the junction of I-64 and I-95, two of the most heavily traveled highways in the state, as well as along several major rail lines.

The outlook for the Richmond Region's economic future is a positive one, not because of any single factor but because of the diversity of the region's economy. Richmond's role as the state capital contributes to, but does not dominate, the region's economy, as does government-related employment in Northern Virginia or federal military spending in Tidewater. While there are 37,000 state workers in the region, this is only 12 percent of the labor force. Another 9,500 people work for the federal government, and almost 25,000 work on the payrolls of local jurisdictions. In fact, when the number of state employees as a percentage of population is considered, Richmond is not heavily specialized in government employment. Banking, the manufacture of nondurable goods, transportation, and t are greater relative specializations.

The City of Richmond, the major employment focus, best illustrates the diversity of the region. Richmond provides employment for a total of approximately 193,000 workers. In order of the number of workers, the major employment categories of the city are wholesale and retail trade; services; manufacturing; state government; finance, insurance, and real estate; transportation and public utilities; and Richmond city government. Within the manufacturing category of some 32,000 employees, almost one-third work in the tobacco industry. Other important manufacturing categories are printing, paper, food processing, apparel, furniture, fabricated metals, and chemicals. This economic diversity, which is typical of the entire Richmond region, helps to insulate it from hardship due to economic fluctuation in particular sectors of the economy. The region's location also allows it to benefit from growth in Northern Virginia, Tidewater, and the Piedmont-Valley regions and, indeed, the state as a whole.

SUMMARY

As this discussion of Virginia's geography has shown, each of Virginia's nine contemporary regions has a physical geographical base that offers opportunities for varying combinations of agriculture, fishing, fo ry, mining, and recreation. The locati each region, both in relation to the rest of the state and to the larger national regions, also has an important influence on industrial and urban development. These environmental and locational qualities interact in complex ways to influence the economic base of each Virginia region, providing a wide-ranging diversity in employment and economic activity. Overall, this diversity adds stability to the state's economy and provides the residents of Virginia with a fascinating, heterogeneous landscape.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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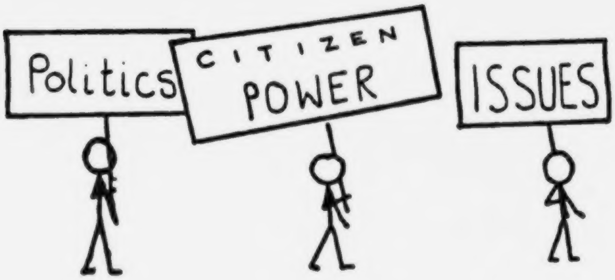

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CITIZEN POWER

USING SECTION C - CITIZEN POWER IN VIRGINIA

The resources in Section C are designed to help teachers teach students how to use their citizen power for greater involvement in the course and in the community, in response to the objectives of the Standards of Learning for the Social Studies.

The 4-page segment, "Citizen Power in Virginia," is planned to be a student handout. Use it as it is, or re-write it to suit your needs. Whether you use the first three pages or not, you might add names of your current officials to the addresses and salutations noted on the fourth page, and post a chart in your classroom, or duplicate it for your students, as they become more interested in Virginia issues. Many teachers stimulate citizen power in their classes by offering credit to students who submit a copy of a letter sent to an official, along with the response they receive.

The 2-page segment on "Reapportionment (1981-82) and Voting Rights in Virginia," may be useful as a student handout, when you are studying elections and voting, the process of reapportionment, or the General Assembly. The supporting data for this summary is in the University of Virginia News Letter on reapportionment, included in this section of the notebook. Assign a report on the News Letter to one student, and ask another to find out what happened in your particular area. This is another good opportunity to invite your Delegate to visit your classes, to discuss your particular district or the process, or both. This topic is being studied by the League of Women Voters of Virginia (in 1984-85) and other organizations, and you may see articles in the news in the coming months. Add a few pages of clippings to this notebook, or cross-reference a file in your department or library.

The "Brief Survey of Virginia Political & Economic History" is for teachers. It is too brief to be anything more than a framework for your notes, to help you help your students understand today's political scene, and, perhaps, to stimulate you to find some sources and do a little reading. Most government teachers already know this information and more, but some who come from other states may wonder how Virginia arrived at today's political and economic status. The bibliography also may be useful for suggesting outside reading to students, particularly those who are new to Virginia schools. There are many readable books, written from different perspectives, in bookstores and libraries, and you might want to have a collection in your classroom to loan out or to have on hand for reference. See the 11th grade Virginia History teachers and the librarians in your school for help on bibliography and on specific topics. Second-hand shelves and library sales also can be a goldmine, since people leaving the state often discard their specific Virginia materials. Look also for the recent pictorial volumes that show the diversity of Virginia -- many of them are very handsome collections.

Use the several University of Virginia News Letters in this section for your own information. If you read through them at your leisure, you may find several times during the year when bits of information will be useful in class discussion. If you decide to "post-hole" one of the topics in the News Letters, send for additional copies, or assign News Letter topics for student reports, using the bibliography provided here. You will have the advantage of the authoritative News Letter summary at your fingertips.

Reminder: News Letters are copyrighted. Order additional copies by title and date, from:

Teacher Resources
Institute of Government
Minor Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

CITIZEN POWER IN VIRGINIA

A Brief Look at the Past

Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Mason, Wythe, and other founding fathers of our nation were the leaders of the young state of Virginia. They spoke and wrote eloquently about democracy, but in those days, citizen participation was expected only by white, male, propertyholders. Following the Civil War, as part of the compromise that allowed Virginia to become again a state, the 1868 Constitution gave the right to vote to all men, including blacks.

But this partial opening of political participation was brief, for in 1902, most blacks and poor whites were disenfranchised by a poll tax and literacy requirements. Virginia followed a national trend by limiting the vote to those who were considered most likely to understand the issues, to have a stake in the actions of government, and to continue the political "establishment" in control. A small, "like-minded" body of voters remained the pattern until the 1960s.

The most dramatic political and social changes in Virginia since the Civil War were brought about by actions of the national government, actions which have opened up our system and made CITIZEN POWER a possibility, a reality, in the 1980s:

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) This Supreme Court decision outlawed segregation of black and white school children, stating that separate had never been equal. Though it took some years to implement, this decision makes possible the education system that can provide essential citizenship skills to all Virginians.

The 24th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. This amendment branded the poll tax as unlawful, and began the process of opening up voter participation as a right of all citizens.

Baker v. Carr (1963) This Supreme Court decision required fair representation and apportionment in both houses of state legislatures, disrupting the landed-gentry control of many urbanizing states, including Virginia.

The Civil Rights Act & Voting Rights Act (1964-65) These two acts of Congress, and the subsequent legislation and court cases, have outlawed government discrimination against minorities in our society and the diminution of their political power. Literacy tests and devices that had been used to control voter registration were declared illegal, and jurisdictions that had used them are still required to obtain preclearance for any changes in voting districts or procedures. Some exemptions are allowed, but the state of Virginia and several particular jurisdictions in Virginia are still included in these preclearance provisions.

Virginia Citizen Power Today

Virginia is no longer only a rural commonwealth, though there are still vast areas of sparsely-populated rural land. The urban corridor extends south and east from Washington to Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Tidewater, attracting new industries, government and military facilities, and new people. The growth also has been felt in scattered areas around the state. Bristol, Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg, and Roanoke have all been added to the list of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) in recognition of their positions as centers of urban population. This growth contributes to the diversity that characterizes Virginia today -- people from different backgrounds, with wide-ranging skills and contributions to make to the social, economic, and political scene.

Blacks comprise about 20% of the total Virginia population, and are concentrated in the eastern half of the state, where many areas have populations 30% black, and others range from 10 to 70% black. Black voter registration has increased in the past few years, and the black vote is now considered important in a great many Virginia elections. The 1981-82 reapportionment of the General Assembly created single-member districts, which may result in the election of more black members of both houses.

Virginians, both natives and newcomers, are demanding roads, airports, clean air and water, education, and various social programs comparable to those in other states. Virginia's heritage of lean and carefully-financed government, and the budget expansion allowed by almost steady growth in the past few decades, has permitted significant progress toward many of these goals, but the state remains behind national levels in many others. Combined state and local taxes are below the national median, though there is such variety among the states that comparisons are difficult. There is on-going study by legislators and citizen groups of the fairness and appropriateness of all the taxes in Virginia, Watch the news.

In Virginia's transition to a two-party state (during the 1970s), party labels were confused, and the word conservative became the key to political success in many parts of the state. The way to defeat an opponent was to plant the label "moderate" or "liberal" on the candidate or the platform, sometimes with no regard to actual positions on issues of the day. (What do politicians mean by these words? Know the issues. Ask questions.)

The end of the closed political structure brought Virginia a new challenge. The old "they" is now "we." How can Virginians improve the poor percentage of voter participation? How can Virginians encourage better candidates for office? help them win? support their efforts for better government? How will you use your citizen power? (Assignment: Write a list of points you would include in an essay answering these questions, and be ready to write or discuss your views in class.)

Opportunitites and Challenges for the Future

The questions that follow call for specific answers that you will be asked to write or discuss during the course of this unit. Your answers may come from many sources. Make notes so you will be ready to deal with them.

1 - What kinds of services do Virginia citizens want? Are there basic levels of service that some branch of government should maintain in such continuing problems as poverty and malrutrition? health care? education? transportation? management of water resources? juvenile and family aid? care of the elderly? crime control and corrections? other?

2 - How should we pay for these services? (Consider general taxes, special or user taxes, at the local, state, or national level.)

3 - What is the role of the political parties?

4 - What is the role of private, citizen groups?

5 - What is the role of the individual citizen -- YOU?
(Some people say that it starts right here, in government class!)

USE YOUR CITIZEN POWER

Since fewer Virginians vote and participate in party politics, your vote, your interest and participation count even more!

1 - Register to vote.
2 - Be informed - read, discuss, learn about the issues. Meet candidates. Ask questions.
3 - Help choose candidates. VOTE IN PRIMARIES. Few voters usually participate in these elections, so your vote is much more influential. ATTEND MASS MEETINGS & CONVENTIONS. The meeting you don't attend may be the one that chooses candidates whom you will not want to support. Often very few people, maybe one, maybe you, will decide the candidates.
4 - Work for good candidates. Stuff envelopes, drive voters to the polls, baby sit, ring doorbells, distribute literature. Your party will give you lots of choices. Just call or appear and ask what you can do to help. (Obviously, if you have worked in the campaign, your concerns are more likely to be considered seriously by the office-holder later!)
5 - Be aware of special interest groups and political action committees (PACs) that usually work on only one issue. In the real world, legislators must make choices on many, very different issues. Support the candidate whose views on most issues agree with yours. (Are single-interest groups active in your area, influencing candidate selection or voter turnout?)
6 - Vote in the General Election. Urge your friends and family to vote. Offer rides to the polls to handicapped and elderly voters.

ONCE YOU ELECT THEM, DON'T FORGET THEM!

Write! Call! Send a wire! Your representatives probably want to be reelected. They do care how many voters are pleased or displeased by what they say and how they vote! Include personal reasons for your request for support of a particular bill or action by government.

When you write, write legibly or type, and use your own stationery.

- -Keep your comments to one issue or bill per letter.
- -Be specific about what you want your representative to do.
- -Be courteous. Do not sound unreasonable or bad-tempered.
- -Be brief. Your letter will be read, but it is more likely to be processed quickly if it gets to the point quickly.
- -Describe personal or community reasons for your request, and mention other people or groups who might be affected.
- -Offer to provide more information or documentation.
- -Identify yourself by your occupation, and don't be shy about admitting that you are a student. Most legislators keep district files that tell them which of their constituents care about which issues. They are usually impressed when a student takes the trouble to contact them with informed opinions.
- -Be sure to include your name and address. You do want a reply.

ADDRESS OFFICIALS PROPERLY

Address the Governor: The Honorable.........
Governor of Virginia
The State Capitol
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Dear Governor.......

Address a legislator: The Honorable.........
The Senate of Virginia (or The House of Delegates)
General Assembly Building
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Dear Senator (or Dear Mr./Mrs./Ms., for Delegates)

CITIZEN POWER DOES NOT STOP WHEN A BILL BECOMES A LAW! Some official or department must administer the program, implement or enforce the law. Public questioning and pressure continues to influence the reactions of the executive branch of government. Inquire directly to the department or agency. If you do not get satisfactory responses, contact your legislator. Legislators act as ombudsmen to advance or protect the interests of their constituents, and they DO get answers from officials, since they control executive purse-strings.

CITIZEN POWER ALSO INCLUDES YOUR RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS, AND YOUR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE A GROUP ("PEACEABLY TO ASSEMBLE") AND "TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT FOR A REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES." Only a handful of nations guarantee these rights to their citizens -- we are envied throughout most of the world. It is worth vigilance and informed citizen effort to be sure these rights are honored and perpetuated.

DEMOCRACY IS NOT A SPECTATOR SPORT!

REAPPORTIONMENT (1981-82) & VOTING RIGHTS IN VIRGINIA

Congressional Reapportionment Each ten years, after the census, district lines must be checked to be sure that each legislator in the House of Representatives represents approximately the same number of citizens. States that have lost population or not gained as much as others may lose seats in Congress, and states that have gained population may gain seats. (Each state has two U. S. Senators in Washington, regardless of population change.) This process of adjusting district lines to even up the number of people served by each representative is called reapportionment.

State Reapportionment The same process is undertaken in each house of the state legislatures after each census. In Baker v. Carr (1964), the U. S. Supreme Court declared that unequal districts make one person's vote more influential than another's and negate the principle of "one person, one vote." The Court opinion stated that "Legislatures represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms, or cities, or economic interests." Prior to this decision only one (lower) house of many state legislatures had been subject to reapportionment. The state senates had been considered sacred preserves of the counties, the rural strongholds, and until the urban explosion of the last fifty years, they had not been too out-of-balance in many of the less populous states.

Legislatures in most states, including Virginia, redistrict themselves -- and they obviously try every way to preserve the districts that elected them as individuals, and the other members of their own party.

The Virginia Constitution states that districts are to be "compact and contiguous." There is no standard for evaluating compliance, but these words appear to outlaw split districts and peculiarly contorted shapes such as the gerrymander that is pictured in many government textbooks.

> If your class were the Virginia House of Delegates, and ten years ago each of you represented approximately the same number of people, how would you feel if your district had grown and you had to give up part of it to a neighbor? You would probably want to keep the areas that had given you the greatest number of votes in the last election, and you would hope to carve off areas where your supporters were not so numerous. Since by law you must be a resident of the district you represent, you also would want to be sure that your own neighborhood was not cut off and added to another legislator's district. Can you see why the pressures are very strong to maintain the old lines, even if racial questions are NOT important in a particular area?

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (and subsequent cases) added that when district lines are redrawn, black or other racial or ethnic voting strength was not to be lessened in influence by such devices as packing all or most of such voters into one district, or by splitting them in such a way that they would be only minority populations in predominantly white or majority-population districts, and therefore less likely to have their members elected to office. Both of these practices had been used in many states to preserve the districts and positions of those in office. Multi-member and floterial districts had a similar effect in some areas of the South, including Virginia.

Multi-member districts It was considered preferable for a city or a county to be in one legislative district. When adjoining districts grew at different rates, double or multiple member districts were sometimes formed, to avoid splitting off part of a city or county. Multi-member districts tended to be represented by white majority legislators, even when a significant black concentration might have elected a black, had the districts not been combined.

Floterial districts If the lines could not be drawn conveniently, a larger area was drawn to include several over-populated jurisdictions, and the total excess could support a "floater" seat. Once again, the person elected to this seat would be elected from the whole area and was very likely to be a member of the majority white population.

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act states that where patterns of discrimination had existed, preclearance from the U. S. Attorney General would be required for any changes in districting, registration, or voting. The state of Virginia and some particular areas in Virginia were identified in this group.

It took 14 months, many reviews by state and federal officials, testimony and litigation by the NAACP and Common Cause, and a special session of the House of Delegates to produce the plan that was finally approved. Virginia now has 100 single-member districts, though at one point, the confusion was so great that they found themselves considering a plan that would have created 101 districts for the 100 seats! This upheaval, with all its political and racial nuances, is thrust into the General Assembly pressure cooker along with over 1500 bills to be considered, and a budget that can never stretch to cover the programs requested by thousands of Virginia groups and individuals...all in one hectic 30-day session. It seems reasonable to suggest that there must be a better way to do it!

1 - How did your Delegate District change in the 1981-82 reapportionment?

2 - What part did your Delegate play in the debate?

3 - Describe the citizen power used by NAACP and Common Cause.

4 - A leading voting rights lawyer has suggested that Virginia change General Assembly elections to even-numbered years, to allow legislators a full year to study census data, to use computers to draw possible district lines for consideration, and to hold public hearings. Look at the Elections Calendar. Do you think that General Assembly elections should or should not be changed to even-numbered years. Write at least two reasons for your decision.

5 - Do you think the General Assembly should redistrict itself? Write two reasons why they should, and two reasons why they should not.

6 - Can you suggest any other way redistricting might be accomplished? (Research question: What methods do other states use?)

7 - Explain what is meant by "one person, one vote."

FOR TEACHER BACKGROUND
NOT INTENDED FOR STUDENT USE

A BRIEF SURVEY OF VIRGINIA'S POLITICAL & ECONOMIC HISTORY

The following pages contain some sweeping generalizations and some insights into Virginia's past -- to help government teachers understand the background of today's issues. THIS IS NOT AN OFFICIAL HISTORIAN-APPROVED DOCUMENT. It includes quotations and ideas from sources that do not always agree. In fact, the sources might not agree on what should be included in a brief summary.

You and your students would benefit from reading an encyclopedia article such as the one in the Americana, by D. Alan Williams. The Hornbook of Virginia History published by the Virginia State Library offers a broader picture of the Commonwealth, and includes valuable sections on cultural history and historic landmarks. Other sources are listed at the conclusion of this segment, and in the Bibliography in Section A of this notebook. New 7th grade and 11th grade materials on Virginia history are available or soon will be appearing in your school. Add them to your bookshelf.

Note: 1984 is the 350th anniversary of the establishment of the first English-speaking local governments in the Western Hemisphere...in Virginia. The original counties were Accawmack, Charles City, Charles River, Elizabeth City, Henrico, James City, Warrosquyoake, and Warwick River, though many no longer retain these names, spellings, or county status.

VIRGINIA'S 1776 CONSTITUTION

Virginia's original constitution has been revised six times, at intervals averaging thirty-three years. The "founding fathers" frequently mentioned the necessity of amending and rewriting a constitution in each generation to meet the will and the needs of the people; in fact, Jefferson suggested that a specific period be stated in the document for revision. Such a provision was included in the 1868 Constitution, only to be eliminated in 1902.

George Mason's celebrated Bill of Rights, establishing personal rights that are beyond the control of government, became the beginning section of Virginia's Constitution. It remains almost unchanged in today's Constitution, and has been adapted for use in the U. S. Constitution and many other documents around the nation and the world, including the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

State and national documents written during this period gave the executive almost no power: Virginia's governor was appointed by the Senate for one year and could serve a maximum of three terms. He could act only with the approval of a Privy Council also chosen by the General Assembly. The newly self-proclaimed states were still reeling from the oppression of the British king, so they made popularly-elected legislatures the decision-making bodies. Voting was a privilege for landowners only.

The ideas of the philosophers of the 1700s were basic to the structure of our constitution and our government. Locke and others described the social contract and the natural law of individuals and their rights to be free from political oppression, the responsibility of the community to protect these rights, the responsibility of the government to guard the community, and finally, the legislature (more important than the executive) to oversee it all, but subject to the people's recall if the trust is violated.

> If you are teaching college-bound students who should be made aware of the political philosophers, you might consider assigning class reports on several of the most important philosophers and their works. There are many sources for summaries of the views of political philosophers. Check your library and second-hand bookstores.

The great names in our nation's colonial history and struggle for independence were the landed gentry who made decisions in the formation and early days of Virginia: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Randolph, and George Mason, to name only a few. From the words and pens of these leaders came the ideals and goals that still mark our nation's course today, though many were very daring -- even revolutionary -- in their time. Equality, individual rights, limited government, majority rule -- all were and still are controversial in most of the world, and all are controversial at times in the U.S. today as we try to guarantee them and reconcile conflicts in our society over their interpretation.

In the realm of practical politics, the Federalist Party had dominated Richmond during Jefferson's early active days, but before 1800, Jefferson's Republican Party was firmly ensconced in Virginia (as it was in the nation). The justices of the peace who sat as the county courts were appointed by the governor and virtually selected the candidates for the General Assembly, which appointed the governor. The Virginia Court of Appeals superintended the scene from the security of a life appointment. (Such a closed circle of political influence was the norm in Virginia until elections were expanded in 1851, and then again when voter participation was restricted from 1902 until 1965.)

The colonial population had been clustered in the fall-line areas around Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg, with significant landowners scattered in the surrounding lands, and the plantation areas of Southside. The Piedmont and western regions were becoming more populated, and by 1800 westward migration was drawing increasing numbers of adventurous souls across the mountains. Reapportionment and a new look at state government were under discussion as early as 1816, when Jefferson wrote his suggestion that it was time for revision, since two-thirds of the adults alive when the document was written had died, and it could not be assumed that the wishes of the current generation were represented in its provisions.

VIRGINIA IN THE 1800s

Virginia was a slave state and the slavery issue has been considered by most authors as the most important and controversial issue of the century. Slave importers and slave traders had amassed fortunes shipping them as cargo into Virginia. (James Michener's Chesapeake gives a picture of the influence of slave trade on the life of Tidewater, and pictures and descriptions of slave markets have appeared in many historic accounts.) As the tobacco crop took its toll of the soil, many Southside planters moved south or west, or sold their slaves to planters in the areas where cotton was becoming the important crop. Virginia's Manumission Act of 1792 led to the emancipation of 10,000 slaves during the following decade, but the economic and legal complications of re-settling former slaves made the problem a difficult one for the General Assembly to discuss. Freed slaves were not welcome in neighboring states, and there was a limit to the number that could be trained and absorbed into the fledgling industries of Virginia. Pressure from northern abolitionists pushed some Virginians into speaking and writing tracts defending slavery. The state's leaders were alarmed by Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, and when the gradual emancipation proposal in the 1832 General Assembly failed, it signalled the end of organized opposition to slavery within the state.

Virginius Dabney, in his Virginia: The New Dominion, quotes (p.243) a statement made by Charles Dickens when he visited Virginia in 1842: there was "gloom and dejection" and an "air of ruin and decay wherever slavery sits brooding." At the time of the Missouri Compromise discussions (1820), Jefferson had written "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." Slavery, once thought by some to be an economic boon to the colonies, became increasingly an economic liability, and the moral and philosophical questions consumed the thinking population and sent hundreds of capable, ambitious, young people to other states that provided better education, more equitable apportionment, and less preoccupation with "the firebell in the night." In fact, Dabney, in his chapter "The Decline of Virginia," says that the Commonwealth had fallen from its place of leadership by the middle of the 19th Century. He quotes a survey by Richard Beale Davis that showed 227 men born in Virginia prior to 1810 served in Congress in later years -- but from other states. Nine state governors, twelve territorial governors, a president, cabinet officers and various other government officials, and Cyrus McCormick (inventor of the mechanical reaper) were also among the native Virginians who made their mark in other parts of the nation. If our political system had been more open, might some of these leaders have stayed in Virginia? Might we have dealt differently with the slavery issue?

Internal improvements (canals, roads, and railroads) were political and economic issues as the population spread west. The eastern power structure began to recognize the need for improved transportation to coastal ports and farflung markets. The James River-Kanawha Canal was planned to connect Covington and a water route to the Ohio River in the west, with the Chesapeake and Atlantic. The western connection across the mountains was never completed. The Valley Turnpike from Winchester to Staunton was completed following an ancient Indian trail and stage road, now near the location of Routh 11 and Interstate 81.

After decades of futile efforts to connect the mines and metals of the western mountains and the grain of western plateaus to the ports of Virginia, the lines were run north and the rail link became the Baltimore & Ohio, with the port of Baltimore receiving the infusion of development money. The railroads were all independent, often with different gauge tracks and rolling stock. There was little attempt to standardize their equipment or link their routes during this period. There were tobacco railroads to haul the crop from the Southside plantations to Richmond. There were wheat railroads to haul wheat from the Shenandoah Valley and northern Piedmont wheat fields to Alexandria and Richmond. The B & O petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to extend B & O rails down the Valley to connect with the Ohio through the cuts at the Greenbrier and the Kanawha Rivers. The General Assembly denied permission, so the connection was made farther north, through Grafton and Wheeling. (The 1957 Virginia history book, Cavalier Commonwealth, is considered to contain good material on industrial, railroad, and trade development during this period.)

The 1830 Constitution Sectional disputes bubbled up in the Constitutional Convention in 1829. Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond Enquirer and longtime friend of Thomas Jefferson (now deceased) took up the argument for fair representation in the legislature. The opposition declared that property and other interests such as business must be served in proportion to their economic importance, a view that clearly placed affluent Tidewater gentry in preferred positions. The debate lasted three months, and the result was increased representation for the northern Piedmont and Shenandoah, though the areas west of the mountains still were not given fair representation.

The state's western boundary line was being drawn by mountains and politics. The Shenandoah Valley and Southwest Virginia men of power, tended to favor the eastern Jacksonian agricultural image and platforms, while the trans-Allegheny sheep farmers, iron and manufacturing people tended toward the abolition of slavery, Henry Clay's "American System" of protective tariffs, and the Whig Party. The 1850 census added new fuel to the inter-sectional rivalries when it revealed that the white population west of the Blue Ridge had grown to a total of more than 90,000 greater than the population of the whole area east of the mountains. Since only 10 of the 29 state senators, and only 56 of the 134 delegates came from the more populous west, it was obvious that another reapportionment (and constitutional convention) was in order.

The 1851 Constitution In 1850, the representation in the General Assembly was changed to reflect the fact that the population center was now west of the Alleghenies. Of the 152 delegates, 83 were now to be from "the west." Of the 50 senators, 20 were to be from the west, and the number was to be changed again according to the 1860 census. The first western governor was elected in the following year.

This Constitution gave the vote to every white male propertyholder. It established a poll tax, half of which was to fund schools. The governor, lieutenant governor, judges, and many other state and local officials were to be elected. County courts were replaced by elected magistrates. This was a sharp departure from the closed circle of pilitical influence that had dominated Virginia office-holding since colonial times.

The 1860s and the Civil War Virginia was the leading industrial state in the south in 1860. It boasted one-sixth of the total railroad mileage in the nation, a network of canals, and even a steamship line operating on Chesapeake Bay. Lead and salt were mined in the southwest. Danville and Lynchburg were tobacco centers. Richmond (with a population of almost 38,000) was the biggest city in the state and the home of the Tredegar Iron Works, tobacco warehouses and processing plants, and one of the largest grain mills in the world. Norfolk was second largest (with a population of 15,000) and was in competition with Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston for shipping and trade. The Wheeling-Wellsburg area, (soon to be a key center of the new state of West Virginia) whirred with activity in foundries, a steam engine factory, textile and flour mills, sawmills, paper mills, and glass factories -- all shipping tons of products down the Ohio River.

Virginia had much to lose in the war...and lost much! Dabney (pp. 357-8) quotes a House of Delegates estimate totaled in 1877:

Personal property	$116,000,000
Realty	121,000,000
Internal Improvements	26,000,000
State's interest in banks	4,000,000
Slaves & other property	163,000,000
	$457,000,000

Figures in the millions are tossed around commonly today, but a hundred years ago, these sums were "of almost inconceivable magnitude." For a population of fewer than 700,000 whites and 500,000 blacks to sustain losses close to half a billion dollars was a catastrophic setback. The reason Virginia's losses were so great, of course, was that the state was the scene of so much of the war's destruction. The Confederate capital during most of the war was Richmond, the surrender was at Appomattox, and four of the bloodiest battles of the war were fought in Virginia. The economic losses totaled above do not really reflect the personal and family losses and disruptions, or the further loss of young and ambitious leaders who might have helped to restore the fabric of life to Virginia, the only southern state not to recover prewar economic levels by 1870. There is no way to put a dollar figure on the social and personal misery inflicted on the black population by the institution of slavery or the legal confusions and injustices that would persist for more than a hundred years following the Emancipation Proclamation.

> A topic worthy of investigation is how the economic dominance of Virginia in 1860 could have been jeopardized and then decimated by a war fought over states' rights focused on slavery, considering that fewer than 25% of Virginians owned slaves at all, and that the percentage of slaves in the total population had declined from 48% in 1830 to 30% in 1860. What social and psychological forces tipped the

balance toward secession? What changes in apportionment, education, and governance might have resulted in a different response from Virginia? If Virginia had not joined the South Carolina secession, would there have been a war? If the western Virginians, who opposed slavery, had had their proportional share in the state government, would they have split off to form their own state? What if..?

In 1866, the General Assembly refused to approve the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which granted full citizenship to former slaves, so Congress installed Military District #1, with federal troops and a federally-appointed governor. Virginia was an occupied territory, no longer a state.

The 1868 Constitution In October of 1867, delegates were elected and two months later a constitutional convention met in Richmond, under the chairmanship of Judge John C. Underwood. Judge Underwood had presided over the Norfolk grand jury proceedings against Jefferson Davis in 1866, and his tirades prompted a running battle with The Petersburg Index, and The Richmond Whig. The Index termed His Honor an "absurd, blasphemous, cowardly, devilish, empirical, fanatical, ghoulish, horrible, ignorant, jacobinical...Yankeeish zero." (See Chapter 29, "Reconstruction," in Dabney for a colorful account of the Judge's brief and stormy stay in Virginia, and a description of the mob-orator, Reverend James W. Hunnicutt, a former slave-owner and secessionist who "blossomed as a fiery foe of the Virginia whites" and provided interim leadership for the Republican Party.)

Congress had passed laws that disenfranchised all former Confederate or state officials who had fought for the Confederacy. All state and local officers had to "recognize and accept the civil and political equality of all men before the law" and swear that they had "never voluntarily borne arms against the United States." This "Ironclad Oath" kept nearly all white leaders from public office, and, in fact, from voting. It should also be recognized that it had been against the law to teach a slave to read or write, so there were few literate blacks who might be available for public office or even to vote. (The 15th Amendment was not passed until 1870.) There are stories of some amazing former slaves and freedmen who had managed to learn to read and write. Many taught themselves. (Your library should have biographies and collections of vignettes.)

Two blacks, Dr. Thomas Bayne and Lewis Lindsay (a Richmond Delegate) were frequent speakers at the convention, and the Delegate from Prince Edward and Appomattox, J. W. D. Bland, was identified as "the most thoughtful and able Negro member." Two years later, Bland (then a member of the Virginia Senate) had the misfortune to be among 62 persons killed when part of the Capitol's second floor collapsed under the weight of a crowd gathered for a Supreme Court hearing. Might the racial history of Virginia have been different if this capable young leader had chanced to be in another part of the building at that moment?

It is generally acknowledged that approval of the entire Underwood Constitution (including the Ironclad Oath and the disenfranchisement provisions) would have resulted in black control of the politics and government of Virginia. The military governor ordered the referendum postponed and a "Committee of Nine" worked out a "compromise": suffrage for all men including blacks in return for the separation of the vote into two questions: 1) the oath and disenfranchisement provisions; and 2) the main body of the constitution. A tense and dirty campaign resulted in the approval of the constitution and the rejection of the oath and disenfranchisement, and the election of a slate of conservatives. The political mastermind responsible for this turn of events was General William Mahone, "The Hero of the Crater." (He had ordered the successful attack on Grant's Northern troops when they bogged down outside Petersburg attempting to cut off Richmond's supply lines south and west.) Mahone managed to split the Republicans by convincing them to nominate a black (Dr. J. D. Harris of Hampton) to be lieutenant governor, then maneuvering the Republicans-who-would-not-support-a-black to nominate a separate and more conservative ticket, which he then talked the Conservative Party into endorsing. It was clever -- and successful.

In spite of the chaotic convention described with great detail and color by Dabney (Chapter 29); the Constitution that emerged contained some enduring provisions: a statewide system of public schools, a written secret ballot, and a property tax to be equal and uniform for various types of property, with the greatest burden to fall on land.

The Underwood Constitution included the full citizenship of blacks, thus satisfying the federal government, which removed the Military Governor and troops, and Virginia was readmitted to the Union in 1870. Some other southern states were under military jurisdiction until 1877.

The Underwood Constitution also required a township form of county government, which failed to take root. The provision was subsequently removed from the document.

Virginians pitched in after the Civil War to rebuild the cities and restore the farms. The tobacco crop in 1866 was back almost to the 1860 level, though worldwide depression and played-out soils (that required costly fertilizers) took their toll after that. New varieties of tobacco, grown in Kentucky and Ohio, became more popular and Virginia's share of the market dropped dramatically.

1870 - 1900 Mahone had studied engineering at Virginia Military Institute, and before the war he had been the President, Chief Engineer, and Superintendent of the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad. After the war, he quickly restored the tracks to working order and used his powers of persuasion and maneuver to push legislation through the General Assembly, authorizing the merger of several small railroad lines into the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio. This through line gave Virginia direct railroad service across the southern tier of the state - from Norfolk to Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Bristol. The state also sold its one-third financial interest in the railroads, which dated back to original construction investments.

Mahone used his organizing abilities to found the Readjuster Party, dedicated to "readjusting" the state's $30 million debt downward to $21 million. ($15 million had been charged to the new state of West Virginia.) This line of reasoning was opposed by the Funders, who believed that Virginia could keep its honor only by honoring its full obligations. Mahone proposed to finance other state services, notably schools, with the money not paid to creditors. The Readjusters won a majority in the General Assembly in 1879 and again in 1881, when they also won the governorship and elected William Mahone himself to the U. S. Senate. His bid for reelection in 1887 failed, as did his campaign for governor in 1889. Mahone's coordination of the railroad lines of Virginia is remembered as a significant aid to the state's economy. (Chapter 30 in Dabney, "The Era of Mahone," gives a colorful description of the wealthy, dyspeptic, 5'6" general weighing about 100 pounds, with a squeaky voice, bizarre taste in dress, rare executive ability and political prescience. The A. M. & O. Railroad was dubbed "All Mine & Otelia's." Otelia was his wife and mother of his 13 children. The 7th grade text, Londy & Adams, Virginia, The People's History, also has a 3-page spotlight on Mahone, "A Virginia Railroad Giant.")

The 1890s were a rough political decade -- full of vote buying, ballot box stuffing, and mounting pressures for segregation. Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton Institute, became a national figure, raising money for Tuskegee Institute in Alabama from affluent northerners and foundations. He spoke of equality of opportunity with them and did not focus on the "threatening" aspects of social integration. In the South, he worked behind the scenes trying to head off the Jim Crow laws that were to become a reality about the turn of the century. He was criticized by some for not being more militant, but others say it is doubtful that he could have had much success at stemming the widespread tide of segregation, and it might have crippled his efforts for Tuskegee and Hampton.

The Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company was founded and began to work on national contracts, and the C & O extended its tracks to provide easier transport of materials to the site. Virginia was able to take some steps toward recovery from the war, but it would be another ninety years (the 1980s) before Virginia's per capita income would approximate the national average. The last two decades of the 19th century saw Virginia's agricultural economy begin to expand as railroads connected truck-farming areas to population centers. (i.e., the railroad line built up the Eastern Shore to Washington, D. C.). An interesting development during this period was the promotion and speculation of land and industrial "deals" that centered on the Lexington-Buena Vista-Glasgow area. The story features a banker absconding with $180,000 of bank assets, the construction of several factories and mills, and the reputed interest of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. See the description in Dabney (pp. 419-20).

By 1893, the farmers were organized and searching for leaders to guide them through the financial panic. In other states, populist groups sprang up to advance the causes of the farmers against the industrial, bank, and railroad interests. In Virginia, the farmers found the leadership of the landed gentry on their side, and the movement was turned conservative. The abolition of slavery and the depression following the Civil War brought an end to the plantation system. Marginal growers were forced out of business and many plantation owners sold off acreage, reducing the average farm size from 336 acres in 1860 to 119 acres in 1900.

U. S. Senators were still elected by the General Assembly, and the political tempest swirled around Thomas S. Martin, who had assumed leadership in the Democratic Party, on the death of John S. Barbour, in 1892. Martin's era was to last for more than two decades and lead, in turn, to the forty years of Byrd organizational control. Republicans remained split over the role of blacks in the party, and feuding and shooting still complicated political affairs in some rural counties. Populism never caught on, and "free silver" had lost its appeal before the new century.

VIRGINIA IN THE EARLY 1900s

The 1902 Constitution In reaction to the vote-buying and ballot box stuffing that characterized politics in the 1890s, many states in the nation were tightening up their registration and voting regulations in the early 1900s. Waves of immigration threatened the political power structures. Connecticut had adopted a literacy test in 1855, and by the turn of the century, most of the Southern states and others scattered from coast to coast were instituting literacy tests and poll taxes in an attempt to limit the voting public to those whom they thought were most likely to understand and have a financial stake in the political and economic issues of the times, and to continue the political establishment in office.

Race was only one consideration in the debates, since poor whites were also largely excluded. Research by Dr. Timothy O'Rourke of the University of Virginia, shows that many Virginians were reluctant to impose the "understanding" clause as the condition for registration (they thought it demeaning), and it stayed on the books less than two years. New Yorkers, on the other hand, imposed (in 1921) a much more stringent requirement that registrants read and explain passages from the New York Constitution, and it remained part of the law for many years.

The 1902 Constitution and subsequent legislation established the poll tax and literacy requirements to limit voting to a relatively small, easily-controlled group of landed gentry and wealthy urban men, generally considered to be social, economic, and political conservatives, dedicated to keeping government lean and taxes low.

Two other significant changes in this constitution were additional limits on the legislature, including strict controls on bonds, and the removal of the 1868 Constitution provision that required a referendum every twenty years on the calling of a constitutional convention. (Remember Jefferson's letter of 1816?)

The State Corporation Commission also was established to regulate railroads and other corporations. Dabney states (pp. 438-9) that they "conferred on the commission a wider jurisdiction than that enjoyed by any similar state agency in this country, before or since. The dire predictions of 'chaos' have, of course, not been remotely borne out. And while the commission has been subjected to occasional criticism, the corporations have been, and are, among its staunchest supporters, while the public has benefitted greatly." Some Virginians have disagreed with Dabney's view of the public benefit.

Decades later, Henry Howell, legislator and lieutenant governor, Democrat and populist, and frequent gubernatorial candidate, campaigned on the slogan "Keep the Big Boys Honest" and zeroed in on the S.C.C.(State Corporation Commission, which he saw as the tool of the utilities and big corporations. He fought for consumer advocates on the board, and testified repeatedly that the utilities should not be able to raise rates to the public to cover the costs of their mistakes and inefficiencies. In 1972-73, all three judges on the Commission retired -- one after 48 years, one after 25 years, and one after 15 years on the job. A "new" commission has changed the procedures to be more responsive to public concerns, but the controversies boil up anew each time there are rate hearings or appointments to the three-person commission. (The term is now set at six years.) Start a file of clippings to augment the information in the two News Letters in this notebook. Be ready next time the S.C.C. hits the headlines.

The document that came from the 1902 convention was NOT submitted to the voters -- small wonder! It was proclaimed by the delegates to be the supreme law of the Commonwealth, in spite of public commitments and legal stipulations that it would be put to a vote. Obviously, the disenfranchised 90% would have had to be kept from the polls! Appeals went all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, which refused to intervene.

The first two decades of this century featured the Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, political activity by Methodists and Baptists, and the Reverend Doctor James Cannon, Jr., who "was almost demoniacal in his driving determination to dry up the Old Dominion." (Dabney, p. 461) Dabney goes on to note that "the era of the amphibious statesmen, that notorious species which voted 'dry' and drank 'wet' -- had dawned on Virginia." The Local Self-Government Association of Virginia and the Personal Liberty Association organized the opponents of prohibition. Reverend Cannon dubbed The Richmond Times-Dispatch "Bold, Brave Boys of the Bottle," and claimed their motto was "Give Us Liquor or Give Us Death." The "drys" won the statewide referendum and all the evils of society were supposed to disappear. Hoarders descended on the liquor stores and quantities were sold before the law went into effect. Each householder was allowed out-of-state liquor totaling a quart a month (or three gallons of beer or one gallon of wine) and it evidently worked well until the 18th Amendment dried up the out-of-state supplies. Then "moonshiners and bootleggers moved in and thousands of otherwise law-abiding citizens began violating the law." (Dabney, p. 461)

THE BYRD ORGANIZATION AND THE 1928 CONSTITUTION

"Organization?" he said. "Machine? I don't know much about that...I've been too busy in Washington for too many years...I would say we are just a loose organization of friends who believe in sound government..." so said Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Sr., on his 75th birthday, in 1962.

"A very loosely-knit group of Virginians, no membership, no roll, simply the people of Virginia who think alike, who are interested in the welfare of Virginia, who are supremely interested in giving Virginia good government." So said Governor John S. Battle in a statement some years earlier. Both quotes are found in the Morris & Sabato book, Virginia Government and Politics, published by the Institute of Government and the Virginia Chamber of Commerce (new edition due shortly).

V.O. Key in " Southern Politics," (p. 19) called the Byrd organization a "Political museum piece," controlled by an oligarchy "that demonstrates a sense of honor, an aversion to open venality, a degree of sensitivity to public opinion, a concern for efficiency in administration, and, so long as it does not cost much, a feeling of social responsibility."

All sources agree that the restricted electorate allowed the control to remain in the hands of a small number of men. The Democratic candidate was generally unopposed, and the primaries were won with the votes of less than 10% of the adult population. There were no blazing issues, no charges of dishonesty, and few candidates willing to challenge the organization that reached into almost every courthouse and local public office.

Harry Flood Byrd was a politician of great talent and intuition. He was the nephew of Henry D. Flood of Appomattox, a close associate of Senator Martin, who had been the dominant figure in Virginia politics in the previous decade. Byrd was elected to the Virginia Senate in 1916. In 1923, he led the fight to defeat a $50 million bond issue to build highways. In 1926, he was elected governor, with the support of the conservative rural populace. He was a reformer. After his election, he worked with the General Assembly to appoint a Constitutional Revision Commission, and to pay several thousand dollars for a management study of Virginia government by the New York (!) Bureau of Municipal Research, to streamline the structure of government. The consultants, the commission, and the governor introduced efficiencies and economies that eliminated jobs, and reorganized and consolidated departments and agencies. He wooed new industries to Virginia and increased money for roads, education, and mental hospitals. His moves for economy and efficiency included the constitutional amendment forbidding the use of general obligation bonds by the state, except under the most limited conditions. This was "pay as you go," the slogan most frequently associated with Harry F. Byrd.

In a University of Virginia News Letter (February 1963), Former Governor Colgate W. Darden, Jr., commented on the ultimate cost to taxpayers of financing legitimate and necessary capital improvements through the creation of authorities. Without the "full faith and credit" of the Commonwealth, the authorities had to pay much higher interest on their loans. Frequently, they put the bonds on the market all at once, adding interest "up front," though much of the construction money actually was not needed until later. Hundreds of millions of dollars in extra interest charges were added to the taxpayers' bills, according to Darden's article. Tolls on highways and bridges of Virginia remain today as another legacy of the fear of borrowing in the name of the Commonwealth. Since the stringent bond controls also affected Virginia local governments, cities and counties were forced to create authorities for their needed capital improvements.

The management consultants, the commission, and the governor also cut the number of elected state officials to three: the governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general. Judges were to be elected by the General Assembly, and all other state officials were to be appointed by the governor and/or the General Assembly. The governor also gained control of the State Compensation Board, which controlled the pay for the locally elected Constitutional Officers. (See University of Virginia News Letters in this notebook for more information on these offices.)

The 1928 Constitution changes made Virginia's governor one of the strongest in the nation -- some say, the strongest. In spite of these changes, less than half of the 1902 document was actually replaced and the 1928 changes are considered only a revision, not a new constitution. Many anachronisms remained to be excised in 1971. This constitution is usually remembered as the one that enshrined "pay as you go" provisions in Virginia government.

The Byrd era has been the subject of many articles and books. James Latimer, former political columnist for The Richmond Times-Dispatch, wrote a series of articles on Virginia's governors from the 1940s through the 1960s, which may soon be made available in reprint form for your library. (The articles summarized television programs produced jointly by Central Virginia Educational Television and The Richmond Times-Dispatch. The television tapes may also be available.)

1960s - THE DECADE OF CHANGE

The Byrd organization controlled Virginia from about 1925 until about 1966, overlapping the periods of one-party rule in other parts of the nation. But important changes finally penetrated the Commonwealth, upsetting the unanimity of the leaders and eventually bringing about great changes in the social and political structure by what James Latimer has called "that pair of federal hero-villains, the U. S. Supreme Court and the U. S. Congress."

1 - The Brown Decision - Brown v. Board of Education (1954). The Supreme Court overturned the Plessy v. Ferguson (1887) ruling that had allowed "separate but equal" facilities on railroad cars, and (by extension) in other public facilities. Separate was now recognized as not equal, and the dilapidated, poorly equipped, minimally financed schools for black children offered obvious proof. Segregated schools were ordered to integrate with "all deliberate speed." The Byrd organization devised "massive resistance" tactics of delay, closing of schools, and funding and tuition maneuvers (rejected by the courts) to postpone compliance.

2 - Baker v. Carr (1962) - The Supreme Court declared that federal courts could consider cases challenging representation in state legislatures. In 1960, one-fifth of the population of the state of Florida lived in Dade County (which includes Miami), yet it was represented by only one of the 38 senators and only 3 of the state's 95 representatives. Rural representatives dominated almost every

state's legislature, and they were unlikely to redistrict themselves out of office unless ordered to do so by a federal court. Virginia was no exception. The 1962 redistricting attempt of the Virginia General Assembly was ruled (by the Supreme Court, in 1964) inadequate, discriminatory, and unconstitutional. The principle of one-person, one-vote was to apply to both houses of a state legislature.

3 - 24th Amendment to the Constitution - submitted to the states for ratification in 1962. This amendment outlawed the poll tax as a deterrent to registration and voting in federal elections. James Latimer (in "The Coming Decade: A Political Sphinx," reprinted in Morris & Sabato: Virginia Government & Politics) has likened the impact of the 24th Amendment to a dagger "pointed at the heart of the traditional Virginia system of political control, the state poll tax and its entanglements of legal barbed wire that protected the voting booths from too-heavy popular invasion." Under the direction of the governor, the General Assembly met in a special session to introduce a "certificate of residency" that was to be filed six months before election day, on the assumption that only the most dedicated citizens would bother. This was promptly subjected to a test in the courts and was struck down.

4 & 5 - The Civil Rights Act & Voting Rights Act (1964-65) These two laws were enacted by Congress to reverse the discriminatory effect of state laws. The Voting Rights Act prohibited gerrymandered districts that resulted in the diminution of political power of minorities in many parts of the nation. The state of Virginia was identified as one of the jurisdictions that had used the literacy test, and several specific areas in the state were cited for discriminatory practices. This means they are required to obtain pre-clearance from the U. S. Department of Justice before changing any districts, provisions, or practices of registration or voting. In the past, many federal regulations had spawned state and local adaptations maximizing every loophole and requiring vigilance and court monitoring over a considerable period of time. The pre-clearance provisions of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act prevent this short-circuiting of compliance.

It was a period of tremendous change, and the social and political life of Virginia was permanently altered. Some historians have said that a hundred years of resistance finally ended in the 1960s, when southern states were forced to give up the legal discriminations of slavery.

Mills Godwin became governor in 1966 and followed through on the move by his predecessor, Albertis Harrison, to inaugurate a sales tax. More than a dozen localities in the state had already instituted a local sales tax, and the state feared that if it did not act, more local governments would follow suit and the state would be unable to tap this channel of revenue in the future. Governor Godwin won approval of the 2% sales tax, with the local "piggy back" 1% (optional) and a commitment to add another 1% two years later. (We have had no change in the sales tax since that time, though there are - in 1984 - suggestions that the sales taxes in some other states are fairer, particularly for low-income people. The alternatives being proposed include a higher sales tax, but with food and drugs exempt, or a sales tax that includes services, as well as goods. Section F of this notebook will include information on these alternatives.

Governor Godwin also achieved passage of an $81 million bond issue to benefit higher education in Virginia. His successor, Linwood Holton, and almost every other political figure in the state joined the citizens' group supporting the referendum. The sales tax and bond issue gave state government much-needed revenue and voter approval to accelerate the recovery and progress of Virginia's institutions and programs. (It should be noted that Virginia state and local taxes combined are still below the nation's average, though there are some questions of equity -- who pays how much -- being addressed by legislators and citizen groups around the Commonwealth. Section F of this notebook will include information on these questions.)

VIRGINIA'S 1971 CONSTITUTION

Portions of the 1902 Constitution, principally those related to the powers of the governor, had been revised in 1928, but most of the document had not been touched. The old dueling provision was still there, taking away the right to vote from those who dueled. ("Lose the duel and lose your life -- Win the duel and lose your vote!") Innumerable amendments, some of which belonged instead in the legal code, had swollen the document to 35,000 words. It was neither brief, clear, nor easily understood -- three of the usual criteria for a "good" constitution.

The Bill of Rights was given a significant addition. Citizens are now protected against "any governmental discrimination upon the basis of religious conviction, race, color, sex, or national origin." (How did your Delegate and Senator vote on the Equal Rights Amendment? What reasons did they give for their votes?)

Slight modifications were made in the restrictions on bonds and debt, but Virginia's fiscal conservatism was maintained. Voting laws and tax laws were changed to conform to national legislation and court decisions. A process of succession and disability provisions for the governor were included, and the judicial article was overhauled. A strong statement on compulsory education for all children of school age was also included, with standards of quality to be established by the State Board of Education, subject to control by the General Assembly. Conservation of our natural resources and comsumer protection also were mentioned for the first time.

Changes in the Virginia Constitution must be approved by two successive sessions of the General Assembly, with an election between them, and then the amendments must be approved by the voters. The 1971 amendments were broken into five public questions, all of which were approved by the voters of Virginia.

This revision cut the words to 18,000, reorganized and consolidated 17 articles into 12, and 226 sections into 123. Albert L. Sturm analyzed the document (in a University of Virginia News Letter, vol. 53, no. 4) and concluded that it was not the far-reaching, innovative, and imaginative document that might have come from our 18th Century Virginia political thinkers, but it was considered to be an improvement over the 1902 document and it was approved by Virginia's voters. Sturm and other political scientists have already suggested some topics for discussion by the next revision commission: 1) changing the reapportionment process to put the responsibility in the hands of some body other than the General Assembly itself, 2) the tenure of the governor -- whether more than one term should be allowed, 3) the question of the governor and lieutenant governor being elected as a team, as is done in many other states, 4) the granting of more power to local government, 5) the state involvement in the positions of the local constitutional officers, and 6) Jefferson's concern in 1816, some provision to facilitate public involvement in the calling of a constitutional revision commission. (Our Virginia Bill of Rights says the power to make and alter the constitution rests with the people, yet the voters' only act is to say yes or no to specific wordings after the commission's work is accomplished.)

Now, let's stop and review a bit...with two columns by Charles McDowell, who summarized the whole history and situation in November of 1977, and again during the gubernatorial race in 1981.

VIRGINIA POLITICS: A SHORT HISTORY

Charles McDowell

Reprinted by permission from Richmond Times-Dispatch, Nov. 4, 1973

The leading politicians in Virginia once included George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, James Madison, James Monroe and Patrick Henry, all at the same time. Things have thinned out somewhat in Virginia politics since that time, haven't they?

Nor was there any real profusion of giants prior to the Revolutionary period. In the beginning, at Jamestown in 1607, Capt. John Smith pretty much ran the show. He believed strongly in the work ethic, carried a sword and wore an iron hat, and his leadership came to be generally, if grumpily, respected.

I am embarrassed to report that I don't know how John Smith stood on fiscal integrity.

The Smith administration, working through Pocahontas, tried to make a coalition with the Indians. The degree of success varied. Sometimes it worked and sometimes there were massacres.

Pocahontas, thought she was an ethnic American, or member of a heritage group, married a well-known farmer named John Rolfe. He made a success in the tobacco trade and became the first Byrd Democrat in Virginia.

In 1619, Gov. George Yeardley arrived from England with a plan to set up "a generall Assemblie...for the better establishinge of a Commanwealth heere." The spelling was funny but the Virginians instinctively understood that Yeardley was talking about politics.

They promptly elected 22 burgesses, two from each of the 11 major plantations in the colony. Nearly all the burgesses were either the owners or sons of the owners of the plantations.

Virginians continued to elect the same kind of representation to the state legislature until the 1950s when Northern Virginia began to elect an occasional real estate man.

Virginia politics rocked along under increasingly irritating British restraints until the last third of the 18th century when a group of young men, most of whom had been radicalized at the College of William and Mary, met at Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and decided to found the United States.

(McDowell article cont'd)

Jefferson then wrote the Declaration of Independence. Madison wrote the Constitution. Mason wrote the Bill of Rights (which was controversial from the first, to tell the truth about it). At crucial points in the course of the country's founding, Patrick made one of the strongest speeches ever heard in the 3rd Congressional District, and George Washington defeated the British army.

After the United States was founded, Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe took turns being president of it. John Marshall, another friend of theirs, became chief justice and for many years staved off the Supreme Courts's long slide to the left.

Although Washington disapproved of politics, all the others seemed to like it all right. Jefferson, for example, founded both the Democratic and Republican parties in America. A short history like this is no place to try to explain how Jefferson managed to found two parties, but the orators of both still regularly attest that he did.

The Civil War, which was the next really big thing to come along after the Virginia Dynasty quit running the country, had a definite effect on politics in Virginia. This became apparent after the war when the two main parties in Virginia turned out to be the Funders and the Readjusters. Parties with such names obviously could not long endure.

The Funders were conservatives, I think. The Readjusters were a coalition of former Conservatives, Democrats, Republicans and Whigs led by William Mahone. It was the oddest coalition put together in Virginia until Linwood Holton put together Byrd Democrats, Republicans, organized labor, black voters and assorted anti-sales-taxers in 1969.

Mahone was a railroad tycoon -- Virginia's original "big boy." He also was a populist. What do you think of that?

The collision of the Funders and the Readjusters after the Civil War stirred up a terrible cloud of dust. People switched parties a lot, and both parties' factions fought a lot. Parties changed their names a few times. For several years, everyone was quite overwrought.

Out of it all came the Democratic and Republican parties that we know today, or, anyway, thought we knew until recent years. The Democrats got the upper hand over the Republicans, and Thomas Staples Martin's organization got the upper hand within the Democratic party.

That was just before the turn of the century, and it was the beginning of the Byrd Organization. Harry Flood Byrd Sr. came along to take over the organization in the 1920s.

The Republicans had retired to the mountains and the valleys in the western part of the state. Although they controlled some counties out there, they were heard from rarely and then mostly protesting that the Byrd Democrats in Richmond were appointing their judges and electoral boards and treating them badly in all kinds of ways.

When the Byrd Organization would be challenged by the anti-Byrd wing of the Democratic party, the Republicans would come into the Democratic primary and help -- who? -- the Byrd Organization. Looking back on it, this seems strange, but it must have made sense at the time.

The Byrd Organization finally began to suffer reverses attributable to the failure of "massive resistance," the growth of the urban population, the rise of a new generation of moderate Democrats, and that sort of thing. (n the late 1950s, political analysts began seriously to announce the demise of the Byrd Organization. They have continued to announce its demise every year or so until the present.

(McDowell article cont'd)

The Democratic party split into three factions. The Republican party, being smaller, split into two. Internal warfare and general confusion kept both parties weak. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., a Democrat with a Republican following, became an independent senator neither party could beat. Mills E. Godwin, Jr., a Democratic governor and ally of Byrd, became a Republican and promptly was elected governor again. Henry Howell, a liberal Democrat, became an independent and then returned to the Democrats less liberal for the experience. Political scientists determined, meanwhile, that Howell had a unique appeal both to liberals and to some rural conservatives who voted for Byrd. Not knowing what to make of that, they dubbed Howell a populist.

In the gubernatorial election of 1977, the Democrats put forward the populist Howell at the head of a ticket containing a Lyndon Johnson Democrat and a Byrd Democrat. The Republicans offered a ticket blessed by Godwin and headed by Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton, the conservative son of a fabled old foe of the Byrd Organization.

(McDowell concluded this article with the comment: "There actually are people who think we are going to clear up the whole thing on Tuesday."

VIRGINIA POLITICS: A SHORT GUIDE

Charles McDowell

Reprinted from Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 11, 1981

Virginia and New Jersey will have the nation's only gubernatorial elections this year. That means many reporters from other states will be visiting Virginia in search of national trends, local color and firsthand evidence that Charles Robb and Marshall Coleman are not the same person.

The following Short Guide to Virginia Politics is intended to help these visitors. Virginians can read the guide without serious risk of encountering any new ideas.

BACKGROUND: Virginia is in transition from Byrd Organization politics to media consultant politics. The once dominant conservatives of the Organization have not been a major factor in the Democratic Party for 15 years. They have settled for dominating the Republican Party, which they had kept in reserve for a rainy day.

The Republicans have carried Virginia for president, U. S. senator, and governor ever since, and they have occupied nine of the state's 10 seats in the House.

Now the Democrats are fighting back. They are trying to be as conservative as the Republicans. They have hired a national media consultant to put on a television campaign for their candidate for governor, Charles Robb, a handsome young man with a dark suit and a striped necktie.

The Republicans have increased their effort similarly. They, too, have hired a national media consultant to put on a television campaign for their candidate for governor, Marshall Coleman, a handsome young man with a dark suit and a striped necktie.

STRATEGY: To win, each candidate must be more conservative than the other.

(McDowell article cont'd)

TACTICS: Robb, who is perceived as conservative but as not being specific enough about it, has to be very definite and forceful, even in casual comments about the weather.

Coleman, who is perceived in some quarters as not always having been entirely conservative, has to be comprehensively and aggressively so. Coleman also is handicapped by a reputation for humor; he has to be absolutely grim.

POWER OF THE PARTIES: The relative power of the parties in Virginia is important to this election. The Democrats are weak. The Republicans are not much stronger.

Most Virginians are independents, whatever they say they are, or even feel they are, on a given day. Like Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., they tend to vote with the Republicans. But, also like Byrd, they are unwilling to break completely with their Democratic heritage. Why close doors? These people have been able to elect Mills Godwin as their governor twice, once in each party. They enjoy electing a heavy majority of Democrats to local office and the legislature while stocking Washington with Republicans.

Virginians are skeptical of the parties, and especially skeptical of people who attend dull party meetings, make phone calls and knock on doors. Virginians assume, frankly, that Democratic workers are liberal kooks. They suspect that Republican workers are just climbers.

CRUCIAL SUPPORT: Some heavy Richmond businessmen known as The Main Street Crowd or The Coalition could help either candidate by signifying that they are distinctly less unenthusiastic about him than his opponent.

Former Gov. Godwin could help his fellow Republican Coleman, by giving him halfhearted endorsement. So far, his one-tenth-hearted endorsement seems to hurt.

Senator Byrd probably could tip it by saying something -- almost anything -- publicly. But he won't

Henry Howell, Virginia's liberal, could damage either candidate by getting enthusiastic about him.

Sen. Warner will be helpful to Coleman in conventional political ways, but also to Robb in an inspirational way -- proof that Virginia will accept a relative novice for high office if he is conservative and industrious and has a touch of celebrity, a dark suit and a striped tie.

NEWS MEDIA: The most important part of the campaign to see on television will be Bob Squier's spots for Robb and Bailey/Deardourff's for Coleman. That will be the simple version. The newspapers will carry the subtleties and complexities, which are the stuff of Virginia politics. Sample the Times-Dispatch for the detail and mystical insight with which the Vatican newspaper covers the Curia; The Roanoke Times for the flavor of a mountain feud; The Washington Post for the observations of an urbane traveler in Bulgaria.

EARLY LINE: Both candidates are looking better than a guide like this is likely to let on. Robb seems to have a slight edge now. He will need it when President Reagan decides to make a trip to Virginia and tell us who is more conservative than whom.

VIRGINIA IN THE 1980s -- A TWO-PARTY STATE

John Dalton won that election that Charles McDowell mentioned at the end of the first article above. The Republicans elected three governors in a row, though both houses of the General Assembly remained under Democratic control. In 1981, Charles Robb led a Democratic ticket that won the races for governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general. In 1984, Virginia's two U. S. Senators and the majority of Virginia's Congressmen are Republicans. Voters are electing Republicans in some local elections, in addition to a scattering of independents. University of Virginia political analyst Larry Sabato constructed a political scale for comparing the ten Virginia Congressional Districts as they voted in 1982:

Most Democratic	Closely Divided	Most Republican
4th	2nd, 1st, 9th	6th, 7th
	8th, 10th	5th, 3rd

In 1983, Virginia was 47th in the nation in percentage of eligible voters registered and last in percentage of those eligible who actually voted. A statewide effort was begun to improve these percentages. See the News Letters which follow in this notebook for details on recent elections, and some historic background on elected and appointed offices.

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NEWS LETTER

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THE 1985 STATEWIDE ELECTION IN VIRGINIA: HISTORY QUIETLY WRIT LARGE

by Larry Sabato

The author is associate professor in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia.

This News Letter is an excerpt from a chapter in the forthcoming Virginia Votes 1983-1986, *to be published by the Institute of Government in 1987. Many tables and footnotes have been deleted for lack of space.*

Every election is significant in its own place and time, but few elections gain more than passing mention in the pages of history. The 1985 Virginia statewide election will almost certainly be one of the long-remembered few. Not only did voters elect the first black and the first woman to statewide office, but also they signalled the political moderation of their state and the emergence of Virginia as a leader in the New South. And while the political rulebook in the Old Dominion has not been thrown away, it has clearly been revised, and both parties and all future candidates must take note. The irony is that such a dramatic, history-making election failed to engage the voters; the 1985 election witnessed one of the lowest turnouts in recent years.

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Election Day 1985 brought Democrats their second consecutive sweep of the three statewide offices. Gerald Baliles won the governorship over his Republican opponent Wyatt Durrette with 55.2 percent of the vote. That was an even larger proportion than Charles Robb's 53.5 percent in 1981 (though slightly less than Republican John Dalton's 1977 victory margin of 55.9 percent). Baliles swept 66 of 95 counties and 31 of 41 cities, and he carried all ten congressional districts.[1] Only in the traditionally Republican Piedmont Seventh and Richmond-area Third districts was the gubernatorial contest reasonably close. Baliles' sizeable triumph was built mainly on large margins in Tidewater, Northern Virginia, and the far Southwest.

Douglas Wilder beat Republican John Chichester to win the lieutenant governorship in a much closer contest. He secured 51.8 percent of the vote, and carried 48 of 95 counties and 25 of 41 cities. Seven of the ten congressional districts gave Wilder a majority; the Democrat lost only the Piedmont Seventh, the Southside Fifth, and his home district, the Richmond-area Third. Mary Sue Terry attracted the broadest electoral coalition of all in her successful bid for the attorney general's seat over Republican candidate William "Buster" O'Brien. Her 61.4 percent statewide vote enabled her to add all but 6 counties and 4 cities to her column. Not only did she carry all ten congressional districts, but she received 60 percent or more of the vote in all but one of them (the Piedmont Seventh).

The Democrats built their victories on strong support from the young, from blacks, and to a lesser degree, from women. Those under the age of 40 were especially likely to have backed the Democrats, with their elders tilting relatively more toward the GOP. Just a year earlier, younger voters had fueled Ronald Reagan's landslide presidential re-election in Virginia; those aged 18-24 had given Reagan his largest lead of any age group.

CALENDAR OF UPCOMING EVENTS

February 4, 12, and 20: Social Studies teachers are invited to pick one of these dates to attend a 1-day **Legislative Seminar at the General Assembly** in Richmond. These seminars, sponsored by the Teacher Resource Service at the Institute of Government, will increase educators' knowledge of Virginia government and the political process. Each seminar will include meetings with General Assembly members, briefings by legislative staff and lobbyists, an introduction to the Office of Legislative Services, and time to attend committee hearings.

The registration fee is $5.00, and space in each seminar is limited. For more information, call Melanie Biermann at the Teacher Resource Service in Charlottesville, (804) 924-0955.

February 27-28: Regional Seminar for Locally Elected Treasurers, to be held at the Charlottesville Omni Hotel (formerly the Radisson); sponsored by the Treasurers' Association of Virginia. Seminars will also be held in **Blacksburg** on **March 6-7** and in **Williamsburg** on **March 13-14**. To register or get more information, contact Alfred Anderson, Treasurer, Roanoke County, P.O. Box 3700, Roanoke, VA 24015; phone (703) 387-6089.

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[1] Baliles was the first gubernatorial candidate since Democrat Albertis S. Harrison in 1961 to carry all ten congressional districts.

Blacks voted overwhelmingly Democratic (as will be discussed shortly), but the white vote was more split and less Republican than usual. No Democratic nominee for governor, U.S. senator, or president since 1965 has received a majority of the white vote in Virginia, and 1985 proved to be no exception. Nevertheless, Baliles' 48 percent showing among whites was the highest in the two decades since 1965, better even than Robb's 46 percent share in 1981. While Wilder lost white votes by a sizeable margin (44 percent for Wilder to 56 percent for Chichester), his proportion of the white vote, in and of itself, was no small achievement for the first major-party black statewide candidate in Virginia's history. Nearly three of every four votes (74 percent) that Wilder received on election day were cast by whites. Of the three Democrats, only Terry won a majority of the white vote (55 percent). The only other Democratic candidate for attorney general (or lieutenant governor) to win a white vote majority since 1966 was Andrew P. Miller, in his 1973 reelection landslide.

Women were slightly more likely to vote Democratic in 1985, but the surprise is how small the so-called "gender gap" was. In the governor's race women voted more Democratic than men by only about 3 percentage points, and there was no difference at all between the sexes in the lieutenant governor's contest. Even in the election for attorney general, which featured a major-party woman candidate—only Virginia's third for statewide office in history—women voted more Democratic than men by just 2 percentage points.[2] This compares with a 9 percentage point gap between the sexes in the 1984 presidential contest in Virginia, a 7 percent difference in the 1984 U.S. Senate race, and a 6 percent spread in the 1982 U.S. Senate election. (In each case women voted more Democratic than men.) At least in one state, the "gender gap" in 1985 was less of a chasm and more of a crevice.

TICKET-SPLITTING IN 1985

Even though 1985 resembled 1981 in its Democratic sweep, the margins of Democratic victory varied much more widely among the three candidates in 1985 than four years earlier. This resulted from an increase in ticket-splitting. Whereas in 1981 only 22.8 percent of all localities split their tickets (i.e., voted for at least one Democrat and at least one Republican), in 1985 39.0 percent of all localities did so. In the perspective of recent Virginia history, however, ticket-splitting was still relatively infrequent; in 1977, 55.9 percent of all localities split their tickets, and in 1973 fully 85.1 percent did so.

Statewide, nearly a quarter (23 percent) of all voters split their tickets, while almost half (47 percent) voted straight Democratic and close to a third (30 percent) voted straight Republican. Ticket-splitters were concentrated more heavily in normally GOP territory, thanks mainly to the cross-party appeal of Mary Sue Terry. The traditionally party-oriented Southwest area was more inclined than any other region to vote a straight party ticket in 1985 (in this case, for the Democrats). Younger voters (49 years and under) were slightly more likely to vote split tickets than their elders.

The major distinctions of those who voted split tickets are ones of sex and race, interestingly. Women and whites were much more inclined to split their tickets than men and blacks. Men cast proportionately more straight-party votes for both parties. Only 14 percent of blacks voted for even one Republican, and just 3 percent voted straight Republican.

The 1985 ticket-splitter, then, was most likely to be a younger white woman. Ticket-splitters also were heavily concentrated among Durrette supporters. While 39 percent of the Durrette voters also voted for at least one Democrat, just 18 percent of the Baliles backers strayed from the party fold.

Most of the ticket-splitting benefitted Republican Chichester and Democrat Terry, of course. But even there, the patterns are intriguing and not always clearcut. A comparison of the votes for governor and lieutenant governor shows that about 7 percent of the voters backed Baliles (D) and Chichester (R), while 3 percent supported Durrette (R) and Wilder (D). A comparison of the votes for governor and attorney general shows that about 5 percent of the voters cast a ballot for Baliles (D) and O'Brien (R), while 11 percent chose Durrette (R) and Terry (D). Overall, of those who voted for Baliles, 87 percent also voted for Wilder and 92 percent for Terry, his two Democratic ticketmates. On the Republican side, 90 percent of all Durrette voters also backed Chichester, but only 75 percent cast a ballot for O'Brien. Thus, a slightly larger percentage of Baliles voters (13 percent) than Durrette voters (10 percent) defected to the other party in the lieutenant governor's contest, while a much larger proportion of Durrette voters (25 percent) than Baliles voters (8 percent) defected in the attorney general's race.

THE URBAN VOTE

In 1985 the suburbs produced a majority for a Democrat in a governor's race for the first time since 1961. Even Charles Robb had narrowly failed to carry the suburbs in 1981, but Gerald Baliles secured a slim 51.5 percent majority there. Mary Sue Terry easily won the suburban centers with 58.6 percent—a proportion not far off her statewide pace. (Of all statewide and national Democratic candidates since 1968, Terry's suburban majority is second only to Andrew P. Miller's suburban landslide in his 1973 reelection as attorney general.) Of the three Democrats, only Douglas Wilder lost the suburbs, but by a remarkably narrow margin of 48.8 percent to 51.2 percent. While the suburbs showed a trend toward voting Democratic in 1985, their GOP vote was still proportionately greater than in any other demographic division. Thus, the Democrats were aided, and the Republicans hurt, by the diminution of turnout in the suburbs. Statewide, the suburbs provided just 47.5 percent of the 1985 turnout, as compared to 1984, when the suburbs comprised 49.3 percent of the total statewide vote. This suburban decline in the proportion of the statewide vote was the first recorded since 1977.

The central city vote, by contrast, was 17.1 percent of the statewide total (up from 16.8 percent in 1984), and this trend also favored the Democrats. Democrats swept these localities, as usual, but with even larger than usual margins: Baliles with 66.2 percent, Wilder with 64.4 percent, and Terry with 71.3 percent. Rural Virginia joined hands with its urban neighbors in backing Democrats in 1985. Even Wilder narrowly won rural localities (with 50.3 percent), while Baliles and Terry secured majorities closely paralleling their statewide totals. Wilder's winning coalition was the rare one of ruritania and core city; ironically, only one other statewide candidate in recent times has won with the same coalition—Gerald Baliles, in his close race for attorney general in 1981.

BLACK VOTING PATTERNS

With Douglas Wilder on the Democratic ticket, many in both parties had expected a massive black turnout on election day. Yet blacks comprised only about 14 percent of the election-day voting population, down slightly from the 15 percent level of 1981. And, while the black turnout of 53.9 percent in forty-four selected sample precincts was marginally higher than the overall turnout of 53.0 percent, this difference of only 0.9 percent in 1985 was considerably reduced from the 2.6 percent differential registered in 1981 (when blacks proportionately outvoted whites by a wide margin).

Blacks, then, exhibited nearly the same degree of voter apathy as whites in 1985, and the turnout decline from 1981 to 1985 was even greater for blacks than for whites—all this despite the presence of a black in the statewide election of 1985 and the absence of one in 1981. Perhaps this should not be so surprising in light of Douglas Wilder's "broad net" strategy. Wilder campaigned not as a Jesse Jackson, concentrating his time and attention on the black community, but rather as a Tom Bradley (the Los Angeles mayor)—a mainstream black candidate widely acceptable to whites. The success of Wilder's strategy is clearly reflected in the 44 percent of the white vote he secured; the lesser cost of such a strategy may have been reduced enthusiasm in the black community, resulting in a paltry turnout.

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[2] The other two female candidates for statewide office were Hazel K. Barger, the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor in 1981; and Edythe C. Harrison, the Democratic nominee for U.S. senator in 1984.

Among blacks who did get to the polls, there was certainly no lack of enthusiasm for Wilder and his Democratic ticketmates. Wilder received 96.6 percent of the votes cast by blacks in forty-four selected black precincts—a slightly better showing than the 96.4 percent garnered by Robb in 1981. Wilder's fellow Democrats did nearly as well. Republican gubernatorial candidate Wyatt Durrette made a concerted effort during his campaign to attract black votes, yet it hardly showed in the results, with Baliles taking 94.1 percent of the votes in the sample black precincts. Terry ran slightly better than Baliles and slightly worse than Wilder, winning 95.6 percent of the black precinct votes. Overall, Republican John Chichester's 3.4 percent of the black votes is one of the lowest on record, lessened or tied only by U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., in 1976 (3.0 percent) and GOP presidential nominees Barry Goldwater in 1964 (2.6 percent) and Ronald Reagan in 1980 (3.4 percent).

Blacks who went to the polls in 1985 also recognized the historical significance of Wilder's candidacy in far greater numbers than whites. When a statewide sample of voters leaving the polling places on election day was asked, "Are you aware of anything historically significant about this year's Virginia state election?", 46 percent of blacks mentioned Wilder's unique status, compared to just 27 percent of the whites.[3] By contrast, whites and blacks were nearer equally aware of the barrier Mary Sue Terry was attempting to break; 26 percent of the whites and 31 percent of the blacks volunteered information about Terry's status.

The importance that voting blacks attached to Wilder's candidacy can be measured in one other way. Blacks were more likely to vote in the lieutenant governor's contest than in either of the other two statewide races. Referring again to the selected black precincts, 94.2 percent of all black voters who went to the polls cast a ballot for lieutenant governor, compared to 91.6 percent who voted for governor and 89.5 percent who voted for attorney general. This is a reversal of the usual pattern; more black (and white) voters usually cast a ballot for governor than for any other state office.

Ballot fall-off—the tendency of voters to vote for top offices while abstaining from contests lower down on the ballot—is chronically high among black voters. Even in the lieutenant governor's contest in 1985, a larger percentage of the general voting population cast a ballot than did black voters. Among the entire voting population (black and white), 97.5 percent voted for governor, 95.9 percent for lieutenant governor, and 96.3 percent for attorney general.[4] White voters, then, were much more likely than blacks to vote in all three statewide contests. Even so, ballot fall-off for *both* black and white voters was actually lower for lieutenant governor and attorney general in 1985 than in the last two statewide elections. This finding suggests that the unusual degree of publicity accompanying the campaigns of Wilder and Terry did indeed increase participation in those lower ballot contests among voters who went to the polls—even though the two campaigns and the extra press coverage given them were not sufficient to increase overall voter turnout on election day.

The low voter turnout may have been far more attributable to the relatively lackluster race for governor, which featured two rather subdued white male suburban lawyers with seemingly similar positions on many major issues. In fact, while voter participation in the No. 2 and No. 3 races increased, it was down in the governor's contest. A smaller proportion of all voters pulled a gubernatorial lever in 1985 than in the two previous elections, while higher proportions voted for lieutenant governor and attorney general. In black precincts, the 91.6 percent that voted for governor in 1985 was down from 97.6 percent in 1977 and 97.0 percent in 1981.

VOTER TURNOUT: ONE KEY TO THE ELECTION

Only rarely does a political scientist find an election statistic that startles. But such is the case with voter turnout in 1985. Despite the novelty and the drama of a campaign featuring both a black and a woman, and despite the record spending in all three statewide races, a precipitous drop in voter turnout was recorded. Only 53.0 percent of the registered population and 32.2 percent of the potential voting population (those aged 18 and older) participated in the 1985 election, compared to 64.9 percent of the registered voters and 37.3 percent of the potential voting population in the previous gubernatorial election. For the first time since 1961, an absolute decline occurred in the number of Virginians voting from one gubernatorial election to the next; in spite of a growth exceeding 400,000 in the potential voting population from 1981 to 1985, 60,000 *fewer* voters showed up at the polls in 1985 than in 1981.

Based on past turnouts, about 1.63 million voters could have been expected to come to the polls in 1985—yet only 1.38 million did so. Who were the "missing" 250,000 voters, and could their absence have changed the outcome in any of the three races? No firm conclusions can be reached using only aggregate voting data, but a careful examination of voting patterns on election day suggests some tentative answers.[5]

Certainly, floods and heavy rain in some parts of Virginia on election day contributed to the low turnout. Three congressional districts—the Roanoke-area Sixth, the Southwest Ninth, and the Piedmont Seventh—were particularly hard hit, and their turnouts ranked among the lowest in the state. Yet Northern Virginia's two congressional districts (the Eighth and the Tenth) recorded dropoffs nearly equal to the devastated areas, despite being relatively unaffected by the bad weather. Weather alone, then, can explain only part of the decline in turnout. And, of course, inclement conditions influence voters in the same locality in different ways; rain might discourage some less enthusiastic voters more easily than those strongly committed to their candidates.

Some pieces of the turnout puzzle are already in place. The turnout in the relatively more Republican suburbs dropped in 1985 compared with 1984, while the heavily Democratic central cities provided a greater proportion of the state vote total in 1985 than 1984. Also, black voters, while not participating at the high expected rate, still cast ballots at a slightly higher level than white voters in 1985. In 1984, in contrast, white turnout exceeded black turnout proportionately by at least 10 percentage points. These trends alone suggest that Democrats were better able to motivate their partisans in 1985, and that Republicans had trouble generating excitement among their natural supporters. (Pre-election surveys revealed much the same, with Democratic respondents expressing much stronger support for their party's nominees than did GOP respondents for theirs.)

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[3] This exit poll of 1,715 voters interviewed as they left their polling places on election day was taken by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research, Inc. The margin of error is ± 3 percent. Respondents were not "coached" in any way, and 66 percent (69 percent of the whites and 51 percent of the blacks) could not, in fact, name anything historically significant about the election.

[4] The attorney general's contest drew more ballots than the lieutenant governor's race, also unusual though not unprecedented. (It has happened once before in recent history, in 1973 when Andrew P. Miller won his second term.)

[5] I am indebted to my political science colleague at the University of Virginia, Steven E. Finkel, for his invaluable assistance with the statistical analysis contained in this section.

These suspicions are confirmed by a comparison of the Republican vote of 1984 with the 1985 GOP vote. In the 520 Virginia precincts where Ronald Reagan garnered 70 percent or more of the vote in the 1984 presidential election, the decline in turnout between 1984 and 1985 was 25.8 percent. But in the 106 precincts where Walter Mondale received at least 70 percent of the vote, the turnout fall-off was just 21.3 percent. This 4.5 percent differential in turnout decline, if projected statewide, suggests that if GOP voters had turned out to vote in 1985 in the same proportion as in 1984, with the turnout at the expected level of 1.63 million, then 73,350 net additional GOP voters would have shown up at the polls on election day.[6] Democrats would still have won the contests for governor and attorney general with reduced margins, but the lieutenant governorship might well have been tipped to Republican John Chichester.[7]

A LANDMARK ELECTION IN PERSPECTIVE

The irony of 1985 is that an election little noted by an apathetic electorate will likely be considered a landmark political event for decades to come. But while the 1985 election may be long remembered, *how* it will be remembered is a question still unanswered. There are those who will contend that the election of the first black and the first woman nominated by a major party in Virginia history signalled a sharp departure from the past, and that Virginia politics can never be the same again. In one sense this assertion cannot be disputed. Wilder's and Terry's successes open the door to nontraditional candidates for offices at all levels in Virginia, just as their predecessors' elections in other states have done. At the same time, Virginia has not undergone a radical transformation of philosophy. The state is still moderate-conservative in ideology and relatively staid in manner. Wilder and Terry were hardly elected as liberals; to the contrary, both strived to wrap themselves in traditional Virginia values; both conducted sedate and subdued campaigns; and both eagerly embraced the moderate-conservatism of Governor Robb and their ticket leader, Gerald Baliles. Had the Republicans succeeded in painting Wilder and Terry with liberal hues, the election results might well have been different.

In another important way, the 1985 election served as a confirmation, not a repudiation, of the past. Voters cannot predict the future, particularly when no incumbent is running, so they are left to judge the immediate past. Just as voters nationally often choose presidents retrospectively—picking a candidate based on their judgment of the success or failure of the last administration—the Virginia electorate selected Gerald Baliles in good measure because of Governor Robb's achievements. Not only was Robb overwhelmingly popular, with approval ratings well above 70 percent, but he managed to moderate Virginia's political culture over his four years in office, winning widespread acceptance for the appointment of blacks and women to high offices and thus helping to pave the way for Wilder's and Terry's bids. Robb also blunted one of the GOP's best and often used anti-Democrat issues by running a tight-fisted, fiscally conservative administration. Both socially progressive and financially sound, Robb's four years were firmly rooted in mainstream values; and Robb himself was ideologically and personally tailor-made for the modern Virginia electorate, which increasingly is concentrated in burgeoning, sophisticated, cosmopolitan suburban centers.

Robb's presence in the campaign was enhanced by the Democrats' selection of Gerald Baliles. Unlike Dick Davis, his major contender for the Democratic nomination—who is a gregarious, rough-and-ready, independent-minded, and more liberal politician—Baliles is in many ways a Robb look-alike: careful and cautious to a fault, quiet and calm of manner, articulate and lawyer-like, suburban-polished and conservatively tailored. Baliles appeared to be the perfect surrogate for Robb, and the voters made a credible assumption that a vote for Baliles was a vote for more of the same. On election day fully 48 percent of those who cast a ballot for Baliles admitted that they voted for him "primarily because [they] approve[d] of the job performance of fellow Democrat Charles Robb as Governor for the last four years."[8]

Certainly, though, Robb was not the only major factor at work in producing the Democratic sweep. Each of the races had its own dynamics. In the gubernatorial contest, a fundamental strategic miscalculation by Wyatt Durrette made much of his effort futile. Fooled by the early polls that suggested he and Baliles were locked in a nip-and-tuck battle, Durrette undertook a play-it-safe, positive, and upbeat campaign more suited to an incumbent.[9] In reality, it was Baliles who was the quasi-incumbent, both because he was the crown prince of the Robb regime and because he had defeated Durrette in their 1981 match-up for attorney general. Most political consultants agree that, absent a scandal in the incumbent's midst, about the only way for a challenger to defeat an incumbent is by an aggressive, relentless, attack-oriented effort. Yet it was "challenger" Durrette who was on the defensive for most of a remarkably quiescent campaign, and "incumbent" Baliles who was almost constantly on the attack.

Durrette was kept off-balance not only by Baliles but also by a strife-torn and faction-ridden Republican party, whose byzantine politics extended into the Durrette campaign staff itself. With the staff swollen to an unhealthy size—at least sixty-one at one point—internal and external leaks of campaign disputes and documents became commonplace, taking the spotlight off Durrette's issues and leaving the impression of a candidate who could not put his own house in order. Baliles' campaign, by contrast, was run by a much smaller staff, and every available dollar was husbanded for media advertising. Even though Baliles and Durrette raised and spent approximately the same amount of money, Baliles outspent his opponent by about 2-to-1 in television advertising, going on the air a full three weeks earlier and shaping voters' critical early impressions of two little-known gubernatorial contenders. Finally, as any honest candidate or campaign manager would admit, a little (or a lot of) luck is an essential ingredient in a winning campaign. Not a single major campaign event broke Durrette's way; he even lost every coin toss used to determine the order of speakers at debates and joint appearances.

In the race for lieutenant governor, luck and skill were much in evidence. Douglas Wilder had once been a long shot virtually written off by most leaders of his own party, and his campaign threaded the eye of a needle. At the outset Wilder's perceived handicaps were many: his race, his liberal record on many social issues during fifteen years in the state Senate, and some personal problems (including a reprimand by the state Supreme Court for poor representation of a client, repeated late payment of taxes, and building code violations on some of his Richmond property). Resentment also lingered in some quarters of the Democratic party because of his threat to bolt the party and run as an independent for the U.S. Senate in 1982—a threat that forced moderate-conservative Delegate Owen Pickett to withdraw as the likely Democratic candidate.

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[6] That is, 161,675 additional GOP voters and 88,325 additional Democratic voters would have cast a ballot.

[7] Baliles would have won with about 53 percent, and Terry with 59 percent. These calculations allow for both ballot fall-off and GOP defections. Chichester would have received about 50.2 percent of the statewide vote to Wilder's 49.8 percent, again allowing for ballot fall-off and GOP defections to Wilder.

[8] From the Mason-Dixon exit poll cited earlier.

[9] These polls simply reflected the balance of party identification existing in Virginia in the campaign of 1985, which gave Republicans parity with Democrats (or even a slight lead) in the affections of Virginia voters. (A late October *Richmond Times-Dispatch* poll, for instance, found that the GOP had a 45 percent to 40 percent advantage.) Neither Baliles nor Durrette was well known before the fall campaign, so early polls merely mirrored respondents' underlying partisan leanings.

But once on the campaign trail, Wilder overcame his difficulties. First, he put the GOP on the defensive and made Republicans reluctant to attack him by charging that their use of the term "liberal" to describe him had racial implications. Second, he took a nearly 4,000-mile trek by station wagon through rural and small-town Virginia, in an attempt to meet the white voters supposedly most resistant to a black candidacy. An enormous amount of free, favorable publicity in local and statewide media was generated along the way. Third, Wilder adopted a relaxed, sedate campaign style that belied his earlier reputation as a firebrand. His smooth, direct delivery made him perhaps the best television personality of the six statewide candidates in 1985. In that, he had a decisive edge over John Chichester, whose television performances were often stiff, uneasy, and inarticulate. Fourth, Wilder cleverly shaved the liberal edges of his public record, instead focusing on his legislative achievements, his Korean War record, and the patriotic virtues and moderate-conservative Virginia values he claimed to possess. Fifth, much as his gubernatorial ticketmate did, Wilder carefully conserved his resources, paying only a skeletal staff in order to purchase as much television advertising time as possible. Parallelling the top contest, Wilder outspent his opponent by about 2.5-to-1 on television (despite Chichester's lead in overall fundraising). The ad most frequently aired for Wilder featured a rural white sheriff's deputy with a Southside drawl endorsing the Democrat—a memorable spot that helped to neutralize GOP charges that Wilder had not been tough enough on "law and order" issues. More generally, of course, Wilder was also the beneficiary of Robb's popularity and, on election day, of Baliles' large margin of victory. Lastly, Wilder enjoyed a remarkably positive press, and he was the editorial choice of most of the large circulation newspapers.

For all of the strengths of Wilder's campaign, he still arguably would not have won, considering his liabilities, if he had faced an able, mainstream opponent who could have run a strong campaign. In John Chichester, however, Wilder had a foe who unwittingly contributed to the Democrat's upset. For the first two months of his general election campaign, Chichester seemed to follow the errant advice he had been given by a number of high-ranking Republicans: lay low, say nothing controversial, and be graceful in inevitable victory. Underestimating his shrewd opponent was just Chichester's initial error. Once Wilder began to gain ground and Chichester began to fight, the Republican made a series of tactical mistakes. He dramatically reduced the potential usefulness to him of Wilder's past liberal votes on criminal justice issues by claiming that Wilder had "the criminal's interests at heart"—a rhetorical overstatement that caused a backlash. Similarly, his running of newspaper advertisements that suggested Wilder was "soft" on spousal abuse seemed almost comically harsh. At the same time, Chichester failed to make wide use of legitimate issues at his disposal (such as Wilder's late payment of taxes) that would have proven far more effective and were irrefutable. Certainly, Chichester suffered from a critical and unfriendly press throughout his campaign, but in the final analysis that is only part of the story. Overconfidence followed by incompetence contributed mightily to Chichester's defeat.

The contest for attorney general is the easiest to analyze. Mary Sue Terry simply started earlier and labored much harder and longer than her opponent. By the time her Republican opponent William "Buster" O'Brien had received his party's nomination and started to work seriously on his general election campaign, Terry had already accumulated a half million dollars and had visited virtually every major financier and political powerbroker in the state, securing support and money from most of them. Terry constructed the broadest coalition of all; for instance, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, which backed the other two Republicans editorially, refused to endorse O'Brien and instead commended both candidates to its readers. Moreover, Terry had followed a careful, calculated path during her political career, and there was almost nothing unpopular or controversial in her record for O'Brien to find and use. Terry's sex, much like Wilder's race, actually was an advantage rather than a disadvantage in the end. The novelty attracted more free coverage than might otherwise have been given a candidate for attorney general, and the vast majority of Terry's news coverage was favorable—"extraordinarily positive" for a candidate, as one prominent newspaper editor noted.[10] Terry's sex (like Wilder's race) also may have shielded the candidate from certain kinds of attacks, and O'Brien's limited attempts to capitalize on her gender and her single status fell flat (or may even have backfired).

All in all, nothing proved so important as Terry's financial edge. She was the only Democrat to outspend her Republican opponent by a large margin, and O'Brien was outshown in television advertising by a ratio of about 3-to-1. Of the four candidates for lieutenant governor and attorney general, Terry's ads were seen and recalled most frequently. By campaign's end, 43 percent remembered having watched Terry's commercials, compared to just 18 percent for O'Brien.[11]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With apologies to those who believe in predestination, elections are not foreordained to end in victory for one particular candidate or party. Unpredictable events and circumstances along the way can change the political calculus almost week by week, and the candidate who is a long shot at a campaign's outset can become the winner on election day (as Douglas Wilder proved for all to see).

In the most general terms, the Democrats won in 1985 for the most fundamental reason: they ran more experienced and better-tested candidates who conducted better campaigns. But better candidates and better campaigns are sometimes not enough—and it is easy to imagine circumstances that might have reversed the outcome in one or more races. If Lieutenant Governor Dick Davis had not been so magnanimous and had decided to carry his intraparty challenge to Baliles into a bruising convention fight, could Baliles (assuming he would have won the nomination in the end) have pieced the Democratic party together again for the fall election? If Davis had secured the nomination, would a Davis ticket have appeared too liberal to the general electorate? If the agile, politically savvy Marshall Coleman had won the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor instead of Chichester, would he have beaten Wilder? And if the GOP ticket—even as actually constituted—had focused early on the weaknesses of the Democratic ticket, and had attacked them vigorously and steadily, might the Republicans have won at least one of three races? These queries are unanswerable teasers, certainly, but they also suggest the course of events that might have been.

History as it actually unfolded has other lessons, however. The second straight Democratic sweep of statewide offices marks the coming of age of the new Democratic party—a moderate party forged in the wilderness of twelve fruitless years, a party that has turned away from liberal extremes and toward centrism, a party that once again is whole and financially healthy rather than splintered and broke. For two-party competition to strengthen, however, the Republican party must halt and reverse its recent decline, much as the Democrats did in the early 1980s. Just as the need for party renewal and regeneration has passed from Democrats to Republicans, so too must the "recipe for recovery" first proposed for Democrats in the pages of an earlier volume of *Virginia Votes*.[12] There are four main ingredients in this recipe, now revised and concocted for a GOP intent on recapturing statewide offices.

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[10] William H. Wood of the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* in his post-election piece, "Buster O'Brien Picks Up the Pieces after a Long, Disappointing Race," Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, Nov 16, 1985, p A-10

[11] Wilder's ads had a large but lesser lead over Chichester's: 38 percent to 22 percent. The gubernatorial candidates were nearly even: 65 percent for Baliles, 62 percent for Durrette. All figures are taken from a late October *Richmond Times-Dispatch* poll

1. **Republicans must nominate moderate-conservative, mainstream candidates who have suburban appeal and can use the medium of television well.** Too often Republicans have assumed that nominating more conservative candidates than the Democrats, in and of itself, is enough. First of all, Virginians are not *far* to the right of center; they are *slightly* to the right of it; the term "moderate conservative" best describes the ideological midpoint in an Old Dominion that is conservative both fiscally and culturally, yet socially modern and even progressive in some ways.

The GOP should also take note that suburban voters are merely receptive to Republican philosophy; they are not enraptured by it. The suburbs are owned by no one, and they will generally lean toward candidates who are attractive, personable, and communicate effectively through the difficult medium of television. The ideologue in a party looks only to the candidate's views on litmus-test issues; the pragmatist who cares about winning has other items on his checklist—and foremost among them should be suburban palatability and televised appeal.

2. **Republicans must reduce factionalism.** During the 1970s, it was the Democrats who suffered from a "majority mentality"—a belief that as the majority party they had the luxury of fighting among themselves while still emerging triumphant on election day. Twelve years of electoral disaster cured Democrats of the ailment (or at least sent it into remission). But twelve years of victories for the GOP converted its useful "minority mentality"—the attitude that, as a minority, the party had to remain unified to win—into the damaging opposite. Since 1980 Virginia Republicans appear to have forgotten the essential element of winning elections in the United States: building coalitions. In 1981 the GOP excluded all "Old Guard" representatives from its ticket, and it lost; in 1985 all "Mountain Valley" representatives were purged, and the ticket lost again. A grand coalition for the Grand Old Party is a basic ingredient of restoration.

3. **Republicans must restore parity in their campaign organization, fund-raising, and technology.** It is rather incredible that the Virginia GOP finds itself falling behind on this score, considering the long lead it once enjoyed over state Democrats. But the evidence was everywhere in 1985: a deteriorating and much less effective state phone bank operation, bloated campaign staffs eating up resources better spent elsewhere, Republican candidates greatly outspent on television, and so on.

4. **Republicans must provide a "loyal opposition" worthy of the name during the entire life of a Democratic administration, not just at election time.** Charles Robb had four virtually criticism-free years as governor, and the GOP made no organized attempt to offer alternatives to his policies. Having governed essentially unopposed, and well, for four years, Robb had accumulated from voters an enormous reservoir of goodwill, which he put to use for his party's candidates. The GOP, by contrast, had accumulated nothing, and all too late it attempted to demolish the sturdy house that Robb had built. No governor—or any official, for that matter—should be given a free ride during his or her term of office. In a democracy a loyal opposition has an obligation to do better than the Republican party in Virginia has done—and the irony is that doing the right thing for democracy will also pay dividends to the party at election time.[13]

If Republicans learn the lessons born of defeat, then the 1985 election will yield more historically than the election of the first black and first woman to statewide office. Virginia can lead the South in two ways: in standing for full and equal opportunity in electoral politics, and in providing and promoting healthy, vigorous, two-party competition at every level of government.

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[12] See the author's *Virginia Votes 1979-1982*, (Charlottesville: Institute of Government, University of Virginia, 1983), pp. 52-54.

[13] In fairness to the Republicans, the Democrats do much the same thing, and most Republican U.S. senators and representatives receive the same free ride during their terms. It is one reason why Democrats have such trouble dislodging incumbent Republican congressmen.

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JANUARY 1983

THE 1982 ELECTION FOR U.S. SENATOR IN VIRGINIA

By Larry Sabato

Mr. Sabato is assistant professor of government at the University of Virginia. This News Letter is excerpted from a chapter in the forthcoming **Virginia Votes 1979-1982**, *to be published by the Institute of Government in the spring of 1983. All footnotes in that chapter have been deleted here, because of space limitations.*

The results of the November 1982 elections in Virginia gave both major political parties reason to rejoice. The Republicans gained a U.S. Senate berth and the Democrats won three U.S. House seats. But the clearest message of the Old Dominion's elections in 1982 was that Virginia, in its elections at the state and congressional district levels, had become one of the most competitive two-party states in the nation—a state where close elections are now commonplace, where reversals of power are frequent, and where neither party can take any election for granted, even those featuring incumbents. At the same time, the GOP's victory in the statewide U.S. Senate contest, while narrow, suggests that this two-party competitiveness still has a Republican tinge; when all campaign advantages and disadvantages are relatively equal or balanced, the state's electorate will lean to the GOP's nominee. This News Letter reviews the 1982 election for U.S. senator in Virginia, examining the voting results that gave the victory to Republican candidate Paul Trible and analyzing the major campaign issues that contributed to Trible's win.

THE PARTY PRELIMINARIES

The unpredictable twists and turns that have come to characterize Virginia politics since the demise of the Byrd Organization were much evident in the winter and spring of 1982. Ironically, the son of the machine's longtime boss was primarily responsible for the tumult. In late November 1981 Harry F. Byrd, Jr. unexpectedly announced his retirement from the U.S. Senate, thereby ending a remarkable era in the annals of both Virginia and American politics. (Byrd and his father had continuously held the Senate seat for nearly fifty years.) Byrd's decision to retire served to reinforce the new era of two-party competition that had begun more than a decade earlier, and it set off a flurry of activity in both parties.

Among Republicans, First District U.S. Representative Paul Trible, who had made no secret of his senatorial ambitions since his first days in the House of Representatives, and who had been campaigning for the nomination for over a year in case Byrd retired, immediately became the GOP front-runner. Despite grumblings from many in the party that Trible was too young and too ambitious, senior Republicans like former Governor John N. Dalton, U.S. Representative Stanford E. Parris, and former Delegate Wyatt Durrette declined to challenge Trible; and so Trible received his party's nod by acclamation in a June convention.

The Democratic story was more complicated. A number of major Democrats were interested in the nomination; these included former Attorney General Andrew P. Miller, Senate Majority Leader Hunter B. Andrews, and Delegate Owen Pickett of Virginia Beach (the state party chairman). In order to reduce fratricide and give the eventual Democratic nominee a headstart equal to that of the unopposed Trible, Democratic leaders, including Governor Charles Robb, initiated a series of meetings and informal surveys that involved the potential candidates, the key party officials, and others, all designed to arrive as a consensus choice for the Democratic nomination. Eventually, the consensus formed around Pickett, and the other potential candidates dutifully withdrew from consideration.

As the Democratic party repeatedly has proven, its coalition is tenuous and fragile. In this case, Pickett in his campaign kick-off reverently invoked, without qualifiers, the name of Harry F. Byrd, Jr. That, coupled with the failure of several black-sponsored bills in the recent legislative session, was

THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

In 1987 Virginia and the nation will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution; the final page of this News Letter discusses some of the special significance that this commemoration holds for citizens of the Commonwealth.

Governor Charles S. Robb has designated A.E. Dick Howard, Counselor to the Governor, as the member of the governor's staff responsible for offering encouragement and support to groups and institutions planning activities during this Decade of the Constitution. Professor Howard, who was the chief architect of Virginia's current constitution, has written extensively about constitutional law and history.

Governor Robb has also designated the Institute of Government at the University of Virginia to offer staff assistance and to be responsible for actual coordination of, and assistance to, groups and institutions as they undertake plans for events marking aspects of the constitutional decade. Under the aegis of the Institute, an ad hoc steering committee has met several times to share information on activities being planned around the Commonwealth. Timothy G. O'Rourke, a research associate and assistant professor at the Institute, is specifically responsible for overseeing the Institute's role of information gathering and sharing and of assistance to those wishing it.

Individuals or groups desiring further information are invited to contact either Mr. Howard (address: Office of the Governor, Richmond, Virginia 23219) or Mr. O'Rourke (address: Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903).

enough to send black state Senator L. Douglas Wilder into the fray. Wilder declared Pickett unacceptable and threatened to run as an independent in the general election, thereby drawing crucial black votes away from the Democratic candidate and almost certainly resulting in the election of the Republican nominee. Mediation efforts by Governor Robb failed and, in the end, Wilder's threat and the coincident failure of the low-key Pickett to excite the party forced Pickett to withdraw in early May. Incidentally, at the time of his withdrawal, Pickett already had secured a pledged majority of the Democratic convention delegates (the mass meetings having already been held), and therefore was the nominee-presumptive. He is thus one of the few candidates in any American state ever voluntarily to have turned down a certain U.S. Senate nomination for a reason other than scandal or personal illness.

Wilder withdrew the day after Pickett's withdrawal, and Democrats began a mad scramble to find a standard-bearer. Candidates tested the waters, took the plunge, and then retreated to the beach with dizzying speed. Party leaders overwhelmingly favored Lieutenant Governor Richard J. Davis as a proven vote-getter and the 1981 ticket-leader. Yet Davis, fearing that a sufficient campaign war chest could not be raised, took his name out of consideration. Another potentially strong contender, state Senate Majority Leader Hunter B. Andrews, also became discouraged and renounced a possible candidacy.

Other more willing contenders did surface, most of them with regionally concentrated followings. These included liberal former U.S. Representative Joseph L. Fisher of Arlington, the Secretary of Human Resources in the Robb administration's cabinet; moderate Fairfax County Commonwealth's Attorney Robert Horan; and populist state Senator Virgil Goode of Rocky Mount. None of these candidates proved entirely satisfying to party leaders, who once again began pressuring Davis to accept a draft. Finally on convention eve (June 4), Davis announced that he would accept a draft. Finally on the convention's opening day (June 4), Davis announced that he would accept the Senate nomination, which he won easily the following day on the second ballot. Ironically, the Democratic party had emerged from all the tumult unified and with one of its strongest possible nominees—a man who could not have run in normal circumstances, having been first elected to statewide office less than a year earlier.

THE GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

After an acrimonious general election campaign, Republicans elected a senator in November, and Trible narrowly defeated Davis by 724,571 votes to 690,839 votes, or a margin of 51.2 percent to 48.8 percent. Trible carried fifty-eight of ninety-five counties and nineteen of forty-one cities in fashioning his statewide victory.

Geographically, the key to Trible's election was his home congressional district, the First, which includes Newport News, Hampton, the Northern Neck area, and the Eastern Shore counties. Normally a marginally Democratic area, the First District, with a high turnout, generated a plurality of 28,375 votes for its favorite son. Since a strong Democratic candidate usually can count on a First District plurality of at least 10,000-12,000 votes, Trible's margin in the First represented a net gain for Republicans of almost 40,000 votes—more than Trible's statewide plurality of approximately 35,000 votes.

Besides the First District, Trible also carried four normally Republican districts (the Richmond Third, the Southside Fifth, the Roanoke Sixth, and the Piedmont Seventh) by substantial, though not overwhelming, margins. Trible's Fifth District majority of 52.9 percent was unusually low, perhaps reflecting the success of an earlier black voter registration drive there that helped to produce a large, heavily Democratic black vote on election day.

Even while losing, Davis won five of the state's ten congressional districts: the Norfolk-Virginia Beach Second, the Tidewater Fourth, the Southwest Ninth, and the Northern Virginia Eighth and Tenth districts. In the Second, Eighth, and Tenth districts, however, Davis's pluralities were well below expectations, primarily due to disappointing showings in the suburban localities of Fairfax County and the City of Virginia Beach. (Davis lost the latter by a shattering 10,000-vote margin, perhaps reflecting in part a residue of bitterness about the Democrats' treatment of native son Owen Pickett earlier in the year.) The Ninth District also proved to be a substantial disappointment to Davis; his narrow 52 percent majority was surprisingly small in a Democratic-leaning area with substantial unemployment.

Table 1. The Urban Vote in the 1982 Virginia General Election for U.S. Senator

Urban Measure	Percent of Total Vote	Percent of Votes Cast for Davis (D)	Trible (R)
Urban Corridor [a]	58.1	49.5	50.5
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas [b]	64.9	49.2	50.8
Central Cities	18.0	60.4	39.6
Suburbs	46.9	44.9	55.1
Rural Areas [c]	31.8	48.1	51.9

SOURCE: Compiled from official election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

[a] Includes eighteen cities and eighteen counties located in a geographic area that stretches from Northern Virginia through Richmond to Tidewater.

[b] The nine Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) for Virginia are Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg, Washington, D.C., Newport News-Hampton, Norfolk-Portsmouth-Virginia Beach, Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell, Richmond, and Roanoke. The Charlottesville and Danville SMSAs were first designated after the 1980 census. The Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol SMSA of Tennessee and Virginia has not been treated as metropolitan in this analysis. "Central cities" and "suburbs" are included in the SMSA figures.

[c] All Virginia localities not included in either the Urban Corridor or the Metropolitan categories.

THE SUBURBAN VOTE

The most important demographic feature of the vote in the 1982 Senate election was the return of the suburbs to the Republican party. In the 1981 gubernatorial contest Democrat Charles Robb and Republican Marshall Coleman had almost equal support from suburban localities; and Democrat Richard Davis, in his successful bid for lieutenant governor, had secured 52.3 percent of the suburban vote (the largest majority of any Democrat running statewide since 1973). The 1981 suburban margins for Democrats had broken a twelve-year pattern in which the suburbs had fueled every statewide GOP victory by giving sizeable majorities to Republican candidates, enabling them to overcome Democratic pluralities in the central cities and rural areas.

In 1982 the suburbs reverted to form and awarded Trible 55.1 percent of the vote, a showing comparable to the GOP's past winners and almost five percentage points higher than Marshall Coleman's 1981 suburban proportion (see **Table 1**). Trible's suburban majority was about 68,000 votes, fully double that of his statewide winning plurality. In addition, Trible won rural Virginia narrowly, by 51.9 percent to 48.1 percent for Davis, thereby adding another 17,000 votes (net) to the GOP's column. The central cities, though, held firm for Davis. The Democrat's 60.4 percent of the central-city vote was reduced somewhat from Robb's 1981 margin of 64.5 percent (thanks in good part to Trible's Newport News-Hampton pluralities); however, Davis's central-city net plurality of 53,000 votes was still above average for a Democrat. The suburbs cast 46.9 percent of the total 1982 statewide vote, an all-time record; and when that is compared with the central cities' total statewide vote of only 18.0 percent, it is clear that Trible had the more substantial demographic base.

THE BLACK VOTE

Much of Davis's central-city majority was provided by blacks. As **Table 2** shows, a sampling of forty-three predominantly black precincts indicated that Davis received about 94.3 percent of the total black vote, not far from Robb's 96.4 percent showing or Davis's own 95.5 percent a year earlier. While Trible had had some success in attracting black votes in his earlier U.S. House races in the First District, his 5.7 percent statewide black proportion was little better than Marshall Coleman's unusually low 3.6 percent in 1981. Trible received the same percentage as Republican gubernatorial candidate Mills Godwin in 1973, and less than the 7.1 percent won by John W. Warner in his successful 1978 senatorial bid.

Not only did blacks vote overwhelmingly for Davis, but also their turnout was at a record high level for recent off-year elections. The sample of predominantly black precincts indicates that approximately 68.9 percent of registered Virginia blacks participated in the 1982 midterm contests, up from 67.5 percent in 1981 and far above the 56.4 percent level of the last off-year senatorial election in 1978. Black turnout exceeded white turnout for the second consecutive year, and by a slightly larger margin in 1982 than in 1981. Black opposition to Reaganomics and an extensive registration drive in Southside Virginia sponsored by the state NAACP and the "Virginia Action" coalition were two possible explanations for the large turnout. Whatever the cause, Davis received more than a quarter of his total vote from blacks; Trible, by contrast, carried about 56 percent of the white vote to fashion his slim statewide victory.

Table 2. **Voting in Selected Predominantly Black Precincts in Virginia Cities, 1982 General Election for U.S. Senator**

City	Number of Precincts	Total Votes Cast	Percent Turnout of Registered Voters	Percent of Votes Cast for Davis (D)	Percent of Votes Cast for Trible (R)
Black Precincts:					
Charlottesville	1	616	60.1	84.4	15.6
Virginia Beach	1	647	61.2	82.7	17.3
Hampton	2	2,479	68.1	83.0	17.0
Newport News	8	6,329	74.5	93.8	6.2
Norfolk	10	11.058	71.8	94.7	5.3
Portsmouth	2	3,025	78.9	97.6	2.4
Richmond	15	13,628	64.0	95.9	4.1
Emporia	1	278	70.2	92.9	7.1
Petersburg	3	2,939	67.8	97.3	2.7
Totals	43	40,999	68.9	94.3	5.7

SOURCE: Compiled from official election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

NOTE: Identification of the specific precincts used in this analysis is provided in the forthcoming *Virginia Votes 1979-1982*, to be published in the spring of 1983 by the Institute of Government.

VOTER TURNOUT

The turnout of voters was larger than usual, not only in the black community but also across the state. About 63.4 percent of the registered voters and 34.7 of the potential electorate (those aged eighteen and over) cast a ballot in the 1982 senatorial contest. While turnout was down slightly from the 1981 level, it was marginally higher than the participation rates in the last two off-year U.S. Senate elections (in 1970 and 1978). Virginia was following the national trend in 1982; in the U.S. as a whole, voter turnout was up from 37.9 percent in 1978 to about 41 percent of the potential electorate in 1982.

DISSECTING THE TRIBLE VICTORY

Elections are complex creatures, and any fair analysis of an election—particularly a close one such as the 1982 Senate contest—must allow for the wide variety of factors that shaped the outcome of 1.4 million individual voting decisions.

The setting of an election is especially important, and state and national politics served as vital backdrops to Virginia's U.S. Senate race. First of all, the Democratic sweep of state offices in 1981 raised the stakes in the 1982 contest. Republicans were anxious to prove 1981 an aberration, and to reestablish their statewide dominance. Thus, despite the serious doubts that party elders had about Paul Trible, Republicans rallied around the young congressman since his campaign organization was already in place and party unity would be essential to a general election victory. The Democrats in 1982, by contrast, wanted to sustain their newly generated momentum. But, flushed with victory, Democrats proved unable to cope with success, as the party once again dissolved into bickering factions and torpedoed its "consensus" candidate, Owen Pickett, in a spring season full of recriminations. The popular if reluctant Davis, acceptable to all factions as a compromise choice, restored party unity; but Davis was drafted so late that he began the race with severe financial and organizational handicaps. The financial gap was so enormous that, barring free spending from his personal fortune, Davis never had any hopes of matching Trible's expenditures. In addition, Davis's age (sixty-one years, compared with Trible's thirty-five years) and comparative lack of ambition and drive for the Senate post ensured that the Democrat could not make up on the stump what he lacked in money.

The national political setting also was crucial. Midterm gains for the Democrats were to be expected by historical standards; but the national Republican party, far better financed and organized than the Democrats, would try to minimize those gains. Virginia, with its history of support for the GOP in general and President Reagan in particular, was a natural target for the GOP's money and campaign technology.

In the end, Trible's financial and technological advantage was perhaps the most crucial factor in his narrow victory. The Republican candidate outspent his Democratic opponent by close to a 2-to-1 margin (about $2.02 million for Trible to $1.18 million for Davis). In the vitally important final ten days of the campaign, the Trible camp was able to invest close to $500,000 in television and radio advertising alone—a Virginia campaign record for that time period. The Davis organization, by contrast, spent little more than half that amount for media advertising in the final days and thus was unable at a crucial moment in the campaign to reach undecided voters as frequently. Moreover, most of Davis's ads, while giving voters "good" reasons to vote against Trible, did not really give voters a compelling reason to vote *for* Davis. The last vital phase in campaign advertising must provide such positive motivation to the electorate, and in this crucial respect the Davis commercial program fell short.

The Trible media expenditures were supplemented by extensive, sophisticated national GOP advertising and personal appearances by President Reagan urging voters to "stay the course" and elect Republican congressional candidates. National GOP pollsters reported that such advertising helped to increase President Reagan's popularity by several percentage points in the last few days of the campaign—a gain that also seemed to register for many of the GOP's Senate contenders across the nation. In Virginia, the advertising may have helped to draw GOP strays back to the fold and to increase turnout in Republican areas like the Sixth and Seventh congressional districts, where pollsters earlier had detected a tendency among some Republicans to sit out the Senate race, and a tendency among some conservative independents to favor Davis. Trible's war chest also permitted a far more extensive "get-out-the-vote" phone bank effort than the Democrats could afford. Republicans traditionally have outperformed the Democrats in this crucial electoral task, though Robb's well-heeled campaign came close to matching the GOP effort.

The Trible campaign used its advertising to highlight the Republican's conservatism and the Democratic nominee's alleged liberalism. One of the GOP candidate's clear advantages in a campaign that was dominated by negativism on both sides was his adherence to conservative positions on certain policy issues, such as military and defense spending, capital punishment, the third year of the Reagan tax cut, and the Reagan administration generally. While Davis was able to narrow the differences on these and other issues, Trible's position was closer to the Virginia mainstream, at least as measured by public opinion polling. Virginians, for example, consistently have given higher popularity ratings to President Reagan than has the country as a whole, and they overwhelmingly favor capital punishment.

Perhaps in part because of these issue differences, Trible was able to secure the backing of important "conservative coalition" independents such as former Delegate W. Roy Smith, who had supported Democrat Robb in 1981. (While Davis also was able to attract some of the important coalitionists, including former U.S. Representative Watkins Abbitt, the number was far fewer than the number that had been active in Robb's camp.) Trible also received the active campaign support of conservatives in the Republican party who had never been enthusiastic about Marshall Coleman (such as former Governor Mills Godwin).

Despite his advantage on policy issues, Trible was kept effectively on the defensive for much of the general election campaign. First, the Davis forces centered their attack on a Trible "internal campaign memorandum" that was sent to several hundred party workers and contributors. This memo inaccurately claimed that in a New York meeting labor leaders, after viewing Davis television ads, secretly had pledged a large sum to the Davis campaign, to be delivered in the campaign's final days. No such pledge or presentation apparently was made; in fact, no Davis ads had even been produced at the time of the alleged presentation. The inability of the Trible campaign to document the charges, and its refusal to retract them, kept the issue alive for weeks, depriving Trible of momentum at a crucial time.

Secondly, Davis focused on Trible's participation in U.S. House votes during 1982. Trible, who had promised not to let his campaigning interfere with his duties as a congressman, compiled only a 75 percent voting record in 1982, the lowest in the Virginia delegation for at least a decade. (Trible's overall voting record for his six years as a House member was over 90 percent, however.) Whatever the actual importance of the missed votes, the charges clearly had some effect politically and kept Trible off balance.

Finally, the Davis camp skillfully stressed the stylistic contrasts, as they perceived them, between the older, white-haired Davis, whose manner was relaxed and straightforward (if uninformed on key issues) and the young, intense, and ambitious Trible, whose public utterances and gestures often appeared artificial and rehearsed. Davis's assets, and Trible's faults, were enthusiastically advertised on television and on the stump by the Democratic candidate's foremost supporter, Governor Charles Robb, who realized that a Davis victory would boost his national stock.

If Davis had the better of Trible for much of the fall, Trible did well when it mattered most—in the closing days of the campaign. In an age of looser party identification and growing numbers of independent voters, events in the final days are becoming increasingly important. In Trible's case, not only his large advertising and organizational expenditures but also a number of last-minute events worked in his favor. In the final week of the campaign, the National Rifle Association used radio and direct mail to its membership to attack Davis as being pro-gun control. Davis was, in fact, on record as opposing gun control. Some individuals, acting independently of the Trible campaign, spread a false rumor that black state Senator L. Douglas Wilder of Richmond would be Governor Robb's choice to replace Davis as lieutenant governor should Davis win the Senate race. And perhaps most importantly of all, anti-abortion handbills and pamphlets, labelling Trible "pro-life" and Davis sympathetic to abortionists, were distributed at Catholic (and some Protestant fundamentalist) churches throughout the state, especially in Northern Virginia and Tidewater, on the Sunday prior to election day. (Significantly, neither Trible nor Davis supported a constitutional amendment to ban abortions.)

There is some electoral evidence that the abortion issue had political consequences. Davis ran considerably worse than expected in both Tidewater and Northern Virginia, the two areas in the state with the greatest concentrations of Roman Catholics. An NBC News/Associated Press exit poll of 2,252 Virginia voters as they left the polls suggests one major reason for the poor Davis showing: he received just 53 percent of the Catholic vote. This percentage was remarkably low, given the fact that Catholics in other states were supporting Democratic candidates in 1982 by a margin more than 10 percent higher than Davis's margin. Davis himself was an active Catholic, unlike the Protestant Trible; Davis apparently would have been the first Catholic ever elected U.S. senator from Virginia—a fact not lost to many Catholics in an overwhelmingly Protestant state.

Further insight into the Senate contest can be gained from some other demographic breakdowns provided by the NBC/AP exit poll. The "gender gap" was a factor in the Virginia race: men favored Trible by 52 to 48 percent, while women preferred Davis by a larger 54 to 46 percent. (Across the country, too, women voted disproportionately Democratic.) Davis won 82 percent of the relatively scarce liberals and 55 percent of the moderates, but Trible scored heavily among the more plentiful conservatives, winning 73 percent of their votes. While both candidates ran very strongly among their party adherents—Trible winning 92 percent of the Republican vote and Davis 94 percent of the Democratic vote—the crucial swing independent bloc chose Trible by a decisive 61 to 39 percent margin. Blue-collar workers and union members favored Davis in overwhelming numbers; non-union, white-collar, and professional workers backed Trible by more narrow proportions. Those with annual incomes under $25,000 were in Davis's camp; higher-income individuals favored Trible. Perhaps because of apprehension about possible changes in social security, the normally Republican-leaning retired population voted 56 to 44 percent for the Democrat. Virginians with a high school education or less were inclined to cast their votes for Davis; the more highly educated voted for Trible, except that those with the highest levels of education (at least some graduate or professional school training) were Davis voters by 56 to 44 percent.

CONCLUSION

Paul Trible, then, won election to the U.S. Senate in 1982 with a voting constituency that was heavily Republican, independent, white, and conservative and was disproportionately male, white-collar and professional, high-income, non-union, Protestant, and well educated. The Trible constituency was a classically Republican coalition. And even though it is loosely aligned, this GOP coalition—with the exception of 1981—has held together to produce a series of Republican victories in Virginia, some narrow and others expansive, for more than a decade.

Yet viewed in another perspective, the elections of 1982 merely underline the growing two-party competitiveness that has come to characterize statewide political contests in the Old Dominion. The narrow Republican statewide victory in the U.S. Senate race was balanced by the major Democratic gain of three U.S. House seats and the preservation of the large Democratic majority in the Virginia House of Delegates. So if 1982 provided an important boost for Republicans reeling from their 1981 electoral disaster, it proved as well to be a year of considerable consolation for the Democrats. The vigorous two-party competition on display once again in Virginia was yet another welcome sign of the health and vitality of the state's modern political system.

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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH: COMMEMORATING THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IN VIRGINIA

By A.E. Dick Howard

In 1987 the nation will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the drafting of the United States Constitution, which took place at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. The bicentennial of the Constitution provides a special opportunity for Americans—and Virginians in particular—to study and to think about the fundamental principles of our political system and to look ahead to the challenges facing American democracy as we enter the third century of constitutional order.

The 200th anniversary of the Constitution calls for a commemoration not only of the grand convention at Philadelphia; it also requires recognition of events leading up to that convention and of subsequent developments—such as the adoption of the Bill of Rights—that collectively comprise what we call the founding period. Thus, the bicentennial of the Constitution is rightly regarded as a celebration of the events leading from Revolution to the establishment of the constitutional order and beyond; indeed, some have called the 1980s the "Decade of the Constitution" and, in a sense, the commemoration of two centuries of constitutional government is already underway.

As the American people seek to understand their constitutional heritage, Virginia has a special opportunity to contribute to the process of reflection and discussion. More than any other state, Virginia can claim to be the fulcrum in which the principles of America's constitutional heritage was shaped. Long before the Constitution was even thought of, Virginia served as a laboratory for spawning and shaping the ideas of constitutional government. Virginians took a leading role in the actual making of the Constitution. Finally, in the ensuing two hundred years, Virginia has proved to be a testing ground for constitutional precepts.

As early as the seventeenth century, American constitutionalism was stirring in such Virginia developments as the drafting of Virginia's 1606 charter, with its proclamation that the colonists should enjoy the "privileges, franchises, and immunities" of Englishmen. In 1619, the New World's first representative assembly met at Jamestown.

In the eighteenth century, as the colonists broke with the mother country, Virginia was at the fore. The same convention at Williamsburg that, in May 1776, called upon Virginia's delegates in Congress to introduce a resolution for independence created a committee to draft a constitution for Virginia. Virginia's Declaration of Rights proved the model for bills of rights in the other states and ultimately for a federal bill of rights and, an ocean away, even influenced the drafting of the French Declaration of Rights.

In the years between 1776 and 1787, Virginia milestones along the road of constitutionalism included, on the domestic scene, such events as the adoption of Thomas Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom and, looking to the states generally, the call for the meeting of commissioners at Annapolis, which led in turn to the Philadelphia convention. Once the federal Constitution had been laid before the states, it was Virginia's attachment of a proposed bill of rights to its ratification of the new Constitution that led, with the convening of the First Congress, to the adoption of the federal Bill of Rights.

In the ensuing two hundred years, Virginia repeatedly has been the scene of struggles over the shape and meaning of constitutional imperatives. It is perhaps ironic that a Virginian, James Madison, refused William Marbury a commission that gave another Virginian, John Marshall, the opportunity to declare the power of judicial review in *Marbury* v. *Madison*. Later generations have seen clashes arising from Virginia in such areas as school desegregation, voting rights, and freedom of the press.

Whether the events have been sources of pride, such as the Statute for Religious Freedom, or less praiseworthy, such as the era of "massive resistance," Virginia seems destined to have been a forum for the working out of constitutional norms. From the beginning, constitutional development in Virginia has taken the form of a dialectical dialogue between competing ideas—states' rights and nationalism, liberty and equality, judicial activism and restraint, and other dualities.

George Mason, in his 1776 declaration of rights for Virginia, called upon Virginians to undertake a "frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." As we mark two hundred years since the making of the United States Constitution, Virginians should carry a special responsibility for reflecting on what our constitutional system has become and what we want it to be.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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THE 1981 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN VIRGINIA

By Larry Sabato

*The author, an assistant professor of government at the University of Virginia, is on leave until July 1982 to serve as the Thomas Jefferson Visiting Professor at Downing College, Cambridge University, England. This article is based on a more detailed chapter of the forthcoming volume, **Virginia Votes 1979-1982**, to be published by the Institute in 1983.*

The longest losing streak in the nation for a state Democratic party was finally broken in November 1981 with the election to the state's three top positions of a moderate-conservative slate of Virginia Democrats. For the first time since 1966, Democrats in the Old Dominion were able to garner a victory for their candidates for high office (governor, U.S. senator, or president).

The returns of the 1981 gubernatorial election offered Virginia Democrats a needed opportunity not only to govern the state but also to restore vibrancy and momentum to their beleaguered party. But the strains of "Happy Days Are Here Again" did not signal a return to the old order of one-party Democratic rule. Virginia is still strongly two-party competitive; and while the state GOP suffered a setback in 1981, the Republicans, with nine of the state's ten U.S. representatives and one of two U.S. senators still in their corner, will survive to fight again another day.

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

On November 3, 1981, Democrat Charles Robb was elected governor with 760,357 votes (53.5 percent) to Republican J. Marshall Coleman's 659,398 votes (46.4 percent). Democrat Richard Davis easily feated Republican Nathan Miller for the utenant governorship, with 750,743 votes (55.4 percent) to 602,714 votes (44.5 percent). The attorney general's race was much closer, with Democrat Gerald Baliles edging Republican Wyatt Durette by just 51.0 to 49.0 percent (682,410 votes to 656,284 votes).[1]

Robb's victory was a comfortable and broad one. The Democrat carried sixty-two of ninety-five counties and thirty-three of forty-one cities, and won nine of the ten congressional districts. Losing only the Seventh Congressional District (in the Valley-Piedmont area), and that very narrowly, Robb built sizeable majorities in both the Tidewater-area Fourth District and the Norfolk-Virginia Beach Second District—and, to a lesser extent, in the far Southwest Ninth and the Hampton Roads-Northern Neck First districts. Robb's identical majorities of 53.7 percent in the Northern Virginia's Eighth and Tenth districts approximated his statewide plurality and represented something of a hometown endorsement for the first Northern Virginia resident to capture the governorship since Westmoreland Davis in 1917. Winning margins in the usually Republican Richmond-area Third, Southside Fifth, and Roanoke Sixth districts (very slim pluralities, but remarkable nonetheless) rounded out Robb's strong statewide performance.

Interestingly, Robb's Virginia victory closely resembles that of his famous father-in-law, former President Lyndon B. Johnson. No other Democratic presidential nominee has carried Virginia since 1948; Johnson received 53.5 percent of the state's vote in the 1964 presidential election—exactly the same percentage as Robb received in 1981. The regional pattern of victory for both candidates was similar, as well as the proportion of Virginia's counties and cities carried by the two candidates. In addition, Johnson and Robb garnered nearly identical percentages of the black vote (97.4 percent and 96.4 percent, respectively)—setting modern records in that area for presidential and gubernatorial contenders.

In the contest for lieutenant governor, Richard Davis eroded normally Republican margins practically everywhere. The Democratic nominee swept sixty-six of ninety-five counties and thirty-two of forty-one cities, while also carrying eight of ten congressional districts. His massive majorities in Tidewater's Second and Fourth districts (the latter his home area) were the largest won by any statewide candidate, and the former Portsmouth mayor also easily overcame minimal Miller pluralities in the Southside Fifth District and Miller's native Valley-Piedmont Seventh District. Davis was the only Democrat to carry the Richmond-area Third District by a substantial margin, and he exceeded Robb's majorities in all districts except the Southside Fifth and Southwest Ninth districts.

Only in the attorney general's race did a Republican candidate come close to recreating the electoral pattern that had kept Republicans in the winner's circle for a dozen years. Wyatt Durette's geographic showing was much broader than that of his Republican ticketmates, particularly in Northern Virginia and the Piedmont, and he was the only Republican to run reasonably well in parts of Tidewater. Durette's major electoral weakness was in Southwest Virginia, where he was unable to stem the Democratic tide and actually did slightly worse than his running mates. Despite his Southwestern failure, however, Durette did manage to carry forty-one of ninety-five counties and seventeen of forty-one cities

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[1] Write-in votes accounted for a tenth of a percent or less in all three contests. Total write-ins cast for governor were 856; for lieutenant governor, 621; and for attorney general, 520.

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statewide, and to win decisively in his home area of Northern Virginia even while Coleman and Miller were being swamped there.

Democratic candidate Gerald Baliles was able to secure the attorney general's post by overcoming Durrette's lead in the two Northern Virginia districts and a similar edge in the Valley-Piedmont Seventh District with majorities in all of the seven other congressional districts. While Baliles ran several percentage points behind his ticketmates in most localities, thereby lending credence to theories that he was helped to victory by a "coattail" effect, he bettered Robb's showing in the Richmond-area Third District (Baliles's home district) and narrowly exceeded both Robb's and Davis's margins in the Southside Fifth and Southwest Ninth districts.

Baliles's narrow victory completed the Democratic statewide sweep of offices and produced the first "ticket election" since 1965. This fact was clearly reflected in the voting returns, as those localities that split their tickets by giving a plurality of votes to candidates of different parties were unusually rare in 1981. Just 22.8 percent of all localities (twenty-three counties and eight cities) had split tickets, compared with 55.9 percent in the 1977 gubernatorial election and 85.1 percent in the 1973 gubernatorial election.

The 1981 election also drew proportionately more voters to the polls. A total of 64.9 percent of the state's registered voters participated in this election, setting a modern record. Voting participation lagged behind only in Northern Virginia, where about 59 percent of the registered voters went to the polls. This difference in participation between Northern Virginia and the remainder of the state is an enduring one, attributable in good measure to the fact that Northern Virginians concentrate their interest on government in Washington, D.C. rather than in Richmond. Even when some of the statewide candidates reside in Northern Virginia, as was the case in 1981, this turnout differential does not disappear.

THE URBAN VOTE

One of the keys to Robb's victory was the Democrats' ability to reduce the usual Republican majority in the suburbs, as **Table 1** indicates. Republican Coleman won the suburbs by the wafer-thin margin of 50.5 percent, compared to an average GOP majority in the suburbs over the last decade of 56.5 percent. Because the Democrats were able to neutralize the GOP's demographic base of support, the central cities and rural areas played a decisive role in the election, and Robb secured majorities in both. The Democratic candidate carried rural Virginia with 53.4 percent of the vote and the central cities by almost a two-to-one margin (the latter a modern record, exceeding even Robb's vote in the 1977 lieutenant governor's contest).

TABLE 1. The Urban Vote in the 1981 Virginia General Election

		Percent of Votes Cast for					
	Percent of Total Vote	Governor		Lieutenant Governor		Attorney General	
		Robb (D)	Coleman (R)	Davis (D)	Miller (R)	Baliles (D)	Durrette (R)
Urban Corridor[a]	56.9	54.4	45.6	57.3	42.7	50.3	49.7
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas[b]	64.3	53.6	46.4	56.4	43.6	50.1	49.9
Central Cities	17.8	64.5	35.5	67.2	32.8	62.7	37.3
Suburbs	46.5	49.5	50.5	52.3	47.7	45.4	54.6
Rural Areas[c]	32.3	53.4	46.5	53.9	46.1	53.0	46.9

SOURCE: Compiled from official election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

Note: Percentages occasionally do not sum to 100 percent because write-in candidates received a fraction of a percent of the vote.

[a] Includes eighteen cities and eighteen counties located in a geographic area that stretches from Northern Virginia through Richmond to Tidewater.

[b] The nine Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) for Virginia, as designated by the U.S. Census Bureau, are Lynchburg, Washington, D.C., Newport News-Hampton, Norfolk-Portsmouth, Petersburg-Colonial Heights, Richmond, Roanoke, Charlottesville, and Danville—the last two being first designated after the 1980 census. "Central cities" and "surburbs" are included in the SMSA figures.

[c] All Virginia localities not included in either an SMSA or the Urban Corridor.

Robb, Davis, and Baliles all carried the Urban Corridor (an area stretching from Northern Virginia through Richmond to Tidewater), the state's nine Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and the rural areas of Virginia, but there are differences among the voting patterns. Davis was the only Democrat to win a majority in the suburbs (52.3 percent), with a margin even larger than Robb's 51.1 percent in the 1977 lieutenant governor's election. Moreover, Davis led his ticketmates in the central cities, in rural Virginia, and in the Urban Corridor. By contrast, Baliles lost the suburbs substantially, even though he carried the central cities and rural areas. The fact that Baliles was still able to forge a winning coalition makes the attorney general's race the most demographically interesting of the three contests. In the 1976 presidential race and the 1978 election for U.S. Senate, the Democratic candidates had won both the central cities and the rural areas but still lost statewide because of the large GOP margin in the suburbs. (In fact, Republican Durrette's 1981 proportion of the suburban vote—54.6 percent—was even larger than that of Republicans who has won in several previous statewide races.) Yet Baliles still won in 1981, succeeding where others had failed in fashioning a majority coalition of the central cities and the rural areas, primarily because his victory margin in the central cities was considerably larger than that achieved by Democrats in earlier close races.

The ability of Robb and Davis to blunt the GOP's suburban strength and Baliles's increased margin in the central cities were essential for their victories in 1981 simply because of the size of the suburban vote as a proportion of the total vote, when compared to that of the central cities. In 1981 the suburban vote was two and one-half times larger than the central city vote, about the same ratio as in the 1980 presidential election. This historical and demographic trend will almost certainly continue, at least in the short run, suggesting again that both parties will need in the future to be even more electorally attentive to the suburbs.

THE BLACK VOTE

An estimated 200,000 black voters cast ballots in one or more of the 1981 statewide contests.[2] These black voters were clearly a decisive factor in the outcome of all three statewide races since blacks voted overwhelmingly Democratic in all three contests and since the black vote total exceeded the plurality amassed by each victorious Democrat.

A survey of selected black precincts around the state indicates that Charles Robb secured about 96.4 percent of the black vote, with Marshall Coleman receiving 3.6 percent.[3] In recent years only two candidates have garnered lower percentages of the black vote: U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd in his 1970 election, with 3.0 percent; and GOP presidential nominee Ronald Reagan in 1980, with 3.4 percent. (Only four years earlier, Coleman had won almost a third of the black vote in his race for attorney general.) The total black vote was nearly twice that of Robb's statewide victory margin, a fact that underscores the importance of the black vote in an election where Robb, Davis, and Baliles all lost the white vote by varying margins.[4] Of significance, too, is the fact that e proportion of registered black voters urning out at the polls—67.5 percent—exceeded the proportion of registered white voters that turned out (about 63 percent) for the first time since 1977, and by a greater margin than in that year. Blacks obviously considered the 1981 gubernatorial election an important one, for reasons that will be discussed shortly.

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[2] This general estimate was arrived at by using pre-election surv data and actual turnout data for selected black precincts around state. Obviously, no precise figure can be cited.

[3] This survey used the same standard set of black precincts contained in the author's *Virginia Votes* series; for identification of these precincts, see L. Sabato, *Virginia Votes 1975-1978* (Charlottesville: Institute of Government, University of Virginia, 1979), p. 19.

INTERPRETING THE RESULTS

As in any election, many superficial reasons can be identified for the Democratic victory in 1981. The races for lieutenant governor and attorney general are the easiest to interpret. Richard Davis's landslide victory over Nathan Miller as lieutenant governor was tied closely to serious conflict-of-interest charges levelled against the Republican nominee. Already in a weak position after a divisive convention nomination over a conservative favorite, state Senator Herbert Bateman, Miller was never able to gain the offensive or successfully ride out the charges during the autumn campaign. The voting patterns suggest that even in heavily Republican localities, Miller suffered from large numbers of abstentions or outright defections by GOP partisans.

As for the attorney general's race, its result uld be ascribed primarily to a coattail ffect. Robb's winning margin was sufficiently large to provide Gerald Baliles with an unexpected victory over his favored opponent, Wyatt Durrette. The attorney general's race had been the most subdued of the three statewide contests, overshadowed by the boisterous gubernatorial election and the scandal-charged lieutenant governor's race. Both Baliles and Durrette were regarded as serious, competent, and experienced contenders who had conducted generally positive campaigns. Durrette, however, was regarded as the likely winner because he was the undisputed choice of the "conservative coalition," the only one of the three Republican nominees to have preserved the GOP's winning formula. (Indeed, even Roy Smith, leader of the independent "Virginians for Robb" forces, was in the Durrette Camp.) But the electorate never focused on the attorney general's race; and with either candidate viewed as acceptable, Robb's margin in the end proved decisive.

Unlike the attorney general's contest, the governor's race was very visible and media oriented, and there is reason to think that it was also closely contested until the final hours of the campaign. Robb had led every public poll conducted during the general election campaign, although Coleman was perceived as making gains in the campaign's final weeks. A number of circumstances conspired to prevent Coleman from winning, however.

First, and most significantly, was a split in Republican ranks and the unified posture of state Democrats. Conservative Herbert Bateman's defeat for the lieutenant governor's nomination at the Republican convention by the more moderate Nathan Miller as well as lingering doubts about Coleman's conservatism fractured the GOP's coalition with the state's independent conservative establishment, and Coleman was never able to repair the damage. By contrast, the usually contentious Democrats were imbued with a missionary zeal, fully realizing that another statewide defeat might turn their desperate posture into a hopeless one for the near term. The party positions, then, were oddly reversed. For years Democrats had suffered from a "majority mentality"; they had continued to act just as they had done during the years of one-party Democratic rule in the state, allowing themselves the luxury of factionalism as though the Democratic nomination were still tantamount to election. Similarly, the Republicans had continued to operate under a "minority mentality," submerging their differences and presenting a united front just as though they were still a distinctly minor force in a hostile political environment. However, by 1981, years of unbroken success for Republicans and of unrelieved disaster for Democrats apparently had reversed the philosophical poles, producing a role reversal that presaged the final election results.

Coleman faced other major problems as well. His opponent had no extensive public record; and since Robb's only public office, that of lieutenant governor, is a showcase position where few substantive decisions need to be made, proving Robb's "liberalism" and tying him to unpopular Democrats became a very difficult task for Coleman. Moreover, Robb was a man whose very temperament and essence were conservative, a fact clearly sensed by the state's establishment, who saw in Robb no threat to the elite. Robb's stolid manner and handsome visage also gave him an advantage over Coleman in television appearances.

Coleman's image was considerably less reassuring, and his image-makers were partly at fault. A man of considerable charm and self-deprecating humor, Coleman was advised to tone down his wit and to deemphasize the elements of his personality and style that were not in keeping with the comprehensively conservative image he "needed" to win. Similarly, his television advertising program, after having built his name identification to a level approaching Robb's, skipped the crucial middle step of defining Coleman as an individual, of filling in the outline of Coleman's personality and demeanor—and instead began unrelentingly to link Coleman to other GOP luminaries, especially President Reagan. In contrast, Robb's media consultant, Robert Squier, took pains to introduce the electorate to "Robb the man," allowing voters to accustom themselves to elements of his personality rarely communicated in newspapers or on the television news.

Events in the last week of a campaign can always be crucial to the outcome, and especially in a campaign where candidates are not clearly differentiated, as in the 1981 gubernatorial race. In this case, last-minute events not only affected the outcome but also almost certainly expanded Robb's winning margin. Just a week before the election, President Reagan made an appearance for Coleman in Richmond, and survey data indicated that Reagan's strong personal endorsement did indeed give Coleman a temporary, though short-lived, boost.[5] However, the Reagan visit also generated an unanticipated electoral movement that gained momentum as the week wore on: the galvanizing of the black vote for Coleman's opponent. While black leadership earlier has made its peace with Robb, the black community appeared to have little enthusiasm for the conservatively leaning Democrat. In fact, a black write-in slate for the three statewide posts had emerged as a potentially serious drain on black Democratic support in the Southside area. But Reagan's appearance for Coleman helped to change that. Never a favorite of black voters, Reagan and his budget-cutting policies had become increasingly unpopular among blacks during 1981. Coupled with Reagan's visit was a strong endorsement of Coleman by former govenor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., another highly unpopular figure in the black community, who emphasized Robb's "pro-black" positions on several racially tinged issues (postcard voter registration, congressional representation for the District of Columbia, and minority hiring quotas). In retrospect, Godwin's emotionally charged speech backfired, accomplishing little for Coleman in the overwhelmingly white suburbs while providing a spark to Robb's get-out-the-vote efforts in minority neighborhoods. In addition, the Reagan-Godwin combination probably kept black defections to the write-in slate to an absolute minimum.[6]

Two other last-minute events probably expanded Robb's victory margin. On election eve, when undecided and independent

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ith black voter turnout estimated at 200,000, and with 97 rcent of that number participating in the governor's contest, obb received an estimated 96.4 percent of the black vote, or about 187,000 votes. Of the remaining white vote, Robb received 46.7 percent to Coleman's 53.3 percent. Using the same method of calculation, Davis secured 49.6 percent of the white vote, while Baliles won 44.6 percent.

[5] The data were compiled during a *Virginian-Pilot* poll of 1,655 adult Virginians; the results are discussed in the *Virginian-Pilot*, Nov. 1, 1981, p. A-1.

[6] Cora Tucker of Halifax County, the black write-in candidate for governor, received just 526 votes, while her running mates, lieutenant governor candidate Jesse Jeffress of Lynchburg and attorney general candidate James Ghee of Farmville, secured only 393 and 380 votes, respectively.

voters traditionally are paying close attention to the contest that they will decide on the morrow, the Reverend Jerry Falwell broke his self-imposed silence and announced in a radio interview that he would vote for the entire Republican ticket. It was an announcement that Republican strategists had feared because of Falwell's unpopularity, especially among the crucial suburban population.[7] The endorsement, widely carried on radio and television, came so late that it could not be defused or mitigated by other campaign events; in fact, it was virtually the last new piece of information that undecided voters received before the election.

Finally, there was Robb's thirty-minute television program on election eve, where Robb, in a relaxed family setting, talked about his campaign and answered the questions of a friendly audience. While lengthy political broadcasts are considered relatively ineffective, one exception is an election-eve broadcast.[8] Voters (especially undecideds) are exceptionally attentive then, since voting is on their agenda of activities for the following day. Robb's election-eve program, which did not compete with any similar Coleman broadcast, may have helped to solidify his partisans and attract to his camp some remaining undecideds, particularly in the suburbs (the program's appeal seemed especially directed to that group).

CONCLUSIONS

An examination of the underlying causes of the Democratic resurgence in Virginia's 1981 election reveals that the Democrats returned to a fully competitive position because they fulfilled a three-ingredient recipe for recovery.

First of all, the Democrats nominated moderate candidates with suburban appeal. They recognized that in conservative Virginia, liberal candidates normally are doomed to general election defeats. They saw that only more moderate candidates would be able to reduce the massive Republican margins in the politically potent suburbs—margins that had fueled GOP victories for a dozen years, even in years when Democrats managed to amass large majorities in the central cities and rural Virginia. In the Robb-Davis-Baliles ticket, the Democrats nominated a team that fit the recipe precisely.

Second, the Democratic party began to close a yawning technological and organizational gap between its own capabilities and that of the state GOP. The Robb campaign was able either to match or to exceed the Coleman campaign's media and polling sophistication, and the Democrats came closer to the level of the Republicans' get-out-the-vote activities than ever before in the modern era. The only campaign technique that remained primarily a GOP preserve in 1981 was direct mail; the Republican mailings were much better designed and more effectively targeted than the Democratic variety. In good measure, the Robb campaign was able to accomplish so much technologically because of its fund-raising success. For the first time since the 1973 gubernatorial election, Democratic campaign expenditures approached the Republican total, with Robb spending about $2.45 million compared to Coleman's approximately $2.83 million.

The third ingredient of the Democratic recipe for recovery was reduced factionalism. That, too, was finally achieved in 1981, mainly because of the do-or-die nature of the contest for the Democrats. The coalition assembled by Robb in 1981 rivals the one that elected Mills Godwin as a Democrat in 1965, stretching as it did from the conservative coalition to blacks, elements of organized labor, and liberals.[9] The Robb "umbrella" sheltered a diverse group of political interests, all of which were there for different reasons. Robb had to walk a tightrope during the campaign to preserve this disparate coalition; governing will present to him much the same challenge.

The recipe for recovery worked for state Democrats in 1981, and Democrats were able to regain the vibrancy and momentum a party needs to maintain itself and to prosper. Virginia now is firmly two-party competitive, and becoming more so. The 1981 House of Delegates elections suggest as much, with Republicans posting a gain there of eight seats despite the statewide Democratic sweep. While the gubernatorial election results were a setback to the state GOP, the strengthened two-party competition can only be regarded as good news for the state as a whole, because a healthy and competitive political system offers the best chance of good government. The Old Dominion's electorate, just as it had done in the GOP's gubernatorial breakthrough in 1969, once again helped to preserve and extend two-party competition in 1981. That is a welcome development for Virginians of all ideological and partisan hues.

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[7] In a September *Virginian-Pilot* poll, Falwell received an overwhelmingly negative rating, the highest of any public figure recorded in the poll. When asked whether they felt "positive, neutral, or negative" about Falwell, 54 percent of the respondents said "negative," while only 10 percent answered "positive" (20 percent were neutral, 10 percent didn't know Falwell, and 6 percent refused to answer). Interestingly, suburbanites and city dwellers, whose political views are often dramatically different from each other, felt equally negative about Falwell.

[8] See the author's *The Rise of Political Consultants: New Ways of Winning Elections* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 122, 189, 190, 192, and 210n.

[9] While Robb was denied the AFL-CIO endorsement, he was supported by many individual unions.

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LETTER

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Assistant Editor / Sandra H. Wiley

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OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND, RECRUITMENT PATTERNS, AND PARTY IN THE VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1970-1981

By Arthur B. Gunlicks

Mr. Gunlicks is professor of political science at the University of Richmond.

The social, economic, and educational backgrounds of political decision makers at the national, state, and local levels have been a focus of inquiry for several decades in the United States. An underlying assumption of this inquiry is that background analyses can provide clues to understanding the representative quality of political decisions. The patterns of recruitment and selection of political decision makers at different levels or in different state and localities, and the similarities and differences among these patterns, can be seen as important though not necessarily decisive factors in helping to explain the politics of a particular area.

This News Letter will provide a background analysis of the members of the Virginia General Assembly. The article first presents a portrait of the occupational backgrounds of members of the General Assembly during the decade of the 1970s. Then the discussion focuses on the process of recruitment of candidates for Virginia's state elective offices, based on information obtained in personal interviews conducted among members of the General Assembly in the winter of 1981.[1] Because few candidates are elected without party labels, the role of the political party in this recruitment process is investigated. The final section explores the extent to which Virginia's legislators perceive any partisan patterns of philosophical and policy differences between Democratic and Republican legislators, assuming that there are certain identifiable differences in the backgrounds of the two groups.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND

From the 1970 session through that of 1981, a total of 292 persons (80 in the Senate, 212 in the House of Delegates) served at one time or another in the Virginia General Assembly. In this twelve-year period, 62 Democrats and 18 Republicans served in the Senate, while 151 Democrats, 55 Republicans, and 6 independents served in the House of Delegates.

As **Table 1** shows, lawyers composed a significant proportion of the members of the General Assembly—indeed, a sizeable majority of the Democrats and a plurality of Republicans were lawyers. Farmers took a distant second place among both Democrats and Republicans in the Senate; no other occupational group was represented to any significant degree among Senate Democrats, while business owners occupied a respectable third place among Senate Republicans. In the House of Delegates, lawyers again dominated the Democratic delegation, with businessmen and educators taking distant second and third places, respectively. Lawyers were first, though not a majority, among House Republicans, followed at some distance by those in business; in real estate, insurance, and sales; and in education.

The data in Table 1 suggest that while Democratic and Republican legislators generally were quite similar in occupational background, some differences did exist. Democrats appeared to attract lawyers as candidates even more than Republicans did, and Republicans drew candidates more often from the ranks of business.

Table 1 clearly reveals the overwhelming role of lawyers in Virginia state politics, as in the U.S. Congress. Even so, it would not be accurate to conclude that this is a "natural" state of affairs in American state politics. A study of state legislators in 1979 demonstrated that of 7.485 state legislators nationwide, 20 percent were lawyers—ranging from a low of zero percent in Delaware to a high of 53 percent in Virginia.[2] In most states, including Virginia, the percentage of lawyers is higher in the Senate than in the House. In Virginia the reduction in the percentage of lawyer-legislators from 56 percent in 1970 to 49 percent in 1980 possibly suggests a slight trend away from this occupation's dominant position. This declining trend also has occurred nationwide, with a corresponding decrease from 26 percent in 1966 to 20 percent in 1979.

Even with this continued dominance of lawyers in Virginia's legislature, other groups have gained ground slowly during the decade of the 1970s. Business owners, managers, and executives have increased in numbers in the Senate at the apparent expense of both lawyers and farmers. In the House of Delegates, the number of business people has nearly doubled, and educators have increased in accordance with national trends. What effect reapportioned, single-member districts may have on the occupational distribution of future House delegations remains to be seen, although in other states the institution of single-member districts in place of multimember districts seems to have contributed to a more diversified legislature both occupationally and racially.

PARTY AND LEGISLATIVE RECRUITMENT

The 1981 gubernatorial election broke a series of dramatic successes for Virginia Republicans in presidential, statewide, and congressional elections throughout the preceding decade. The disappointing results for Republicans in the statewide races of 1981 were made up somewhat by the rather remarkable gain of eight seats in the House of Delegates, bringing the Republican delegation to a century high of thirty-three (having varied from a mere seventeen to twenty-five seats during the 1970s). Recent Republican successes obviously have been accompanied by the growth and effectiveness of the Republican party organization. In contrast, the Democratic organizational apparatus appears to have declined in effectiveness and "member" support, though this could change now that the Democrats again occupy all three statewide offices.

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[1] These interviews were conducted under the author's supervision by students in a political research class at the University of Richmond.

The author wishes to thank the University of Richmond Faculty Research Committee for support received for this project.

[2] Insurance Information Institute, *Occupational Profile of State Legislatures, 1979*, (New York, 1979), p. 8.

In any case, one might ask what organizational role the parties play in the recruitment of state legislative candidates and whether the two parties differ in their recruiting efforts. Figures from other studies suggest that the party's role in recruitment varies widely among the states. For example, one study found that 69 percent of the state legislative campaigns in New Jersey were initiated by the parties, whereas the party appeared to be relevant in only 17 percent of the legislative candidacies in Tennessee.[3]

In Virginia's 1979 General Assembly election, only one independent was elected to the House and none to the Senate. Given the minimal prospects of election as an independent, the growth of the Republican party, and the traditional importance of the Democratic party in the state, one might hypothesize that the role of the party organization in the recruitment of candidates for the state legislature in Virginia would be rather significant.

Certification. Candidates for political office in the United States are not a representative sample of the general public. To become a candidate, one must generally be "eligible," i.e., be of a particular social and economic status and be active in public affairs and activities. It might be said that candidates are drawn from a "pool of socially certified activists who are ready or willing or able to seek political office."[4]

Socially certified activists in Virginia, as seen in Table 1, include above all lawyers and those in other middle-class occupational groups. Other than farmers, no blue-collar occupations are socially certified to become candidates for state office. (A review of the biographical notes in the state General Assembly manuals reveals that not one of the 292 officeholders in the 1970s indicated membership in any union except for one membership in the Virginia Education Association, while 69 legislators indicated membership in a local chamber of commerce.)

To be socially certified for candidacy in Virginia, and elsewhere, one also should have an above-average education. Only a handful of the successful candidates for state office in Virginia have had no education beyond high school, and most have had professional or academic training beyond college.

Social certification embraces the characteristics of sex and race as well. In Virginia in 1979, all but 8 of the 100 House members and 1 of the 40 Senate members were male; women held only 6 percent of the seats in the General Assembly, versus a national average of 10 percent for all state legislatures in the same year. Blacks held less than 4 percent of the seats in the Assembly in 1979. In short, most successful legislative candidates in Virginia and elsewhere are white males.

Results of personal interviews with 65 members of the House and 29 members of the Senate in the 1981 session of the General Assembly do indicate some differences between the two parties (65 Democratic members, 28 Republican, and 1 independent) in the educational backgrounds of their candidates. The candidates of both parties are highly educated; however, the Democrats (59 percent) are more likely to have a graduate professional degree than the Republicans (43 percent). This educational difference is reflected in the occupational differences between the respondents of the two parties, as seen in Table 1. These differences between the parties in Virginia are rather minor, however, in comparison to more industrialized American states.

Relatively few middle-class Americans, even those that may be socially certified, consider seriously running for an elective public office. One's lifetime experiences and the opportunities that these present are obviously important in helping to develop such an interest. When those General Assembly members interviewed were asked, "Can you tell me when you first became interested in running for the General Assembly," a slightly higher percentage of Democrats than Republicans—16 percent of the Democrats and no Republicans—said that their interest had developed either in childhood or as teenagers. In contrast, 61 percent of the Democrats and 71 percent of the Republicans said that they became interested during their thirties, forties, or later. In addition, 29 percent of the Republicans, as opposed to only 12 percent of the Democrats, said that their interest developed as a result of being asked to become a candidate.

These responses suggest some possible difference between the parties in terms of the political socialization of their candidates. There appears to be a slightly greater tendency for Republicans to be political latecomers and to consider a political career only when the opportunity to enter politics literally comes knocking at the door. This hypothesis, if correct, is probably due to the business orientation of a higher proportion of the Republicans and to the traditionally closer connection in Virginia between a legal career and Democratic politics.

Given the importance of family tradition in the Virginia legislature—28 of the 140 members of the 1980 House and Senate were named after their fathers—and the relatively slow rate of turnover in the General Assembly in comparison to other states, one might hypothesize that a high proportion of the current membership comes from a tradition of family officeholding. In actuality, three-fourths (72 percent) of the Democratic respondents and two-thirds (64 percent) of the Republicans said that no one in their families had held any political office, either elected or appointed. Furthermore, almost half (46 percent) of the Democrats and one-third (36 percent) of the Republicans had not held any political office themselves before entering the General Assembly. Only 17 percent of the Democrats and 14 percent of the Republicans indicated that they had held local elected office, as opposed to the 20 and 25 percent, respectively, that had held a local appointed office. Nine percent of the Democrats and 14 percent of the Republicans said that they had been either commonwealth's attorneys or city attorneys before entering the General Assembly. (Based on their biographies in the state manuals, 30 of the 80 senators who served during the decade 1970-80 previously had been members of the House.)

One other factor concerning "certification" should be mentioned here. Fewer than 20 percent of our General Assembly respondents were under forty years of age in 1979, while about one-fourth were sixty or above. Significantly more Democrats (about one-third) than Republicans (about 14 percent) were in the older age group—which is perhaps not surprising, given their numbers, past dominance, and the factor of incumbency.

Selection. The question of how persons who meet most of the requirements for "certification" become actual candidates is not easily answered, and little information is available from studies in other states. Among our respondents, 30 percent indicated that they were self-starters, having "decided on my own" to become a General Assembly candidate for the first time. Another 38 percent said that they were asked, and one-third gave "both" as a response. Democrats were more likely to have been self-starters, while Republicans were more likely to have been asked to run (as might be expected from responses discussed earlier).

If respondents said that they had been asked to run, then who had asked them? The variety of answers to this question makes it difficult to generalize; however, "party" clearly played some role in the decisions of at least half of our respondents. Republican respondents (at least 60 percent) were more likely than Democrats (less than 50 percent to have been approached by someone connected or identified with a party.

Another indication of party influence on the decision to become a candidate is the extent to which our respondents were active in any way in the party before becoming a candidate for the first time. Only 12 percent of the Democrats and 14 percent of the Republicans said that they had not been active in the party in any way. In contrast, 87 percent of the respondents did indicate some party-relevant activity prior to nomination. Nevertheless, the data collected in the interviews make it clear that "working up through the ranks" is not a requirement of either party for nomination. Based on biographical data in the state manuals from 1970 to 1980, only 16 of the 80 senators (or 20 percent) who served during this decade had occupied any kind of party office; 37 of the 212 delegates (17 percent) indicated some active involvement in their party organizations.

When asked how important party activity was for the first nomination for state office, about 62 percent of our respondents thought that the party had been very important or at least somewhat important in their nominations—and Democrats and Republicans differed very little in this regard. In other words, given the fact that virtually *all* members of the General Assembly are elected with party labels, fewer than two-thirds thought the party was important in their nomination. To those who believe that parties should be strong linkage institutions between the legislature and the general public and, as such, should play a leading role in recruiting candidates supportive of the party's principles and policies, these findings will be a disappointment, even if not a surprise.

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[3] Lester G. Seligman, *Patterns of Recruitment* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*

Once they became members of the General ssembly, did the successful candidates articipate in some way in the party that nominated them and whose label they continued to wear? More than 60 percent of the respondents (66 percent of the Democrats, 54 percent of the Republicans) held no party office of any kind; indeed, about 20 percent did not participate in their party organizations in any way. Of those who did not hold an office, only about 12 percent overall (14 percent of the Democrats, 7 percent of the Republicans) ever bothered to attend party meetings. Others said that they participated in a variety of party-related activities, ranging from attending conventions or rallies to contributing money, time, or other work to the campaigns of other party nominees. One-fourth of the respondents, mostly Democrats, said that they spent either less than one hour or no time at all on party activities, while 11 percent of the Democrats and 21 percent of the Republicans claimed that they spent more than four hours a week on party activities. One-third of the respondents from each party said that they could not separate time spent on party activities from other kinds of activities.

TABLE 1. Occupations of Virginia State Legislators, Senate and House of Delegates, 1970-1981

Occupational Group	Senate Democrat N (%)	Senate Republican N (%)	House of Delegates Democrat N (%)	House of Delegates Republican N (%)
Lawyer	38 (61)	8 (44)	84 (56)	22 (40)
Lawyer -businessman, -farmer, -banker, etc.	3 (5)	— —	2 (1)	1 (2)
Medical professional	3 (5)	1 (6)	5 (3)	2 (4)
Other professional	— —	— —	3 (2)	— —
Educator, administrator	— —	— —	10 (7)	4 (7)
Business owner, manager, executive, consultant	5 (8)	3 (17)	23 (15)	13 (24)
Banker, stockbroker, investment consultant [a]	1 (2)	— —	5 (3)	2 (4)
Real estate, insurance, sales	4 (6)	1 (6)	2 (1)	8 (15)
Publisher, editor	1 (2)	1 (6)	4 (3)	1 (2)
Farmer, -businessman, -real estate, -banker, -engineer, etc.	7 (11)	4 (22)	8 (6)	1 (2)
Other, e.g., housewife, politician, professional volunteer	— —	— —	5 (3)	1 (2)
Totals	62 (100)	18 (101) [b]	151 (100)	55 (102) [b]

SOURCE: Biographical sketches in General Assembly of Virginia, *Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates*, for years 1970-1980 (published in even-numbered years only).

NOTES: The Virginia House of Delegates has 100 members; 212 members served from 1970-1981, in six electoral periods of two years each. The Virginia Senate has 40 members; 80 members served from 1970-1981 in electoral periods of four years each (1968-71, 1972-75, and so forth).

From 1970-1981, the General Assembly had 6 independent members who were *elected* without party affiliation (i.e., not including those conservative Democrats who abandoned their party affiliation in response to liberal and moderate state party gains and the McGovern presidential candidacy in 1972). Of that number, 4 were lawyers, 1 was a medical professional, and 1 was in business.

Although this category includes only 8 legislators, 47 legislators (16 percent) indicated in their biographies that they had connections with banks or savings and loan companies in positions such as members of the board or legal counsel.

Percentages do not always equal 100 percent due to rounding.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND THE PARTY

American party organizations generally do not have dues-paying members, and party candidates in the same city, district, or egion do not always campaign together and ool their assets; indeed, campaigning in the United States is frequently a very independent and individualistic affair. It is not surprising, therefore, that the parties are usually of little relevance in financing the campaign costs of their candidates. A study by the author of campaign finance in the 1973 House of Delegates election in Virginia found that only 15 of the victorious party candidates and 26 of the 61 losing candidates had received financial aid of any sort from their party or a party-affiliated organization; and while some of this aid was quite substantial, it was rarely enough to cover all or even most expenses.[5] While few studies exist to help determine whether the Virginia experience is typical of other state legislative elections, it is probably safe to assume that the role of the party in supporting party candidates varies considerably among the states and even within each state.[6]

Of the respondents in this study, 64 percent (68 percent of the Democrats, 54 percent of the Republicans) indicated that they had received no financial support from their party in 1979; however, 20 percent of this figure consists of those respondents who admitted that financial aid from their parties was unnecessary due to a lack of opposition. Two Democrats said that "the ticket" had received money from the party, while 19 ercent of the respondents from both parties indicated that they had received a "small sum" of money, i.e., $500 or less. Only 9 percent (6 percent of the Democrats, 14 percent of the Republicans) claimed to have received a "substantial" sum, i.e., more than $500, from the party.

If one looks only at those candidates who had opposition in the 1979 election, party financial support appears to be more important than the above figures suggest. One-half of the Democrats and even more of the Republicans (60 percent) who had opposition received some financial support from the party. Nevertheless, relatively few of those candidates who had opposition and received financial support received a "substantial" sum.

While the party organization itself may not supply a great deal of money to its candidates for campaign purposes, the party label may be crucial to candidates in their individual efforts to raise money. In the study of campaign finance in the 1973 House of Delegates election, significant differences were noted in the expenditures by party candidates and independent challengers. As that study stated, "in most cases, serious contenders must be identified with either the Democratic or Republican party, and only serious contenders are generally successful in raising substantial campaign contributions. . . ."[7]

Of course the party can help in other ways to get its candidates elected, and these services might be more important than financial contributions alone. Or they could be equivalent to substantial contributions of money, considering the cost of comparable services for candidates without party assistance. Indeed, only 22 percent of 93 party respondents said that they had received no help of any kind, whereas the remainder acknowledged receiving some assistance ranging from the provision of party workers (34 percent) and party literature (9 percent) to other kinds of help.

PARTY IN THE LEGISLATURE

The Virginia General Assembly never has been characterized by sharp or even discernible partisan differences, with a few possible exceptions concerning such issues as the appointment of judgeships and, of course, the organization of the House and Senate. Indeed, differences that do develop between groups of legislators appear often to result from individual personalities, the regions represented, or conflicts between the House of Delegates and the Senate rather than from partisan considerations. Members are seated by party in each body, and each party has its own caucus; however, the Republicans, perhaps due to their relatively small numbers, caucus only infrequently, and the Democrats rarely take up substantive issues other than those mentioned above when they caucus. One observer of the General Assembly has argued that, to the extent that the Democratic majority has demonstrated some cohesiveness, "only minority (i.e., Republican) control of the governorship in the 1970s has given Democrats a sense of party sufficient to allow their leaders to move as far as they have in policy development." This movement has been limited, however, by a number of factors, including the fact that "the Democratic legislators are so diverse in their constituencies and outlooks that a binding party position simply cannot be forged on most substantive policy issues."[9]

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[5] Arthur B. Gunlicks, "Campaign Finance in Virginia: The 1973 House of Delegates Election," *University of Virginia News Letter*, November 1974, p. 11.

[6] For a comparison of campaign spending in 1978 in nine states, see Alan Rosenthal, *Legislative Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), p. 33.

[7] Gunlicks, "Campaign Finance in Virginia," p. 10.

The diversity of the Democratic delegations in the House and Senate can be demonstrated by looking at the kinds of constituencies that Democrats represent. In 1980 the Democrats in both houses were almost evenly divided throughout most of the state between urban-suburban districts and those comprised of small towns and rural areas. Republican strength, in contrast, is concentrated in both the urban and the rural areas of the Valley and in the urban Northern Virginia area. Whereas in 1971 the Republicans tended to represent more small town and rural districts in the Senate and more urban-suburban districts in the House, in 1980 the Republican delegates were balanced in the representation of urban and rural districts in both houses of the General Assembly.

While few if any observers of the state's political scene would argue that the General Assembly's politics are partisan politics, the legislators themselves may perceive differences between the parties that are too subtle for outsiders to notice. To ascertain whether this might be the case, our respondents were asked to "describe the policy differences, if any, between Republicans and Democrats in the General Assembly." One-third of the respondents saw no differences, while another 18 percent saw differences only under certain conditions or in response to certain issues. On the other hand, 29 percent perceived differences in terms of the particular interests represented and the resulting focus on the appropriate role of government; another 8 percent mentioned ideological differences. Republicans (47 percent) were more likely to perceive such differences than were Democrats (31 percent), a reflection perhaps both of Republican minority status and the tradition among older Democrats of factional rather than partisan politics.

The data collected from the respondents also suggest some differences between the parties according to the particular house of the General Assembly. Whereas one-fourth of the Senate Democrats said that they saw no policy differences between parties, all of the Senate Republicans perceived certain differences. In the House the proportions of Republicans who perceived differences between parties in the interests that they represent and in ideology were larger than the Democratic proportions; however, 40 percent of both Democratic and Republican House delegates perceived no differences between the parties.

A large majority of respondents from each party opposed the proposition that "there should be more perceptible and identifiable policy differences between the parties"; only one-fourth each of the Democrats (25 percent) and Republicans (26 percent) concurred with this statement. While a rather wide range of reasons was given for the lack of enthusiasm for parties representing different policy stands, it is apparent that most Virginia legislators accept an ideology of individualism and consensus politics at the expense of "responsible parties."

While the policy consensus in the Virginia General Assembly is matched in considerable measure by ideological consensus, some interesting ideological differences between the two parties did emerge when respondents were asked to place themselves on an ideology scale for the national level as well as for Virginia, where politics are notably more conservative. As expected, respondents of both parties favored the conservative side of the scale; however, to a greater extent than one might have predicted, the Republicans appeared to perceive themselves as more conservative, while the Democrats thought of themselves as somewhat less conservative. This difference appears to be more profound at the level of state politics than at the national level. Only 8 percent of the Democrats and no Republicans placed themselves left-of-center according to national political standards, whereas 22 percent of the Democrats and 11 percent of the Republicans classified themselves as left-of-center by Virginia standards. A few respondents were bothered by the failure of the questionnaire to distinguish between economic and other issues, and some of these legislators refused to classify themselves on either scale.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented in this article suggests that, in terms of occupational and educational background, recruitment patterns, policy, and ideological perceptions, some, though not dramatic, differences exist between the two major parties in the kinds of state legislators who wear their labels. The evidence also suggests that a greater potential for partisan conflict may now exist in the General Assembly than has been seen in the past—especially if the Republicans should become more successful in future legislative elections. With a statewide party organization noted for its hard-line conservative image and an enlarged contingent of Republican legislators with a consciously conservative orientation, the more centrist Democratic majority may be forced to assume a more unified policy stance to counter the conservative Republican challenge. On the other hand, the Democrats in the General Assembly could react by matching the Republicans' orientation to the right, thereby giving the electorate no real choice between the two parties' legislative candidates and therefore no reason to change delegates. A third possibility is that a moderately conservative Democratic governor could be pulled to the center by the party outside of the General Assembly, thus giving conservative Republicans the opportunity to campaign against the "liberal Democrats."

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[9] Robert J. Austin, "The Virginia General Assembly, II: Influencing Policy," *University of Virginia News Letter*, November 1977, p. 10.

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VIRGINIA'S STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION, I: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr. and Robert S. Montjoy

Mr. O'Toole and Mr. Montjoy are associate professors of political science at Auburn University, where Mr. Montjoy is also assistant director of the Office of Public Service and Research.

This news letter is the first of two consecutive articles on the SCC. Both articles are drawn from a larger study of the commission supported by the Institute of Government, where the authors were formerly staff members. The authors gratefully acknowledge the help provided by many at the SCC and in the Virginia regulatory community who have given so freely of their time and information. However, the authors are solely responsible for the contents.

Despite the fact that the American economy is predominantly a private enterprise system, government regulation of business has been an important and sometimes controversial component of public policy throughout this century. States as well as the national government have pursued regulation in order to correct an array of perceived marketplace imperfections or abuses. Regulation may be designed for a variety of goals—for example, to control the potential for monopoly profit, to ensure solvency in certain businesses, or to guarantee that consumers have accurate information before engaging in transactions. In the Old Dominion many of the state's most difficult regulatory decisions are in the hands of a single organization, the Virginia State Corporation Commission (SCC).

The SCC is a regulatory body of unparalleled scope and formal power among the American states. Since its creation for the regulation of railroads in 1902, the commission has acquired a variety of responsibilities in many different industries, including financial institutions (such as banks and savings and loan companies), insurance, securities, retail franchising, intrastate motor and rail transportation, and utilities (electricity, gas, telephone, water, and sewerage). Today, the same commission that decides multimillion dollar rate cases affecting the cost of electric power throughout the Commonwealth also grants bank charters and licenses taxicabs. Similar regulatory activities are performed in other states as well, but not by a single agency. Even after the shift of the Fire Marshal's Office and the Division of Aeronautics to the administrative control of others, the Virginia SCC still retains the broadest jurisdiction of any such regulatory body in the United States. (It also performs a number of nonregulatory duties, but these will not be discussed in this news letter.)

This unmatched jurisdiction is not the SCC's only distinctive characteristic. The commission also possesses an extraordinary degree of formal independence from the rest of Virginia government. It is a constitutionally established body, not a creation of statute. The three commissioners are elected by the General Assembly for staggered six-year terms; this method of legislative election is used by only one other state, South Carolina. In practice the choice of commissioners is made in the legislature's Democratic caucus, and the norm has been to treat the commissioners as "judges" (the term by which they are customarily addressed) who hold office during good behavior. Furthermore, the SCC has considerable budgetary independence. Approximately 89 percent of its revenues come from special funds that are not subject to competition from other state activities. In practice the governor's budget office is not involved in its budget preparation, and the commission acts autonomously from the Commonwealth's chief executive.

Since the constitutional revision of 1971, the General Assembly has had the potential to give significant direction to some SCC activities, but thus far the legislators have continued to give much freedom to the commission. The chief regulators, for instance, have complete control over their entire staff of more than four hundred, who are not covered by the state's civil service system. The SCC can even declare acts of the General Assembly unconstitutional, a power that has been exercised on occasion during the course of the commission's existence. The only appeal from SCC decisions is one by right to the Virginia Supreme Court.

Internally, the commission has long organized its staff into divisions structured around the industries to be regulated or processes used in the regulatory task. At present the commissioners supervise more than a dozen subunits, which vary greatly both in size and in the amount of responsibility exercised. As has been the case for decades, each "judge" carries out day-to-day administrative direction over approximately one-third of these divisions, coordinating informally with his colleagues on matters crossing jurisdictional lines. Obviously, the present SCC is a complex institution.

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Yet despite the formal independence of the SCC, it has not existed in complete isolation from the external forces that have shaped Virginia's history. In fact, the commission was founded in reaction to the political and economic turmoil of the time. Furthermore, the same sentiments that led to the SCC's creation also nurtured the Byrd Organization, and for many years the commissioners were active supporters of the Organization. These links influenced the philosophy and operating style of the SCC during the Byrd era, and many characteristics of today's commission can be understood as continuations of or reactions to the patterns that were established earlier. This news letter concentrates on the founding of the SCC and its operations before 1972; the next news letter will focus on current SCC activities.

THE FOUNDING OF THE SCC

The creation of the SCC by the Constitution of 1902 was a political response to an economic problem—the difficulties caused by monopolistic power in the railroad industry. The problem was nationwide and stimulated the creation of regulatory commissions by many states and the federal government. But Virginia's approach carried the unique flavor of the Old Dominion. It was certainly not a struggle of the Common Man vs. Big Business as depicted by populist rhetoric elsewhere. Instead, the solution embodied in the SCC fits into a long Virginia tradition of government support for business.

Historians have suggested a number of reasons to explain why Populists were not directly successful in Virginia. One of these was the perceived connection between Populism and the earlier Readjustor movement. "Billy" Mahone and his Readjustors (so named for their desire to restructure the state debt in a manner less than satisfactory to the financial interests) had been a powerful force in the 1870s and 1880s. Mahone had parlayed unorthodox tactics, radical-sounding rhetoric, black support, and class conflict on the debt issue into a political machine of some significance. Even so, the Democrats had managed to play upon the race issue, the crudeness of Mahone's methods, and a superior organization to stimulate a backlash and drive him from power. By the 1890s Mahone was viewed as an irresponsible, indeed embarrassing, figure. The Democrats were then able to associate the Populists with "Mahone and the Negro."

Even if the Readjustors and the Populists could not win control to enact their own programs, however, they did prove to be an important stimulus for the movement that led to the founding of the SCC. The political instability of the era led many Democrats to support a constitutional convention for the purpose of cementing their gains and restoring order. Further, the railroads were tainted by their use of money to control the votes of blacks and poor whites, even though their efforts had been instrumental in the election of some Democrats. As the Democrats established control in the state, they became increasingly concerned with putting an end to political corruption.[1]

When the constitutional convention was held, many delegates "felt a sense of urgency in resolving the railroad problem before popular agitation wrested the issue from responsible hands. It was the consensus of the convention that government ownership had to be avoided at all cost."[2] Allen Caperton Braxton, a Staunton attorney, drafted a constitutional article to create the SCC, and he guided his handiwork through the convention.

Disfranchisement of blacks and the establishment of the SCC may have been the two most important results of the convention, and they were of a piece. Both actions appealed to the desire of many convention delegates to allow careful progress while also preserving or restoring the virtues they perceived to be a product of Virginia's old order. The race/electoral issue was most important to the delegates from the eastern part of the state, while regulatory reform was on the minds of those from the nearly all-white western portion.

From the record of debates in the convention, it is clear that Braxton was careful to justify his proposal for the new commission as a conservative move, arguing that to the best of his knowledge it was supported by every board of trade in the state. Implementation of the SCC idea would enable Virginia to be conservative and progressive simultaneously. Another delegate, Eugene Withers, put the matter more strongly:

> Now, this demand for railroad commissions is not local; it is not populistic; it is not anarchistic; it is not unreasonable; it is not in the interests of the rabble and the hoi polloi, and the proletariat; but it is demanded by the business interests of Virginia; it is demanded by the chamber of commerce, by the boards of trade, the business men's associations, the tobacco associations.[3]

Thus, while it is clear that the founding of the SCC was not a victory of the Common Man over Big Business, it is not clear that the commission's proponents considered the reverse to be true, in spite of their rhetoric. Being untutored in the modern literature on interest group politics and class conflict, they may have genuinely believed that a properly balanced business system was in the interest of all people, although the uneducated and easily led might not recognize this fact. Such a belief would permit Braxton to argue that the commission would benefit the "people" and protect the "consumer" at the same time that he opposed the popular election of the commissioners. Similarly, Braxton was not opposed to the railroad companies, but only to their unlimited economic influence. He later became counsel for a railroad and once even declined an offer of its presidency.

THE SCC AND THE BYRD ORGANIZATION

Braxton had a clear idea of who should serve on the commission. He suggested that one seat be occupied by a lawyer, one by a businessman, and one by someone knowledgeable of freight rates and shipping. He also felt strongly that:

> The office provided for here is a matter that has no more to do with politics than has the cashier of a bank. It ought to be filled by men who are not politicians. It ought to be filled by men whose past experience has been in the line of practical business, and not in the line of political matters.[4]

Braxton's caveat was systematically ignored from the beginning, however. All of the first three commissioners had previously held elective office. In fact, of the twenty-four men who served on the commission before 1972, only three had not had prior political experience. Moreover, some of them left the SCC to run for other offices. Two men became governor after serving on the commission. (Two others subsequently took seats on the Virginia Supreme Court, but that body is not elected.) Nor were the political activities of the commissioners always suspended while they served on the SCC. With the ascendency of Byrd in the early 1920s, a long period began in which the commissioners were active members of the Organization.

An exchange between Thomas Ozlin, who served as a commissioner from 1933 to 1944, and Senator Byrd is illustrative. Ozlin had written Byrd about the importance of electing the right people to the legislature in the summer of 1939 and of ensuring that the opposition not elect its allies. Byrd responded by stressing the necessity for coordinating the Organization's electoral activities at the grassroots level. He suggested that Ozlin lead the way in the state's Fourth Congressional District, while other loyalists would manage the election elsewhere around the Commonwealth. The attitude of the SCC in its dealings with the Organization and its leader was perhaps best exemplified by longtime commissioner Lester Hooker. For example, when Hooker started his fourth six-year term in 1942, his first action was to write Senator Byrd expressing his loyalty and willingness to help the senator or his friends in any way they desired.[5]

However, there is little evidence that the relationship between the commission and the Organization was used for personal gain on either side. On the contrary, the integrity of government had been an essential tenet of the Organization from its very beginning. Unlike political machines that bartered specific inducements such as jobs and money for votes, the Organization was in many ways an ideological party. (The problem of how to manage the vote of the masses without such material inducements was largely irrelevant in Virginia because participation was restricted to a tiny portion of the potential electorate.) The philosophy of the Organization was the philosophy of the commission for most of its existence, and this shared set of beliefs seems to explain a good bit about both the style and substance of regulation in Virginia.

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[1] R. H. Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), pp. 57, 106.

[2] Thomas E. Gay, Jr., "Creating the Virginia State Corporation Commission," 78 *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 465 (October 1970); cf. Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored*, pp. 96-97.

[3] *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902* (Richmond: Hermitage Press, Inc., 1906), p. 2304. See also pp. 2171 and 2255.

[4] *Debates*, p. 2565.

[5] Byrd to Ozlin, Feb. 3, 1933; Hooker to Byrd, Feb. 1, 1942, Harry F. Byrd, Sr. Papers, Manuscripts Department, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

What were the beliefs of the Organization—or the "club," as Governor Almond called it? "The cardinal tenet of the machine's rationale was that Virginia and her people would best be served by the honest, wise, and benign rule of this political elite."[6] Members of the Organization were not very partial to theory, preferring instead the common sense of practical business (but not the massive planning of giant corporations) that was the foundation of the state's greatness. Nevertheless, they seemed to have a theory of sorts, which was that the government should limit, but not abdicate, its role in the economy. The state's economic function was to promote the long term growth, prosperity, and balance of the business community. Even working people and consumers—indeed, all sorts of persons—were advantaged by strengthening the business climate of the state; therefore, divisive forces like the labor movement were dangerous and even unpatriotic. Consensus, at least among the politically active, was highly valued. Consensus meant that political forces would bolster economic ones, that stability would prevail, and that the productive capacities of the state's citizenry would be efficiently devoted to positive results. Conflict wasted time and energy, and it was bad for business.

In many cases the SCC served this goal of consensus by regulating otherwise disruptive economic forces and by removing the issue of their regulation from the public eye. For instance, within a few years after its establishment the commission had brought order to the chaotic railroad industry. After a string of bank disasters during the Depression, the commission received authority to control the creation of new banks. This same pattern persisted as the commission acquired new mandates. Between 1903 and 1977 there were sixty-four major additions to the SCC's jurisdiction.

Despite the SCC's impressive formal independence, its leadership was closely tied to Organization leaders who occupied key posts in various branches of government. For example, gubernatorial correspondence indicates that William Meade Fletcher, who was a commissioner from 1928 to 1943, practically served as a de facto attorney for the Organization, undertaking many legal assignments that had little to do with his official position. Organization leaders also helped fill staff positions with the "right" people. Ozlin once wrote to Byrd concerning an opening on the SCC staff. The commissioner was seeking suggestions for the position; he wanted a congenial college graduate from the Second District. Byrd forwarded the name of an individual proposed to him by another leader with Organization ties, Colgate Darden, then temporarily out of office as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.[7] On the other hand, little written evidence exists of any conscious coordination between the SCC and the Organization on policy matters. Of course, explicit policy coordination was probably deemed improper; however, it was also largely unnecessary, given the shared attitudes and beliefs of Organization members.

The SCC did struggle long and successfully to maintain its formal independence from other branches of state government. Particularly on such matters as personnel and budget, the commission insisted upon the right to exercise its own authority, should it choose to do so. These issues were not especially important during the years of the Organization's rule since officials heading the various branches of state government were alike in so many respects. However, the precedents of SCC independence established in these earlier times are significant today, when commissioners are selected by a Democratically controlled legislature and the governorship is occupied by a Republican.

While the relationship between the SCC and the Organization was significant, so was the manner in which the commission actually conducted its regulatory business. The SCC's distinctive style during this period can be seen by examining the pattern of activity under the immediate predecessors to the current commissioners.

THE OLD COMMISSION IN OPERATION

In less than a year between 1972 and 1973 a new set of commissioners took the helm of the SCC, a turnover in leadership that symbolized the end of a period of extraordinary stability for Virginia regulation. Of the three departing commissioners, Jesse Dillon had been the relative newcomer, retiring after fifteen years at his post. Ralph Catterall resigned after a quarter of a century's service, and Lester Hooker left after serving an incredible forty-eight years.

Hooker and Dillon had been longtime Byrd loyalists; Catterall was also a choice of the Organization, although he had not been politically active prior to his appointment. The commission's style under the leadership of these three men differed considerably from that observable today in many regulatory commissions. In step with the operations of the Commonwealth's political leadership, theirs was a regulation of informality, speed, and consensus.

Decision making at the "old commission," as this group is now called, tended to be an uncomplicated affair. A relatively small set of attorneys, lobbyists, and businessmen interacted frequently with those at the top of the SCC. These regulars knew the personalities and informal rules of the game in Virginia's regulatory process, and issues were usually settled quickly. The commission seldom wrote opinions unless there was an appeal—and there were few appeals. By the early 1960s, for instance, there had been more than 15,000 formally numbered cases decided by the SCC. Yet only 166 appeals had been taken to the Supreme Court of Appeals; and of those, a paltry 43 had been reversed.

Under the old commission, the state's regulatory process was expeditious. "Regulatory lag," that familiar phenomenon of contemporary American government whereby commissions take considerable time to hear a case and reach a decision, was virtually absent. The SCC's unique combination of formal powers made quick action possible. The commission, which was a relatively passive body, neither went searching for cases to decide nor encouraged its staff to do so. The very broad jurisdiction of the SCC meant that not much time was spent on any one task, and therefore regulation itself in any one field was far from oppressive. Over time the "judges" acquired so much experience making decisions in their major jurisdictions that many cases were decided directly "from the bench."

Rules of thumb, intuition, and philosophical similarity made even complex issues simple to handle. In the mold of Virginia's politics of the day, most differences of opinion were hammered out in private. Informal contact and the exploration of alternatives by regulated businesses via quiet sessions in the commission's chambers meant that tedious litigation was usually avoided. Ex parte communications—that is, information passed between commissioners and some parties to a case—were commonplace features of regulatory decision making. However, few people aside from the concerned businesses paid systematic attention to SCC activities, and there was seldom unpredictable opposition to any course of action; therefore, the commission itself frequently convened and managed the conferences and bargains from which flowed the state's regulatory policies. As one of the commissioners put it:

> Our public hearings are continuations of our investigations, and it would not be feasible to draw a line between proper and improper ex parte oral communications. . . . We treat every communication as proper, and anybody can walk in at any time and discuss any subject.

The advantages of efficiency over the tedious extremes of due process pleased many who dealt with the SCC. Among the most satisfied with the system were the commissioners themselves. Catterall, for instance, wrote a classic defense of the "comparatively Arcadian simplicity" of the

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[6] E. C. Williams, "The Anti-Byrd Organization Movement in Virginia, 1948-1949," M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, p. 4; cf. Ralph Eisenberg, "Virginia: The Emergence of Two-Party Politics," in W. C. Havard, ed., *The Changing Politics of the South* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 46.

[7] Ozlin to Byrd, July 11, 1938; Byrd to Ozlin, July 16, 1938; Byrd Papers.

Virginia regulatory structure and process, in contrast to the "horrors" of the federal maze. The Commonwealth, said the judge, was blessed with an exceptional regulatory unit. The SCC's stature as a "fourth branch" of government with combined powers "save [d] time" and eliminated "red tape." The commission's operations were "so simple that the most careless lawyer could not lose a case on a procedural point." Delays were almost nonexistent. "Briefs [were] seldom filed and most cases [were] decided as soon as the evidence [was] in." In complicated utility rate cases, efficiency was served by having the companies pre-file their testimony and by requiring the SCC's staff accountants to work out with the businesses ahead of time the adjustments needed in company balance sheets, "leaving for the Commissioners only legal questions to decide."

Nevertheless, most important staff decisions were tightly controlled by the commissioners. In several SCC divisions very little took place without checking upstairs. According to Catterall, the staff were "agents of the Commission. What they know and do the Commission knows and does." This arrangement meant that the state's regulatory unit was "unhampered by the doctrine of the separation of powers and the theories that cluster around the prefix 'quasi'."[8]

In many respects this defense of the old commission in operation makes an impressive case. Nevertheless, such a system might also contain some disadvantages. For instance, independent commissioners of long tenure may ignore new issues and interests. Minimizing red tape and formality might create the potential for unequal access or treatment. Regulators who decide cases very quickly may also act without considering all the evidence or novel approaches to problems. When staff members are agents of a commission, they may be more likely to act in a coordinated fashion—but also less likely to be innovative, active, and assertive. In summary, a regulatory system built around informality and independence may well maximize decisiveness and speed, but these ends may exact certain important costs. Eventually charges of this sort were levelled against the SCC.

The old commission had been popular during the Byrd years, but by the late 1960s times had changed. Harry Byrd was gone, and the politics of consensus began to break down under the onslaught of new participants, an invigorated two-party system, and newly voiced demands on government. Interest group conflict, especially on insurance and utility matters, emerged in the regulatory arena. Organized consumer groups made their first major appearance.

As the old commission continued to follow its established style of operation in an era of new regulatory politics, conflict was inevitable. One fabled case provides a useful, albeit extreme, illustration of the actions of an SCC that many felt was out of touch with the public and the times. Three days before Christmas 1969, the SCC was hearing a tariff increase request filed by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company. Before presentation of either the company's evidence or that of opponents, and while a preliminary motion was still pending, Judge Hooker surprised observers by reading the commission's decision in the case. The fact that the ruling preceded presentation of the case was driven home to the astonished spectators when Hooker finished reading the decision and handed copies to those in attendance. The case was later overturned on appeal.[9]

Although this was an unusual instance, it was perhaps symptomatic of the clash between decision-making styles during an era of transition. Pressure continued to mount at the SCC, and the trio finally retired at a time when the commission, which had served as a key element of stabilization in the Commonwealth for decades, was itself the focal point for major controversy. Even this most independent of regulatory bodies was not immune to changes stimulated by its surroundings. The "new commission" of the 1970s would be faced with the task of adapting Virginia's regulatory system to today's political and economic realities.

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[8] The above discussion of decision making by the "old commission" draws upon the article by Commissioner Ralph T. Catterall. "The State Corporation Commission of Virginia," 48 *Virginia Law Review* 139-51. All quotations are from that article.

[9] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Jan. 27, 1971 and June 23, 1975; *Board of Supervisors of Fairfax County v. Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company of Virginia*, 212 Va. 57, 182 S.E.2d 30 (1971).

Note: It has been called to our attention that a statement in the November 1979 news letter ("The Study of Small Towns in Virginia") critical of the State Corporation Commission for not helping small towns in their rate battles with giant utilities may be misleading. Section 56-234 of the Code of Virginia prohibits the SCC from regulating the utility rates charged governmental units. The SCC has supported past proposed legislation to give it jurisdiction over such rates, but such legislation has not been passed by the General Assembly.

—The Editors

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VIRGINIA'S STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION, II: DECISION MAKING TODAY

By Robert S. Montjoy and Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr.

Mr. Montjoy and Mr. O'Toole are associate professors of political science at Auburn University, where Mr. Montjoy is also assistant director of the Office of Public Service and Research.

This news letter is the second of two consecutive articles on the SCC; the first appeared as the December 1979 issue. Both articles are drawn from a larger study of the commission supported by the Institute of Government, where the authors were formerly staff members. The authors gratefully acknowledge the help provided by many at the SCC and in the Virginia regulatory community who have given so freely of their time and information. However, the authors are solely responsible for the contents.

For many years economic regulation in Virginia was a relatively quiet affair—of intense concern to the participants but not a matter that commanded the public's attention for long. Beginning in 1902 with the perceived abuses by the railroad industry, whenever monopolistic power, destructive competition, or the effects of technological innovation brought serious economic disruption, the normal response of the Commonwealth was to assign the problem to the State Corporation Commission (SCC). After a period, sometimes marked by court challenges to the SCC's new authority, the commission and the industry would settle into a pattern of routine regulation. In keeping with the politics of the era, the SCC's operating style emphasized speed, informality, and consensus. After World War II public satisfaction with the system was undoubtedly boosted by increasing prosperity and declining utility rates (perhaps the most visible target of regulation).

Recent events have brought some profound changes in the environment and operations of the SCC. The rise of consumerism, interest group activity, and two-party competition has significantly altered both the regulatory and the political climates of Virginia. In addition, the nationwide surge in construction and fuel costs has produced dramatic increases in utility bills, especially for electric power, in Virginia as elsewhere. Thus, public scrutiny is much greater, and more parties seek active participation in commission decisions than before. Furthermore, significant internal changes have taken place at the SCC. In 1972 and early 1973 the three sitting commissioners, with tenures ranging from fifteen to forty-eight years, all retired. While the new commissioners seem to share much of their predecessors' philosophy about the proper role of the government in the economy, they have embarked upon a number of reforms to increase staff expertise, strengthen internal management, ensure due process, and increase access to the SCC by the public. This news letter outlines and illustrates some of the ways in which the SCC operates in today's more complex regulatory environment.

THE ORGANIZATION OF DECISIONS

The commission's responsibilities are vast and diverse. For example, the Code of Virginia devotes 203 pages, not counting recent amendments, to the operation of public service companies (principally utilities and motor carriers), and provides that "Any person or corporation aggrieved by anything done or omitted in violation . . . shall have the right to make complaint . . . and seek relief . . . before the State Corporation Commission, sitting as a court of record."[1] Furthermore, while some mandates are extremely detailed, others require a great deal of judgment. For example, public service companies are to provide "reasonably adequate service and facilities at reasonable and just rates."[2] Similarly, in determining whether a new bank is in "the public interest," the SCC is to consider "all relevant evidence" on matters such as convenience, efficiency, and competition and to ascertain the "moral fitness, financial responsibility, and business qualifications" of the proposed officers as they may affect community confidence in the new institution. In case these guidelines should prove insufficient to determine bank charters, the commission is to consider "anything else deemed pertinent."[3] With its responsibilities encompassing utilities, intrastate transportation, financial institutions, insurance, securities, and retail franchises, the SCC has the broadest jurisdiction of any state regulatory body in the nation.

One may reasonably wonder how the three commissioners of the SCC can cope with such responsibilities. The answer is that most of the time they must depend upon others to discover problems in the regulatory environment or in current policy and practice, to gather and analyze information, to develop proposals and arguments, and often even to make decisions for the SCC.

Issues can arise at the SCC in a variety of ways. In many cases the commission relies upon the regulated companies to initiate a request for a change in the status quo. For example, insurance companies must get SCC approval of changes in the forms by which they sell policies to their customers, and it seems fairly safe to expect that utility companies will inform the commission when they feel a rate increase is needed. The commission also maintains a toll-free telephone line by which individual consumers can register complaints or request information. Some of the SCC staff routinely monitor reports from regulated industries; and others, such as bank examiners, actively search the environment for relevant information. The staff also suggest new policy initiatives when they discover problems in the administration of current laws.

To a considerable extent, therefore, the commissioners rely upon their staff of more than four hundred employees, organized in sixteen bureaus and divisions. These employees gather information and make most of the routine decisions. When problems cannot be handled by the staff—and, in some cases, when the law requires it—

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[1] Code of Virginia, sec. 56-6.

[2] Va. Code, sec. 56-234.

[3] Va. Code, sec. 6.1-13.

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decisions are pushed upward to the commissioners. Many of the most important commission decisions are made after formal hearings. Here, too, the staff as well as other parties are important, for they present information and arguments before the commission. The courtlike proceedings not only ensure a certain amount of due process; they also reduce the facts and positions from a variety of cases to a common format. Many times the commissioners become involved only when a case reaches the formal hearing stage. In those instances, the commissioners are dependent upon their staff and other parties to develop the official record upon which they must base their decision.

Current SCC procedures differ from those formerly used in some important respects. Perhaps most important is the emphasis on due process. Considerable effort is made to ensure that all parties of interest have a fair chance to influence the decision. Fairness is largely defined by judicial procedure. For example, the SCC provides consumer representatives an opportunity to present their case in a utility hearing, but the fact that most consumer representatives lack the resources to acquire technical and legal expertise comparable to that of the utilities does not arise as an issue. The Commonwealth represents the consumer interest through the Attorney General's Office.

A result of this emphasis on due process is that the commissioners appear to be more careful about their dealings with their own staff during a case. Before a hearing the staff members involved are largely free to pursue their own vision of the public interest, within the guidelines of the law and precedent. In the absence of direction from the commissioners, the legal staff, who must present the cases in hearings, seem to play an important role in coordinating staff positions and interpreting the relevant laws. The commissioners also try to avoid giving the staff an extra opportunity to influence a decision after the hearing is closed. Yet they frequently need the staff's expertise. Often the staff attorney in the case, who takes the role of counsel to the commissioners after the hearing is closed, mediates between the commissioners and the technical staff.

Of course, not all SCC decisions are made as a result of formal hearings. However, this process does account for some of the most important and most visible decisions. And while there are different types of hearings, they all share certain elements, including the reliance upon the parties at interest to gather information and present issues, the use of courtlike procedures, and the emphasis on due process. Hearings can be very time consuming, a feature that advantages the customers when the issue is a proposed rate increase. These points are illustrated by the Virginia Electric and Power Company rate case that was decided in March of 1979.[4]

THE VEPCO RATE CASE

On December 6, 1976 the Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco), which is the Commonwealth's largest electric utility, was awarded a rate increase of $65.9 million by the SCC. But as 1977 wore on, company executives decided that further "rate relief" would soon be needed. Therefore, on April 24, 1978, after a request for an interim rate increase and some hearings at the SCC, Vepco applied to the commission for a permanent increase in its electric rates totalling $246 million. No utility had ever before petitioned a state for a rate increase of this magnitude. The SCC suspended the proposed rates and scheduled a formal hearing on the matter.

Although the size of the utility's proposed increase certainly made this case unique, the manner in which it was handled at the SCC was fairly typical of Virginia's utility regulation in recent years. Ultimately, the commissioners had to decide whether Vepco deserved more money from its customers—and, if so, which customers should pay how much more. In doing so, the regulators were charged with balancing the interests of the private corporation and its investor owners with the interests of consumers who purchase power. These interests are not simple opposites, for consumers have interests in the availability of power as well as its cost.

A number of factors helped to guide the commissioners. Constitutional and statutory provisions and court decisions established some criteria that constrained the decision makers—for instance, the "rate base/rate of return" method by which the SCC calculates how much a utility should be given a chance to earn. This method basically requires the regulatory agency to determine the utility's adjusted net value or "rate base." Then a "rate of return" is selected; i.e., a percentage of the rate base that should provide enough income for a fair return to the company's investors. If, with the passage of time, the company's adjusted net income is not sufficient to produce this "fair return" (the rate base multiplied by the rate of return), regulators normally authorize a corresponding increase in rates to permit the company an opportunity to earn more.

Many issues that influence a utility rate decision recur in case after case. (For example, should a company be allowed to earn a return on money it spends for charitable contributions?) The SCC itself sets policies on how these matters are to be treated. In a large rate case, one usually finds that supporters and opponents of the utility's request each defend certain precedents and attack others. Therefore, much of rate regulation means applying previously established principles to the facts of a new case, while at the same time considering the possibility of a change in policy in light of circumstances.

The commissioners receive other guidance, as well. Significant utility rate cases are invariably decided after a formal hearing in the SCC's courtroom on the top floor of the commission's Blanton Building. Despite the fact that rate regulation is technically defined as a "legislative" decision, the commission conducts the hearing as if it were a judicial proceeding. The utility presents its case while other interested parties may cross-examine company witnesses and present their own. The SCC staff ordinarily participates in this fashion much as the other "parties of interest" do, the major difference being that the staff is charged with representing the overall public interest. Attorneys represent all parties who want to participate fully in the case. Since the commissioners are required to resolve the case from the evidence presented before them in this manner, their decision making is made somewhat more manageable.

Action on the Vepco case neither began nor ended in the courtroom, however. Even before Vepco filed its formal request, company officials had met with the commissioners and informed them of the impending application and the key issues that would be raised. The SCC staff had also anticipated the case and thus had actually been working on it for months prior to the filing date. Eight members from the SCC's Accounting Division checked the company's books for more than six months prior to the opening of the hearing in September 1978. The commission's Division of Energy Regulation had responsibility for investigating the company's proposal for distributing rates across customer classes (e.g., large manufacturers vs. residential consumers). And the newly-created Division of Economic Research and Analysis worked with a staff-retained consultant on a proposal for determining the rate of return to be allowed the company.

These tasks are a normal part of the commission's staff preparation for a major utility rate request. But there were some additional wrinkles in the work on this case. For the first time, the SCC's staff also analyzed some information on a company's efficiency. The head of the Division of Energy Regulation prepared testimony on how often Vepco's power generating units had been out of service. He intended to provide some evidence that the company was not operating them as efficiently as other utilities ran theirs. An economist in the Division of Economic Research and Analysis took a different tack. She statistically analyzed some of the company's expense data and concluded that although some of Vepco's controllable expenses were relatively low compared to those of similar electric utilities, others were unjustifiably high. These experts were raising an important issue. But it was one that would be difficult to address in the routine of a normal rate case, which traditionally has amounted to a succession of accounting decisions made in the context and within the norms of a judicial proceeding. Neither staff member could find a satisfactory way of translating individual conclusions about company efficiency into a specific recommendation about the amount of money Vepco should be allowed to earn, so both prepared testimony without any specific "dollars-and-cents" recommendation.

The activities of these technical specialists were guided, as usual, by an attorney from the General Counsel's Office, the SCC's legal staff. As the summer wore on,

[4] This description of the case, which is much simplified, derives from the authors' observations at the SCC during the case, the examination of pertinent documents at the commission, and interviews with key participants.

testimony was readied and a number of meetings were convened. At these meetings the staff case was polished and considerable coordination took place. Sometimes significant issues cut across the jurisdiction of the staff subunits, and occasionally disagreements surfaced. One instance was a difference of opinion on how Vepco's expenses for construction work should be handled for purposes of rate regulation. In such circumstances the SCC attorney, who ultimately must lead staff witnesses through their prepared testimony in the commission courtroom, often provides leadership in the staff preparation, to ensure some consistency in the staff case. The final staff case consisted of testimony from three staff members and three consultants hired by the staff for their expertise on certain points.

The commissioners themselves were certainly aware of the upcoming contest, but they took no real role in directing the preparation of their staff's case. While some staffers naturally look to the judges for clues about the specific areas in which they are most likely to be interested, others keep the commissioners relatively ignorant of their preparations until the case is presented.

In a case with so much at stake, other parties took an interest in Vepco's request. A variety of consumer representatives also prepared to take part in the proceedings. These included the Division of Consumer Counsel of the Attorney General's Office, which always participates in such events; a group of large manufacturers; the Consumer Congress, a residential electricity consumer organization; attorneys for low-income clients; and others. In all, twenty-eight attorneys representing Vepco, the SCC staff, and twelve other parties got ready for the opening, which was scheduled for early September.

Meanwhile, the utility began a public relations campaign aimed at convincing Virginians that Vepco's request was justified. Consumer groups, especially the Consumer Congress, disagreed; and as the hearing date approached, the company's application was the focus of intense political and economic conflict in the Old Dominion. The Vepco case became front-page news.

Many among the general public were interested in the case as well, and the commission set aside the first three days of formal hearings so that those "public witnesses" who so desired could speak for a few minutes before the regulators. These sessions were convened in cities within Vepco's service area—Williamsburg, Chesapeake, Fairfax, and Richmond—and attracted hundreds of citizens. Most of these were people who lacked technical knowledge of utility regulation, and many opposed the proposed increase because of financial hardship that would be created thereby. Some, especially representatives of the business community, urged the SCC to favor whatever rates seemed necessary to ensure an adequate supply of electricity for economic growth.

On September 9, after the last of the public witnesses had given their testimony, the technical portion of the hearing began in the SCC courtroom. The attorneys for the different parties had already met and agreed upon a set of thirty-seven major issues that had to be decided in the case. They had conveyed this understanding to the judges by a memo, and this list served as a guide to the commissioners. The total rate increase to be allowed would result from the dollar values attached to the decisions on these individual issues.

For the next several weeks the attorneys and witnesses for the company, the SCC staff, and the various consumer representatives occupied center stage. Vepco presented a detailed case for its point of view. Its prefiled testimony alone amounted to hundreds of pages of information from eight witnesses. Further, each company executive or consultant who took the stand on behalf of the utility had to answer questions from the array of attorneys for the other parties. These lawyers usually tried either to find flaws in the company's request or to demonstrate that a certain portion of the consumer population should not have to bear much of any approved increase in rates. The same procedure was followed as the various consumer parties presented their own technical experts. The judges, conscious of the time being consumed and familiar with many of the issues from earlier cases, tried to keep things moving.

The positions of the combatants were interesting. The company, of course, was a clear advocate of all facets of the case that it had prepared. The SCC staff, with a mandate to represent the "public interest," recommended that the commission allow $170 million of the company's $246 million request. The consumer advocates proposed various figures ranging as low as $82 million. These latter representatives had a common interest in trimming Vepco's total award, but they disagreed about which consumer should pay what proportions of any increase. So the hearing was more complex than simply consumers vs. utility.

Much of the testimony involved abstruse arguments about accounting, economics, engineering, finance, and law. One example of an issue debated before the regulators was the question of what "test year" to use for purposes of calculating how well (or poorly) Vepco was doing under its existing rates. Which time period should be used to check the utility's financial condition? An examination of a year already past would provide relatively "hard" data, but in a period of rapid inflation reliance on such data would mean that new rates would be out of date before they were even adopted. Vepco proposed the use of a "projected test year," which was based upon necessarily less certain estimates of future conditions. Because the decision on this matter would determine which figures would be used for many of the accounting data, the choice would make a difference of many millions of dollars.

Other issues raised in the case varied greatly in importance and substance. For example, which group—investors or customers—should have to pay for the premature replacement of steam generator tubes required at Vepco's Surry nuclear units? Who should pay for some of the litigation expenses incurred by the company? Should property that the utility was holding for future construction be included in the rate base? What amount of interest expense should be allowed for tax purposes? Decisions on such issues would affect the total amount of money awarded to Vepco, a figure calculated without reference to the consumers' ability to pay. However, one of the issues explicitly raised in the consideration of how to divide the costs among customers was whether and how low-income residents might receive subsidized rates. Ultimately, the SCC decided against such a policy. The commissioners felt that although high electricity rates would cause a hardship for many people, the problem of distributing the burden should be resolved through the "political process," i.e., the legislature. Unlike their counterparts in some states, Virginia's regulators view their primary goal as compensating for imperfections in the market economy, such as the lack of competition in the utility industry.

As the hearing proceeded, the SCC staff assigned to the case were not idle. Commission attorneys traded off chores in the courtroom. They and the technical staff also planned cross-examinations and practiced lines of questioning. Such tactics might make a difference in the outcome, since the commissioners are required to make their decision from the record as developed before them. Finally, direct and rebuttal testimony was completed and the formal hearings were closed. After twenty-nine witnesses, 4,462 pages of testimony, seventy-five exhibits, and much money expended (Vepco itself listed $309,054 in costs directly associated with the hearing), the decision was in the hands of the judges.

A month after the hearing closed, the various parties filed legal briefs that drew from the record and legal precedent to argue various positions. But even before then the commissioners had begun the process which would culminate in an official order. As soon as the record was closed and while the case was still fresh in their minds, they met to discuss the issues and reach some tentative judgments. Then, after the briefs were submitted, the commissioners began to meet in earnest. They used the attorneys' summary of the issues agreed upon at the pre-hearing meeting together with notes they had taken during the hearing to guide their decision-making process. They first sought agreement on the "easy" issues—those on which they readily agreed with little doubt. Then they worked their way toward the more tendentious ones. They checked their notes, occasionally reread portions of the massive transcript, and engaged in discussions on the issues. All three of the commissioners desired consensus, and on most matters they were able to reach it after some "give and take."

During this phase of decision making the commission staff played more the role of aides or advisors to the judges. They had taken positions during the hearing in order to "develop the record"; but while the commission deliberated, the staff evaluated the entire record, wrote memos to the judges, and chatted casually with one another about the issues raised in the case. Once again the General Counsel's Office coordinated the staff to ensure that their recommendations kept "on track with the record." On one key issue, for instance, the staff recommended against the conclusions of its own consultant-witness, who was judged not to have developed his case adequately. The staff also engaged in less formal give and take with the commissioners on issues raised in the case, and ultimately the staff also assisted in drafting the final decision. This process took months, and part of the SCC's time during this period was also taken up with decision making on the commission's myriad other regulatory duties.

Eventually, in March 1979, the commissioners had a decision ready. They had reached unanimous agreement on all but two issues (one judge dissented in part from the majority view). Drafts of most of the final opinion and order were circulated among some staff members to eliminate inconsistencies and polish language. The judges made some final choices, and the decision was issued a year after Vepco first filed its application. In a seventy-eight-page opinion and final order the SCC awarded the company $148 million—much less than Vepco had sought, much more than consumer groups had proposed, and a little less than the SCC staff had recommended.

As in all major rate cases, the regulators affirmed certain precedents, set or reversed a few, and created policy that would undoubtedly influence numerous cases in the future. (For instance, the judges adopted a version of the historic test year method; but they also made some "forward-looking" adjustments to correct for certain predictable cost increases and left the door open for a possible change in method in later years.) While parties on several sides expressed mixed feelings about the results, no one appealed. The staff's new emphasis on utility efficiency seemed to have little direct bearing on the immediate commission decision, but the SCC did call for the company to work with the regulators' staff on improving efficiency in the future. By mid-1979, however, the utility claimed that it was again confronting severe financial problems.

CONCLUSION

Even this brief summary of some of the major events in the disposition of one SCC rate case illustrates some important characteristics of contemporary decision making at the commission. It is obvious, for instance, that regulation can be a complex and contentious process that is nonetheless rendered manageable at the SCC through reliance on previous decisions, set procedures, and a formal record developed by relatively few parties (when compared to the number of those potentially affected). The facts that the contesting parties can agree upon the issues and that the commissioners hear many of the same arguments in case after case simplify things considerably.

It would appear from this description that the commissioners are relatively passive decision makers relying upon others to initiate cases, gather information, define issues, and develop arguments. How, then, do the commissioners direct the organization and how does innovation take place? Direction comes from several sources: the opinions of the commissioners in earlier cases, general policy discussions between the commissioners and the staff, and even the questions that the commissioners ask during hearings. However, the persor function seems particularly important in t regard. Being free of the state's personne system, the commissioners have moved people around in the organization, brought in aggressive leadership for several subunits, and increased the prominence of some types of technical expertise within the SCC. For example, the research on efficiency would not have been available in the Vepco case if the commissioners had not created an office devoted to economic research and analysis. Thus, the judges' regulatory philosophy can be highly influential over SCC activity even in the absence of overt direction on specific cases.

Finally, the Vepco case illustrates the point that trade-offs are always a part of the regulatory process. Prior to the turbulence of the 1970s the "old commission" regulated expeditiously, but many complained about a lack of procedural fairness. The "new commission's" emphasis on due process seems to have quieted most of these concerns, but regulation in Virginia is now a more complicated, lengthy, and expensive activity than ever before. There is also the dilemma of the staff's role, a problem that apparently did not trouble the old commission. The desire to make the best use of the staff's expertise may conflict with the desire to provide equal access to all parties. Su trade-offs are not peculiar to Virgir indeed, they appear to be inherent in the regulatory process. The way in which a particular commission resolves them can have a major influence on the nature of regulation in a state.

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VIRGINIA'S LOCAL EXECUTIVE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By Stanley A. Cook

Mr. Cook is a research assistant on the staff of the Institute of Government.

In common parlance in Virginia, the term "constitutional officers" refers to a set of five elected local officials specifically designated in the state constitution: sheriffs, commissioners of revenue, treasurers, court clerks, and commonwealth's attorneys. As the heads of more or less independent departments, they provide administrative services to the state and to their respective localities. Historically, the number of local constitutional offices and the responsibilities assigned to them have varied greatly from one era to another. For example, the offices of county coroner and of constable were established by the 1776 constitution but were omitted from later constitutions. And not until 1870 were the cities' counterparts to county constitutional offices given recognition in the state's fundamental document, although some of them already existed on the basis of statutory and municipal charter provisions.

This news letter examines the origin and development of each of the present five local constitutional offices in Virginia; a later issue will report data on some of the characteristics and political experience of contemporary officeholders. Because the office of sheriff is one of the oldest of the set being considered here, and because some of its powers and duties were eventually reassigned to newer offices such as treasurer and commissioner of revenue, the sheriff's office is discussed first and most fully.

SHERIFF

English Heritage. The forerunner of today's sheriff originated in pre-Norman England, near the end of the tenth century, when the office of King's reeve appeared. Early in the next century, the position became known as the *scirgerefa* or shire-reeve, from which the title of sheriff was derived.

In the years before the Norman Conquest in 1066, the sheriff was given a wide range of responsibilities, making him perhaps the most powerful figure in English local government. Appointed by the King, not only was he in charge of law enforcement but also he administered royal properties, presided over the shire court, and collected taxes. The sheriff acquired additional powers in the early years of Norman rule, but the combination of power and the opportunity for financial gain apparently led to widespread abuses. As a consequence, a series of measures, including some provisions of the Magna Carta, were instituted in the thirteenth century that diminished the authority of sheriffs. In the centuries that followed, the office gradually declined in importance until by the end of the nineteenth century the sheriff's role in England had been reduced to that of being an executive officer for the courts.

Colonial Period. Sheriffs appeared in Virginia with the establishment of shires or counties in 1634. Prior to that time, the role of sheriff in the Virginia colony was performed by the provost-marshall, whose duties, in contrast to English sheriffs of the time, apparently were confined to law enforcement and to summoning soldiers and citizens in general to assist in the suppression of uprisings.

The colony's first sheriffs were appointed by the governor and his Privy Council. Within a short time, however, the governor and Council began to select the sheriff from a list of candidates submitted by the justices of the peace, who collectively constituted the county courts.[1] In a revision of the laws in 1661, the Assembly directed that one of the members of the county courts should be sheriff on a rotating one-year basis. Thereafter, the sheriff was usually the ranking justice of the peace who previously had not held the office. Generally, he would serve for a year or, if his term was renewed (as it frequently was), for two years.

During colonial times, sheriffs were not only law enforcement officers and court executive officers, but also finance officers and election supervisors. As law enforcement officials, besides generally maintaining the peace, they pursued fugitives, arrested offenders, cared for prisoners, and executed orders and sentences of the courts, the Assembly, and the King. During the French and Indian wars, they also were charged with summoning county draft boards, composed of militia officers and one justice of the peace. In their role as county executive officers, sheriffs attended sessions of county court in order to assist the justices, they summoned witnesses and jurors, and they served writs and subpoenas.

This issue marks a change in editor for the *University of Virginia News Letter*.

Clifton McCleskey is leaving his position as editor of the News Letter and director of the Institute of Government to devote full time to teaching in the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. Mr. McCleskey has been the editor since September 1973; this is the final issue to be completed under his editorial direction.

Under Mr. McCleskey's able guidance, the News Letter has continued its tradition of providing thoughtful and informative discussions of the public affairs in Virginia. Moreover, his commitment to good writing has made the News Letter's clear and direct style a hallmark of his tenure as editor.

The new editor is James A. (Dolph) Norton, who also succeeds Mr. McCleskey as director of the Institute of Government.

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[1] A principal institution of local government, the county courts exercised important executive and legislative powers, in addition to their judicial responsibilities; for more than two hundred years, they exercised a major influence in Virginia affairs. See Stanley A. Cook, "The Role of Judges in Virginia Local Government: A Historical Overview," *University of Virginia News Letter*, June 1981.

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From the time that the office of sheriff first appeared in the colony, sheriffs played a major role in financial affairs. Sometimes their duties involved the listing of taxable property or people (assessment), but more often it took the form of actually collecting and distributing the taxes or other fees and assessments. This responsibility for tax collection, which continued well into the nineteenth century, was a source of recurring problems.

Until the requirements of the Revolution forced major changes in the tax system, the sheriff collected two principal taxes: the quit rent and the poll tax. The quit rent was a tax on land, payable to the King. Sheriffs found quit rents difficult to collect, in part because people particularly resented paying the tax on uncultivated land and commonly underestimated their holdings—cultivated or otherwise—when the sheriff came around to obtain payment. Even when the sheriff obtained the rents, he sometimes did not transmit them to colonial authorities. The Assembly reacted to this condition by moving the forum for lawsuits to compel settlement from the county courts to Williamsburg and by increasing the collection fee from 4 percent to 6 percent.

Sheriffs also collected (and sometimes assessed) the poll tax, the chief source of revenue until the Revolutionary years. It consisted of three parts: the public levy, assessed by the General Assembly for the expenses of the colony; the county levy, set by the county courts for such expenses as roads, buildings, and burgesses' salaries; and the parish levy, fixed by the vestry for support of the church and the poor. At first these levies applied to all males, free or slave, over sixteen. In the middle 1600s the coverage was revised for males and was extended to females if they were either imported Negroes or Indian servants of at least sixteen years; later, the criteria were revised again to include all males sixteen and over and all Indian, mulatto, and Negro women sixteen and above who were not free.

Originally, the sheriff was to prepare a list of taxpayers or tithables, based on information provided to him by planters. However, for a variety of reasons, that procedure proved unsatisfactory, and the Assembly in the middle 1600s transferred the responsibility for compiling the tax rolls to the county courts. Sheriffs also on occasion were found not to be sufficiently prompt or thorough in collecting the poll taxes, to the extent of impairing the public credit. The Assembly responded to this deficiency in 1647 by authorizing county courts to appoint special collectors. However, the degree that the law was implemented varied with the year and the county, and by the end of the century the sheriff had been generally reestablished as the tax collector.

In addition to the quit rents and poll taxes, sheriffs also gathered fees for the colonial officers and other local officials. Whether they obtained these fees or not, they could be held liable for the amounts due to the other officals. For all types of collections, sheriffs were required to be bonded. They could distrain and sell property to secure payment, although this power did not seem to be invoked in regard to quit rents, for which collections normally were taken in the form of tobacco. For all of the taxes and various fees except the county levy of the poll tax, the sheriff's responsibility ended once collections had been made and conveyed to the appropriate official and a proper accounting had been rendered. In the case of the county levy, however, the sheriff had the additional task of distributing to each official mentioned in the levy the sum assessed on his behalf, and then accounting for his disbursements to the county justices.

A final important activity of the sheriff in colonial Virginia was the management of elections for the county's two members of the House of Burgesses (settled communities such as Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Norfolk had an additional seat). After receiving the governor's writ ordering an election, the sheriff would set a time for the election, perhaps bearing in mind what date might best serve the interests of the candidates he backed. Typically, it was several weeks in the future and on a day that the county court was scheduled to meet. The sheriff then would publicize the date through such means as posting public notices, having the ministers of parishes in the county apprise their congregations, and going door-to-door in person or by deputy and informing the inhabitants.

By tradition and legal requirement, the election normally was held at the county courthouse and was presided over by the sheriff. Usually, elections would be finished in one day and the results publicly confirmed by the sheriff before most of the participants returned to their homes. The sheriff would then certify the outcome to the colonial secretary's office.

While sheriffs received a small salary for a certain portion of their duties, for the most part they were paid in fees. The fee system created several problems. Because the medium of exchange was generally tobacco, for which the market value fluctuated, fees had to be revised periodically. The charge for an arrest, for example, could vary from one to ten pounds of tobacco. A second difficulty—characteristic in one fashion or another of fee systems even in modern times—was that sheriffs tended to direct their labors to duties for which they were best compensated, in the process neglecting less financially rewarding responsibilities. To counter this tendency, the Assembly at times instructed sheriffs to give priority to some of their less remunerative tasks. The chief trouble with the sheriffs' use of the fee system in the colonial days seems to have been overcharging. With few printed means of communication and the inability of much of the populace to read the existing ones, widespread ignorance undoubtedly existed among the general population about what the correct fees were, despite an Assembly act requiring the county courts or clerks to publish tables of the approved rates.

Owing in no small part to its funding by fees, the position of sheriff in the colonial era was customarily a lucrative one. Along with its power and prestige, this characteristic made it normally a highly desired office, although an unfavorable relationship between the value of tobacco and the fee schedule set by the Assembly sometimes diminished its attractiveness (as did, perhaps, Assembly acts prohibiting sheriffs from serving as clerks or burgesses). Some of the colony's foremost citizens at one time or another served as sheriffs, including such people as Benjamin Harrison, George Mason, John Page, Laurence Washington, John Custis, William Ball, John Taliaferro, and Hancock Lee.

The Post-Revolutionary Sheriff. The office of sheriff was little altered by the 1776 Constitution and the Revolutionary period statutes, except in the area of revenues. Under the new constitution, the method of appointment continued as before. By act of the Assembly, the assessment of taxes was transferred from the county court justices to commissioners of the tax, predecessors of our contemporary commissioners of revenue. The sheriffs were to account monthly to the commissioners for all funds collected. By this time, payment of taxes and fees was generally by money instead of tobacco. The uncertainties and hardships associated with the Revolutionary War impeded revenue collections, however. Not only were state and local governments' finances placed in grave condition but also sheriffs' commissions were sharply curtailed, making the position substantially less attractive.

In 1818, the General Assembly instituted major revisions in the election laws, some of which affected sheriffs. Perhaps the most important of the changes was the creation of election commissioners, to be appointed by the county courts, with each voting station having five. Their duties, which included passing on the qualifications of voters, resembled those of today's registrars. The establishment of election commissioners was a significant inroad into the sheriffs' electoral powers and signaled the beginning of a process that would in time remove sheriffs from involvement in elections.

An important shift in the procedure according to which sheriffs handled revenue was accomplished by an 1829 law requiring sheriffs to turn over to the state all the money that they collected. The state would then transfer the localities' shares to them. This differed from the long established practice of having sheriffs pay local funds directly to the counties. The 1830 Constitution itself only minimally touched sheriffs, mainly in the method of selection. Whereas previously the county courts' nominations for the office had required approval by the governor in consultation with the Privy Council, under the new document they needed only the governor's acquiescence, since the Council had been abolished.

The state's constitution of 1851 was the result of many years of efforts by reformers (helped in this instance by the tide of Jacksonian democracy spreading across much of the country) to democratize Virginia local government. Members of the county courts, including sheriffs and certain other local officials, were now to be popularly elected. Unlike the other officials, the sheriff could serve no more than two successive two-year terms; and both while in office and for one year following his terms, he could hold no other posts. The fact that these last two restrictions applied only to the sheriff, out of a total of seven officers, undoubtedly reflected dissatisfaction with the general performance of those in that office. The 1870 Constitution did relax these restrictions somewhat, making the sheriff's term for three years (extended to four years shortly thereafter) and removing the prohibition on the number of terms he could serve.

The legislature divested sheriffs of their remaining electoral responsibilities soon after adoption of the 1851 Constitution, assigning authority for management of most elections to the previously created election commissioners, with assistance from officials selected by the county courts. Then, when the 1870 document created the new office of county treasurer, sheriffs also lost the rest of their fiscal duties, which until then had included collection, custody, and distribution of state and local revenue.

The 1870 Constitution gave significant recognition to municipal government, including an enumeration of officers (some already created by statute) generally parallel to those of the counties. Among these was the city sergeant, to be elected for two years, with duties comparable to those of a sheriff.

The Modern Office. By 1875, as a consequence of accumulated constitutional and statutory changes, most of the basic characteristics of the modern Virginia sheriff were in place: a person elected for four years to serve as a law enforcement officer and as an executive officer of the court. The essential features of the office have been altered little by twentieth century developments. The ban on holding more than one office has been extended to make all of the local offices specified in Article VII of the 1971 Constitution mutually exclusive. That same article applied the label "sheriff" to the office previously called "city sergeant."

The old tradition of compensating sheriffs largely through fees was finally ended in 1942 (except in a few minor instances). In place of fees, sheriffs as well as city sergeants were paid salaries fixed by the State Compensation Board in consultation with the local governments. The Commonwealth would provide two-thirds of the salaries, with the balance furnished by the respective localities. (For counties operating under one of the optional forms, salaries would be set by the board of supervisors within statutory limitations.) Under recently enacted legislation, however, the state now pays the entire salary of sheriffs, both city and county.

In cities and counties in which police departments have been established, the principal role of sheriffs is that of court executive officer, although they and their deputies retain all of their legal powers and duties as law enforcement officials. Duties related to their role as officer of the court include attending court sessions, providing security for the courtroom and courthouse, summoning juries and witnesses, transporting criminal defendants to and from the jail and the court, serving and returning civil process, and executing judgments. In localities where police departments have not been established, sheriffs remain the chief law enforcement officers, affording protection to the citizenry, pursuing offenders, making arrests, and operating jails.

COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE

As noted earlier, the responsibility for tax assessments was transferred from the sheriffs to the county courts in the mid-1600s. At first, the court justices delegated the assignment to special appointees, while later on they themselves assumed the task. Under the latter arrangement, the counties were divided into precincts, with a justice in charge of each.

During the Revolution, however, the need for increased taxes placed an intolerable burden on the system of having justices make assessments. As an alternative, the Assembly provided for commissioners of tax. As originally constituted, these commissioners were to be elected annually, three per county. They were to divide the counties into districts, choosing two people for each district to be assessors. The assessors were together to visit each person in their territory, obtaining under oath a list of taxable property, fixing a value on each class, determining the tax due, and giving each owner a statement of his taxes. Upon completion of their work, the assessors were to present their findings to commissioners of tax for review. Dissatisfied citizens could appeal assessors' decisions to the commissioners.

After experimenting with several variations of the assessment procedure under commissioners of tax, the Assembly in 1786 created commissioners of revenue. Though methods for selecting and compensating them have changed over the years, commissioners of revenue today have duties similar to those of their original predecessors. By the 1786 act, commissioners were to be appointed by the county courts. Depending upon the size of the county involved, the number varied from one to three, with each county that was allocated more than one commissioner being partitioned into districts. Commissioners were to maintain a tax book, visit each person subject to taxation, and under oath secure a record of his taxable property. After interviewing all of the inhabitants of their communities, they were to compile four duplicate lists of the property in their districts or counties. While retaining one copy for themselves, they were to send one to the clerk for determining the county levy, one to the sheriff for guiding him in his tax collections, and one to the state solicitor for evidence of taxes due from the sheriff. For their work, the commissioners received a per diem salary. Later, they also would be paid fees.

As the number of people and items subject to taxation rose and government budgets expanded, the importance of commissioners of revenue increased. In 1851 they acquired constitutional stature, being among the county officers enumerated in that year's constitution. Under its terms, they were to be elected for two years, and the number of commissioners per county was to be decided by statute. The office appeared in the municipalities the following year, when voters in Richmond, Norfolk, and several other municipalities began to elect commissioners of revenue.

The 1870 Constitution did not include the commissioner of revenue as a county officer, though the commissioner was listed among the new municipal officers to be elected for an unspecified term. Even though the commissioners of revenue were not, for a time at least, among the county constitutional officers, they were continued via statute. They were to be appointed by the auditor of public accounts for one year, with the number per county ranging from one to three. If a county had more than one commissioner, each of them would represent a district; these districts were to be laid off by the county court. In addition to sharing assessing with assessors in the newly created townships, commissioners were to issue all licenses mandated by law.

An amendment adopted in 1874 restored to commissioners their status as constitutional officers. They were to be elected for four years, with the number per county determined by the legislature, and were to be compensated primarily through fees. The same amendment ended the short-lived township system, which had decentralized some of the responsibility for real and personal property assessment.

Dissatisfaction with the performance of commissioners of revenue, particularly with regard to the quality of assessments, led to considerable debate about the office at the 1901-02 constitutional convention. When the convention could not agree on whether commissioners (both county and city) should be elected or appointed, it left the decision to the Assembly—with the proviso that if that body were to opt for election, commissioners would not be able to succeed themselves. In another decision, the convention decided that each city would have one commissioner, but that the number for counties would be determined by the Assembly.

The Assembly vacillated in its exercise of this power. It initially chose election, making commissioners ineligible for a consecutive second term. Then in 1906 the legislature provided for appointment of commissioners by local judges. Two years later, it reversed itself again and declared that the commissioners should be elected. The issue finally was resolved by the people in 1910, when they approved a proposed amendment that county commissioners should be elected and allowed to succeed themselves. Two years later, voters took the same action with respect to city commissioners of revenue.

A 1928 constitutional amendment provided that each county was to have one commissioner, the same as provided for cities. Then in 1932 the Assembly passed the legislation allowing counties to adopt optional forms of government; in a county adopting one of these optional forms, the offices of commissioner of revenue and treasurer would be replaced by a department of finance. Only a few counties have chosen to use this alternative.

Commissioners of revenue traditionally had been compensated through per diem payments, commissions and fees, or some combination of these. However, legislation in 1932 and 1934 abolished the fee system for commissioners and some other constitutional officers as well. The new arrangement was the same as that adopted for the sheriffs: commissioners were to be paid salaries determined by the State Compensation Board. The Commonwealth would provide one-third of these salaries, and the remainder would be furnished by the respective counties and cities.

Thus, by the middle 1930s, the office of commissioner of revenue had taken its contemporary shape. Each city and county has one commissioner, elected for four years and paid by salary. The commissioner maintains real and personal property tax books, sometimes assessing real estate as well. In addition, the commissioner assesses tangible personal property and determines license taxes. Under either the Optional Forms Act of 1932 or provisions of the 1971 Constitution, the position can be eliminated.

TREASURER

The office of treasurer, though not nearly so old as that of commissioner of revenue, has paralleled the latter in its development over the last century or so. The 1870 Constitution created the office of treasurer to collect, maintain custody of, and disburse public revenue, all duties that previously had been performed by the sheriffs. Treasurers were to be elected for three years (shortly thereafter changed to four years). They were to receive county levies and state taxes, depositing the former locally and sending the latter to the state treasurer; they also were to pay warrants properly issued by county or circuit court judges or by county boards of supervisors. For these activities, they were required to give bond, and they were compensated via commissions.

A record of arrears and defaults, coupled with irregularities in accounts, made the position of treasurer another focus of controversy at the 1901-02 constitutional convention. Many delegates to the convention felt that the real condition of a treasurer's office was never known until his books were turned over to his successor. In support of this view, they cited evidence that major defaults were associated with long tenure, and that deficits accumulated gradually over a long period while treasurers were collecting popularity instead of taxes. After much discussion, the convention decided that treasurers should not be elected or serve for more than two consecutive terms of four years each, nor should they act as deputy to their immediate successors. These restrictions were removed by constitutional amendment about ten years later.

In the middle 1930s, the General Assembly enacted laws on two subjects pertaining to treasurers. Under the Optional Forms Act of 1932, already discussed, counties could adopt an alternative form of government in which the offices of treasurer and commissioner of revenue would be abolished in favor of a department of finance. In 1932 and 1934, through the same legislation that applied to commissioners of revenue, the fee system was repealed in favor of salaries at levels set by the State Compensation Board, to be paid jointly by the state and localities.

While in matters of elections and methods of compensation today's treasurers differ somewhat from their original predecessors, they are relatively the same with respect to their duties. Treasurers are elected for four years and are paid by salary, now equally proportioned between the state and the respective locality. As in the last century, their principal responsibility remains the collection, custody, and distribution of public funds.

COURT CLERK

While clear evidence is lacking, court clerks probably originated in 1619 with the establishment of monthly courts, forerunners of the long enduring county courts. At first they were appointed by the royal governor, but in the middle 1600s that responsibility was transferred to the county courts. Still later in the century, the power of selection was given to the colonial secretary, who retained it until the Revolution. Characteristically, an appointee came from a distinguished family, in a number of cases succeeding a family member or a close relative, and had a long tenure. These features were associated with the clerk's office for many decades, in some communities even into modern times.

From their earliest days, clerks acted as recorders for the courts in judicial matters and as general record preservers for the counties. In the first category, they kept minutes of court proceedings, filed documents associated with actions before the courts, prepared dockets, probated wills, and issued writs, summons, and processes. As the county record preservers, they registered deeds, wills, contracts, liens, and other papers, and they stored information on births, deaths, marriages, election results, and other vital statistics. As the county courts developed into institutions of general government, exercising administrative and legislative functions in addition to judicial ones, the clerks assisted the courts in their new nonjudicial responsibilities. For instance, in 1670 clerks were delegated the task of issuing marriage licenses; this activity previously had been handled by the senior justices.

For most of the seventeenth century, clerks were compensated through fees at rates established by the General Assembly, although other fees might be established by the county courts. As with sheriffs, there were problems with clerks overcharging for their services. The Assembly responded by ordering clerks to publicize their rates and by imposing a sizeable fine for taking in excess of what the law permitted.

Although fees provided ample incomes for most clerks, especially those in counties with a substantial amount of legal business, clerks did have additional sources of income. Some acted as attorneys, and until 1658 they could even practice before their own courts. On occasion, clerks also held other income-producing offices. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, clerks were paid salaries for official duties not compensated by fees.

The termination of colonial status significantly affected the Virginia county clerks. Beginning in the spring of 1774, much of their work ceased as a byproduct of the struggle between the last royal governor, Lord Dunmore, and the colonial legislature that Dunmore prorogued in April 1774. That action precluded the Assembly from renewing the last fee act, which had been enacted in 1745. Without legally collectible fees, many of the clerks' activities stopped. In the fall of 1777, the Assembly reconvened and reenacted the fee law. During the interval, Virginia had adopted its first constitution. Under that 1776 document, appointment of clerks was returned to the county courts. They were to hold office during good behavior, as determined by the General Court, one of the state's two supreme courts.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Commonwealth edged toward the major change of its local government structure that was accomplished in the 1851 Constitution; however, little change occurred in the office of clerk during this period. Occasionally, county court clerks would hold simultaneously another clerkship for one of the local district, superior, or circuit benches that existed during this period and would draw income from both positions. Clerks also took on naturalization of aliens as one of their activities. The 1830 Constitution provided that the tenure of clerks be set by law. Pursuant to that provision, the legislature established a term of seven years, with indefinite eligibility for reappointment.

The democratization of local government that occurred in the 1851 Constitution affected the clerks along with the other constitutional officers. County clerks, instead of being appointed by county court justices, were to be popularly elected for a six-year term (longer than that for most of the other officers). Circuit courts were to have their own clerks, also elected for six years, with duties confined to the judicial operations of those courts.

The 1870 Constitution made county (court) clerks also the clerks of the circuit courts in counties of less than 15,000 population. In cities of less than 30,000, the corporation or hustings court clerks served also as clerks of the circuit courts. Counties and cities above the indicated populations could have separate clerks for the circuit courts.

The 1870 Constitution created county boards of supervisors, who received some of the administrative and legislative powers formerly assigned to the county courts. An 1870 statute made county court clerks ex-officio clerks to the boards of supervisors, a role similar to that which the clerks had performed when they assisted the county courts in their nonjudicial functions. They kept minutes of the boards, recorded decisions and votes of the boards, signed warrants issued for payments of money and recorded reports by treasurers on receipts and disbursements of funds, and filed accounts acted on by the boards.

At the constitutional convention of 1901-02, the major action regarding clerks was to extend their terms from six to eight years, a practice that has prevailed to the present. For counties, the clerks also would be clerks of the circuit courts. In cities having a court of record, there would be a clerk for that court. The General Assembly could prescribe additional clerks of courts as long as no city under 30,000 people had more than one clerk. That individual was to be the clerk for all courts of record in the city.

Unlike other constitutional officers, clerks still are compensated largely by fees. Some localities supplement these with salaries. In a few instances, such as communities operating under the county executive or county manager optional form, clerks are paid exclusively by salary.

Viewed in terms of functions, today's clerks in some respects are a continuation of long established practice. As clerks of the circuit courts, they perform tasks similar to those identified with court recorders from early colonial times onward. In maintaining general records for a community, they are engaging in an activity that goes back equally as far. Where there has been a noticeable break with tradition is in the area of management. In the past, clerks at times became so involved with their duties for boards of supervisors and the administration of county affairs that they sometimes seemed to be *de facto* county manager. As a consequence of legislation such as the Optional Forms Act and the County Administrators Act, however, clerks, with a few exceptions, have been largely divorced from general administration.

COMMONWEALTH'S ATTORNEY

Although the position of commonwealth's attorney was not established until after the Revolution, its American antecedents go back at least to the middle 1600s, to the post of King's attorney. The holder of that office was charged with prosecuting all cases, civil and criminal, in which an alleged offense had been committed against the public. Ordinarily, he was appointed by the colonial attorney general, with one person being designated King's attorney for each county. In a few cases, he was chosen by the local county court justices.

By the early 1700s, the power of appointing prosecuting attorneys, the former King's attorneys, had been assumed by the governor, who named an attorney for each county. Prosecuting attorneys were considered to be deputies to the attorney general. The cases they prosecuted in the county courts would be pursued by the attorney general if appealed to the higher courts. In addition to handling prosecutions, attorneys were to report to the colonial secretary all fines imposed by the county courts.

Commonwealth's attorneys were created in 1788 as part of an act providing for district courts. Under that legislation, the state's attorney general was empowered to appoint "proper persons to prosecute for the Commonwealth" in the courts that he was unable to attend himself. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the district and county courts were authorized to select attorneys to prosecute on behalf of the state in those courts.

According to a law enacted in 1819, commonwealth's attorneys were permitted for circuit courts and required for county and corporation (city) courts. They were to be appointed by the respective courts for four-year terms. They would be compensated through fees, although counties could supplement these by an allowance of not more than $100.

In 1851, the commonwealth's attorneys achieved constitutional status. The 1851 Constitution provided that commonwealth's attorneys be elected to four-year terms. At least one attorney was elected in each county, to serve both county and circuit courts. Where a circuit court existed for a city and a county, however, a second attorney was chosen by county voters for that court.

During the 1870s several changes in the law affected commonwealth's attorneys. By an 1870 statute, attorneys were made legal advisers to the recently established county boards of supervisors. Beginning in 1877 and continuing, with an interruption from 1884 to 1887, until 1928, commonwealth's attorneys in counties served as members of the selection body for school boards ("school trustee electoral boards"). After experimentation with shorter periods, a four-year term of office for commonwealth's attorneys in counties was set in 1874, though not for those in cities until 1902.

The current century has brought some alteration in the method of pay and the scope of duties for commonwealth's attorneys. In 1934, the General Assembly eliminated the fee system for attorneys and designated the State Compensation Board to fix their salaries, except in counties using one of the optional forms of government, where their compensation would be determined by the board of supervisors. Initially half of the commonwealth's attorneys' salaries were to be paid by the state, but more recent legislation provides for full funding by the state. In recent years, the Assembly, with some exceptions, has transferred the responsibility for representing the local governing body in civil matters from the commonwealth's attorney to the county or city attorney, appointed by the local governing body.

At present, commonwealth's attorneys are primarily involved with enforcement of criminal law in their jurisdictions. In counties having fewer than 15,000 residents or in counties and cities having a joint criminal justice system with a combined population of less than 15,000, they also represent the community in civil law affairs, unless the county has appointed a county attorney.

CONCLUSION

This brief review of the history and development of the present constitutional offices in Virginia has highlighted a process through which changing ideas about governmental accountability and changing responsibilities of local government led to gradual redefinition of the major offices of cities and counties. The present scope of the constitutional offices bears the heavy imprint of Jacksonian theory that officers in charge of the most important services of government should be made directly accountable to the citizenry through popular election. The continued existence of these elective offices, even in localities that could take action to abolish them, may be a testament to the political and administrative effectiveness of those who fill these offices, although that is a point beyond the scope of this news letter. It may also be a reflection of the attraction that the Jacksonian principle of accountability through election still holds for many of us, in spite of—or because of?—the prevalence of the bureaucratic model, with its emphasis on replacing elected administrators with professionals chosen by and responsible to elected policymakers.

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Virginia's Local Executive Constitutional Officers: A Contemporary Profile

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Each of the counties and cities in Virginia, with the exceptions described below, is served by five elected "constitutional officers," so named because they are provided for under Article VII, Section 4 of the state constitution. These five officers are sheriff, commissioner of the revenue, treasurer, circuit court clerk, and commonwealth's attorney. Although there are ninety-five counties and forty-one cities in Virginia, the number of positions for each category of constitutional office is less than 136, in part because a number of smaller cities share the offices of clerk, sheriff, and commonwealth's attorney with the counties in which they are located. Moreover, under special provisions of law, four counties and one city have replaced the offices of treasurer and commissioner of the revenue with an appointed director of finance; a second city has abolished the commissioner's office alone.

In brief, the sheriff is a locality's chief law enforcement officer (unless the locality has established a police department), custodian of its jail, and process server for its courts. The commissioner of the revenue is responsible for the preparation of a locality's real estate and personal property tax books and bills, for the assessment of personal property and various business taxes, and in some localities for the assessment of real estate. The treasurer "is charged with the collection, custody, and disbursement of [city or] county funds." The circuit court clerk maintains the records of proceedings in circuit court, is responsible for the registration of various legal documents such as deeds and wills, and in some counties acts as recorder for the board of supervisors. The commonwealth's attorney is responsible for the prosecution of violations of criminal law within a city or county.[1]

Undoubtedly, some students of local government regard these offices as modern day anachronisms that survive in spite of important changes in the duties associated with these positions.[2] The traditional law enforcement responsibilities formerly carried out by the sheriff, for example, largely have been preempted by police departments in a number of cities and in the Commonwealth's most heavily urbanized counties.

The view that local constitutional officers are dated, however, does not rest solely on the changing character of the formal responsibilities of these positions. This view reflects as well the thinking of twentieth century Progressive reformers that executive authority ought to be brought under the control of a single executive, as in the council-manager plan for example, and that various executive offices be made subject to the appointive control of the chief executive. Thus, the prescription of the Progressive model both for administrative centralization and for the short ballot (which would make only the most visible and significant public offices elective) has reinforced the tendency to see the contemporary constitutional offices as a throwback to an earlier era.

Whatever the merits of the Progressive view, the persistence of the constitutional offices in Virginia suggests that they continue to enjoy considerable popular and official support in addition to a long tradition. Such elective offices are hardly peculiar to Virginia's local governments. According to the 1977 *Census of Governments* (vol. 1, no. 2), for instance, sheriffs, clerks or recorders, and prosecuting attorneys were elected either by county or judicial district in about nine out of every ten states; counties in nearly two-thirds of the states elected treasurers or tax collectors; and counties in more than half of the states elected either assessors or revenue commissioners.

To a considerable extent, the fact that various local executive officers are elected in Virginia and elsewhere reflects the importance traditionally attached to the duties of these offices. Stanley A. Cook in the September 1981 News Letter examined in detail the historical evolution of the five constitutional offices in Virginia. This News Letter attempts to provide a profile of constitutional officers in mid-1981, giving special attention to the characteristics of the persons who filled these offices and to the electoral process through which the officeholders had reached these positions. The analysis first presents brief portraits of each group of constitutional officers and then summarizes the significant features of the electoral landscape for constitutional offices. The News Letter then looks briefly at the relationship between local governing bodies and constitutional officers and concludes with some final observations about the costs and benefits of electing officers.

The principal source of data for the profile is a mail questionnaire survey of constitutional officers conducted during the summer of 1981. Although nearly three-fourths of all constitutional officers responded to the survey, the questionnaires have been augmented wherever possible by additional data, such as complete rosters and official election returns, that permit one to draw a more comprehensive picture for all officers, nonrespondents as well as respondents.

The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Virginia State Sheriffs' Association, the Commissioners of the Revenue Association of Virginia, the Treasurers' Association of Virginia, and the Virginia Circuit Court Clerks' Association in the conduct of the mail questionnaire survey described in this article.

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[1] Marcia Mashaw, *The Virginia County Supervisor's Manual*, 4th ed. rev. (Charlottesville: Virginia Association of Counties and the Institute of Government, 1982), pp. 33-35. The duties of constitutional officers, as described here, admit to some variation, depending on special statutory provisions and local arrangement.

[2] See, for example, Celestine Bohlen, "Virginia Slowly Outgrows Its County Fiscal Officers," *The Washington Post*, Jan. 3, 1982, pp. B1, B2.

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SHERIFFS

All but two of Virginia's 125 sheriffs in 1981 were white males.[3] Among the 87 sheriffs who responded to the mail survey, the average age was just under fifty years old. In terms of educational background, one-ninth of the responding sheriffs held a bachelor's degree, while an additional one-third had completed some college work. Most of the other respondents listed a high school diploma as their top educational degree. Although the general level of educational attainment among sheriffs was not high by comparison with some other categories of public officials, most sheriffs entered office with previous training and experience in law enforcement. Forty-two percent of the respondents had been deputy sheriffs and another 28 percent had been employed in police departments. About one-third of the sheriffs in the survey had first reached the office by way of interim appointment (although only two respondents had not yet faced election for the office).

The term for sheriffs is four years, and nearly two-thirds of the sheriffs who responded to the survey had been elected to office two or more times; the average tenure for those surveyed was about eight years. Nearly one-fifth of the responding sheriffs had been elected four or more times, a finding that suggests that for a substantial minority of sheriffs the office had become a kind of career position.

That a number of sheriffs are electorally secure is suggested by other data from the survey as well as from official election returns. Examination of the most recent election returns through 1981 for each of the 125 sheriffs' offices indicated that in two-fifths of all contests the winning candidate had run without opposition.[4] Moreover, about 73 percent of the survey respondents said that they had never faced serious opposition in a general election—"serious" being defined as an election in which an opponent drew at least 40 percent of the vote.

Two-fifths of the sheriffs in the survey had run as Democrats, one-fifth as Republicans, and one-third as independents. Among those sheriffs who had run as a party candidate, about 45 percent noted that they had been opposed for the party's nomination on at least one occasion.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE REVENUE

In contrast to the exclusively male world of sheriffs, one-third of Virginia's 131 commissioners of the revenue in 1981 were women; one commissioner was black. The average age of the 119 commissioners answering the survey was fifty-four years. Sixteen percent of the commissioners held a bachelor's degree and 3 percent held a master's degree, while another 48 percent had completed some college. Commissioners thus were slightly better educated than sheriffs. Like sheriffs, commissioners were likely to have brought relevant job experience to office; about two-fifths of the commissioners had served as an employee in the commissioner's office prior to becoming commissioner. Forty-nine percent of the commissioners first obtained office by way of interim appointment.

Commissioners on balance were an even more experienced group than sheriffs. The average commissioner in the survey had served in office for thirteen years, and nearly one-half of all responding commissioners had won election three or more times (the term for commissioners is four years). About 32 percent of the commissioners had been elected four or more times.

Like sheriffs, commissioners in general had not faced significant opposition during general elections. Nearly 69 percent of the commissioners responded that they had never encountered "serious" opposition in a general election, and a review of returns for the most recent elections involving all commissioners indicated that 66 percent of the winning candidates were not opposed.

About one-third of the commissioners had run as independents, according to the survey, while nearly half had run as Democrats and one-tenth as Republicans. About one-third of the commissioners who had been elected on a party ticket responded that they had encountered competition for the party's nomination during at least one campaign for office.

TREASURERS

The characteristics of treasurers in 1981 closely resembled the profile of commissioners. Two-fifths of the 130 treasurers were women and 3 percent were black. The average age of the 94 treasurers who responded to the survey was just over fifty-two years. About two-thirds of the treasurers, like the commissioners, had pursued formal education beyond high school; 4 percent had advanced degrees, 13 percent held bachelor's degrees, and 48 percent had some college training. Two-fifths of the treasurers in the survey had been an employee in the treasurer's office before advancing to the position of treasurer. Only one-third of treasurers, versus one-half of the commissioners, first reached office by the route of interim appointment.

The average treasurer had served eleven years (terms are for four years). Just over half of the treasurers had been elected to office on three or more occasions—a picture very similar to the one for commissioners. The survey responses indicate that close contests for the office of treasurer occur even more infrequently than for sheriff and commissioner. Seventy-six percent of responding treasurers had never faced serious opposition in any general election for the office. A review of election returns showed that more than 70 percent of elections over the period 1979 through 1981 involved candidates who ran without opposition. Of the treasurers in the survey, 47 percent had run as Democrats, only 13 percent as Republicans, and 36 percent as independents. At least one-fourth of the treasurers who had run as party nominees had encountered opposition for the nomination one or more times.

CIRCUIT COURT CLERKS

When compared to the commissioners of the revenue and treasurers, circuit court clerks tended to be slightly better educated and to have been reelected to office less frequently—the latter because clerks serve eight-year terms. In most other respects, including percentage of women, average age, years in office, and competition for office, the profile of clerks closely approximates the profiles of commissioners and treasurers.

Nearly one-third of the 122 court clerks in mid-1981 were women; two clerks were black. The average age of the 97 clerks who responded to the survey was fifty-four years. About three-fourths of the clerks had completed some formal education beyond high school: 5 percent held a law degree, 7 percent a master's degree, 26 percent a bachelor's degree, and 36 percent had completed some college. Four-tenths of the clerks had been deputy clerks prior to assuming office and 54 percent had taken office through an interim appointment. Even though only a fourth of the clerks had been elected to office three or more times, the average tenure of respondents, owing to the long term for clerks, was twelve years.

Closely contested races for the office of clerk occur infrequently; more than 80 percent of the respondents said that they had never faced serious opposition in a general election. Examination of official election returns involving the most recent election of clerks found that about half of the races had only one candidate. Among the clerks responding to the survey, 55 percent had run as Democrats, 12 percent as Republicans, and 28 percent as independents. Two-thirds of the clerks who had run as party nominees had never faced opposition within the party for the nomination for office.

COMMONWEALTH'S ATTORNEYS

To this point, the portraits drawn of clerks, treasurers, and commissioners have been remarkably similar; the picture of sheriffs has differed from the other three primarily in terms of the complete dominance of males in the sheriffs' group and the lesser tenure among sheriffs when compared to the other officers. Commonwealth's attorneys, in contrast, seemed to have little in common with the members of the other four constitutional offices: attorneys were significantly younger and better educated than other constitutional officers and had accumulated much less tenure in office, particularly when compared to commissioners, treasurers, and clerks.

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[3] Data on the number of blacks for sheriffs and other officers are taken from *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*, Vol. 11, 1981 (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1982), pp. 290, 292.

[4] The electoral data and the questionnaire survey draw upon a slightly different roster of sheriffs. Since the electoral data included the results of elections held in November 1981—about two months after the survey had been completed—not every respondent to the questionnaire is represented in the election returns. This same qualification applies to the examination of official election returns for other constitutional officers.

All but 4 of the 126 commonwealth's attorneys in 1981 were males; one attorney was black. Among the 78 attorneys who responded to the survey, the average age was forty-two years (versus fifty or above for the other constitutional officers). About 96 percent of the attorneys had had a formal legal education and thus held an advanced degree in law. The overwhelming majority of attorneys in our survey had moved from private legal practice into the office of commonwealth's attorney; only 21 percent had advanced from deputy commonwealth's attorney to head of the office. This pattern contrasts with the career path for the other constitutional officers, two-fifths (or more) of whom had previously served as deputies or employees within the offices they now directed.

As noted above, commonwealth's attorneys as a group had served less time in office than other constitutional offices. Attorneys averaged between six and seven years in office, and only 28 percent had been elected three or more times—although three-fifths had been elected at least twice. In terms of electoral success and tenure among the constitutional officers with four-year terms, attorneys most nearly resemble the sheriffs.

With respect to electoral competition, the portrait of commonwealth's attorneys again departs slightly from the pattern for other constitutional officers. About two-fifths of the attorneys, a much greater proportion than for other officers, stated that they had faced serious opposition in at least one general election. This finding, however, is hard to reconcile with the data gleaned from a review of election returns for attorneys' races over the period 1979 through 1981; more than 70 percent of those elections involved only one candidate running unopposed. Of the attorneys in the survey, 46 percent had run as Democrats, 16 percent as Republicans, and 31 percent as independents. More than two-thirds of those who had run as party nominees had never faced opposition within the party.

ELECTING OFFICERS: SUMMARY

Although the patterns of elections vary somewhat from office to office, certain common elements stand out. Political parties appear to play an important but not dominant role in the recruitment of candidates for the constitutional offices, and competition between parties at general election time is the exception rather than rule. About two-thirds of the officers in each group had run for office as party candidates, and a majority of officers in every group except sheriffs had held at one time or another a position of some responsibility within a party organization. General election contests, however, often involved strong independent candidacies; indeed, roughly one-third of the officers had run as independents. Moreover, a review of actual election returns in recent years found that only a small proportion of elections—varying from 12 percent for treasurers' races to 24 percent for sheriffs' elections—pitted a Democratic candidate against a Republican candidate.

Close contests for office were exceedingly rare, and large majorities of each of the groups of constitutional officers surveyed indicated that they had never faced serious general election opposition. This relative lack of competition in a large majority of races for constitutional offices is hardly an atypical phenomenon of American politics; indeed, the pattern of competition for various other federal, state, and local offices is often similar to that for constitutional offices.

Certain features of the constitutional offices may make them somewhat more exclusive in an electoral sense than some other state and local offices. First of all, in contrast to state legislative or local councilmanic seats, the constitutional offices are widely thought to require some specialized knowledge or experience that relatively few potential candidates for public office possess. Seventy percent of the sheriffs, as we have seen, had been deputies or police officers prior to assuming office, while four-tenths of the commissioners, treasurers, and clerks previously had been employees or deputies within their respective office. The office of commonwealth's attorney is, of course, restricted to lawyers. Moreover, once in office, a number of constitutional officers, particularly commissioners of the revenue and sheriffs, had acquired additional specialized training.

Two other factors may account for the relative lack of competition for constitutional offices: the low visibility of the offices and the usual electoral advantages associated with incumbency. Although the data do not permit firm conclusions, it appears that a sizeable proportion of electoral contests involve incumbents. About half of commissioners and treasurers, for instance, had won three or more elections. In addition, a large percentage of the officers—ranging from one-fourth for attorneys to one-third for sheriffs and treasurers to one-half for commissioners and clerks—had reached office initially through interim appointment; this suggests that many officers entered their first election as incumbents.

Whatever might be said about the electoral process through which candidates become constitutional officers, the candidates who are selected clearly tend to share a similar philosophical outlook. The proportion of respondents in the mail survey who considered themselves to be "somewhat conservative" or "very conservative" varied from 66 percent of the sheriffs to 76 percent of the court clerks and 76 percent of the commonwealth's attorneys; conservatives comprised 75 percent and 70 percent, respectively, of the treasurers and commissioners. Nearly all of the remaining respondents considered themselves to be "middle-of-the-road"; those who viewed themselves as "somewhat liberal" or "very liberal" accounted for no more than 5 percent of the total respondents for any group of officers.

RELATIONS WITH LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES

As the preceding discussion demonstrates, the questionnaire survey of constitutional officers was intended principally to determine what kinds of people became constitutional officers and the nature of the process through which they were recruited and elected. The questionnaire, however, also asked officers about certain aspects of their relationships with local governing bodies and with the State Compensation Board.

The Compensation Board is responsible for approving the salaries and expenses connected with the operation of constitutional offices; approved salaries and expenses then are eligible for state reimbursement according to schedules fixed by statute. For the offices of sheriff and commonwealth's attorney, the state reimburses the county or city for the entire amount of approved salaries and expenses; for treasurer and commissioner of the revenue, the state reimburses the locality for one-half of the salaries and expenses. Historically, the compensation of circuit court clerks has been tied at least in part to the collection of fees. Although a 1982 law will convert the compensation of clerks into a straight salary dependent on the population of the locality, the collection of fees will continue (as it did in 1981) to provide most or all of the funding for office expenses as approved by the Compensation Board, as well as for the clerk's salary. (Not surprisingly perhaps, a majority within each group of officers surveyed, with the exception of the clerks, felt that the Compensation Board underestimated the expenses of their respective offices.)

Implicit in the above discussion of the funding of constitutional offices is the fact that the operations of these offices are conducted primarily, if not exclusively, within the framework of state laws and regulations, rather than within the structure of policies established by local councils or boards of supervisors. As a matter of law, then, constitutional offices essentially are independent of local governing bodies. In practice, however, the various responsibilities of constitutional officers and of local governing bodies require some measure of consultation and cooperation. A city council or county board, for example, must provide office space and various equipment for each of the locality's constitutional offices. In addition, a locality may supplement the salary of a constitutional officer for the provision of additional services not mandated by general law.[5]

Employees of constitutional officers, at the discretion of the relevant city council or county board of supervisors, may be brought under the coverage of the locality's grievance procedure, according to Section 2.1-114.5:1(C) of the Virginia Code.* Under the same statutory provision, employees of a constitutional officer can be covered by the locality's personnel system if the officer and locality so agree. Over 40 percent of the sheriffs, commissioners, treasurers, and commonwealth's attorneys in the survey stated that their employees were covered by their locality's grievance procedure; for clerks, the figure was 29 percent. Roughly the same proportions of each group of officers said that their employees had been taken into the local personnel system. (In most, but not all cases, when an officer's employees were covered by the local grievance procedure, they were also covered by the personnel policies.) The fact that employees of constitutional officers need not be brought under the local personnel system on occasion has led to political controversy when raises granted by the Compensation Board to an officer's employees have exceeded the pay increases for a locality's employees under the personnel plan.

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[5] See *Code of Virginia*, §§14.1-53, 14.1-55 through 14.1-58, and 14.1-143.1. See also H.B. 560, as enacted by the 1982 General Assembly.

Although compensation-related problems and other issues sometimes generate highly publicized confrontations between constitutional officers and governing bodies, an overwhelming majority of respondents among each group of constitutional officers generally viewed their relationship with the local council or board of supervisors in a positive light. Asked to comment on the "best aspects" of relations with the local council or board, majorities ranging from 59 percent for commonwealth's attorneys to 77 percent for treasurers offered some response. A commonwealth's attorney, for instance, stated, "The Board has been very supportive in budget matters, in providing better office facilities, and in supporting my request for modern equipment." A commissioner of the revenue made a more general observation, noting that he and the city council had the "ability to communicate with each other."

When asked if they had disagreed seriously with a local governing body over a policy or issue, about one-fifth of the treasurers, clerks, and commissioners, one-fourth of the commonwealth's attorneys, and nearly one-third of the sheriffs indicated that such conflict had occurred. One sheriff stated, "[T]he Board will not provide adequate equipment, radios, radar, protective equipment, etc." Another sheriff noted, "I don't have a very good relationship with my city council because they are against the [city's] having a sheriff." A commonwealth's attorney pointed out disagreements arising over the governing body's "conflicts of interest."

CONCLUSIONS

While this analysis has provided some insight into the characteristics of constitutional officers, the patterns of electoral competition for constitutional offices, and the relations between officers and local governing bodies, it has not sought to evaluate the political wisdom of electing local executive officials. Although (as the introduction noted) one school of thought regards the election of local executive officers to be inconsistent with administrative rationality and professionalism, the data presented do indicate that, even apart from commonwealth's attorneys, sizeable proportions of each group of constitutional officers have brought to office relevant training and experience.

Plainly the constitutional officers who responded to the survey viewed the election of officers as superior to an appointive model. Asked to list the disadvantages of electing officers, respondents had difficulty citing any. Indeed, a majority of clerks, treasurers, sheriffs, and commissioners said there were no disadvantages. Commonwealth's attorneys were more likely than other constitutional officers to see disadvantages in election. Among the responses of the 45 percent of attorneys who saw drawbacks were comments such as the following: "Makes it nearly impossible to make a career in the prosecutor's office"; and "lack of continuity in method and vigor of prosecution."

In contrast to the general reluctance of constitutional officers to find fault with election, majorities ranging from 76 percent for sheriffs to 90 percent for clerks were able to cite the virtues of election. Said one respondent, "The community is more willing to cooperate with a commissioner of revenue they have elected." A sheriff saw advantage in the "electing of an individual who is a permanent resident, one who has personal ties with the community through his family, his church and civic clubs" and in having "a sheriff that answers to his community on election day by the performance of his duties during the years."

Whether popular elections do, in fact make officials more accountable to the public than an appointive system would must remain an open question. However, one may take more than a little comfort from the fact that constitutional officers do feel responsible to the public by virtue of election.

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* Deputies of constitutional officers "are not employees within the meaning of [this section]." *Opinions of the Attorney General, 1978-79*, p. 114 (dated Dec. 28, 1978).

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THE 1981/1982 REAPPORTIONMENT OF THE VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES

by

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Between March 1981 and April 1982, the Virginia House of Delegates devoted a major portion of its energy to the task of reapportionment. During this period, the General Assembly adopted six different reapportionment plans. The final plan, adopted on April 1, 1982, is radically different from the initial plan enacted in 1981, and also from the plan that was in effect during the 1970s. Most significantly, the final plan prescribes single-member districts for all delegates, thereby improving the chance for minority candidates to be elected.

Each of the six reapportionment plans considered during 1981 and 1982 can be viewed as an attempt by the delegates to satisfy a set of legal requirements and political goals. Over the course of the reapportionment process, various participants intervened and forced the delegates to place greater emphasis on the legal requirements and, consequently, to modify or to change the priority of their political goals. This News Letter will trace the evolution of the final House plan and explain why these changes were necessary.

THE REAPPORTIONMENT PROCESS

During the reapportionment process in Virginia, each house of the General Assembly develops its own reapportionment plan. In turn, within each house the Committee on Privileges and Elections (P & E Committee) carries out the redistricting task. A reapportionment "plan" is actually a bill that describes the boundaries of each legislative district. The bill goes through the same legislative process as other bills, although the usual custom is for one house of the General Assembly simply to give "rubber stamp" approval to the other house's plan.[1]

When final legislative and gubernatorial approval is secured, the plan must be submitted to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, as required by the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Justice Department may reject all or part of a reapportionment plan if it concludes that the plan has the effect of discriminating against black voters. In addition, challenges to reapportionment plans may be brought before the federal courts if a plan is thought to violate constitutional and statutory prohibitions against racial discrimination as well as the "one person, one vote" guidelines used to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment's "equal protection" clause. Challenges may also be brought before state courts on the basis of the Virginia constitution's requirement that legislative districts be composed of "contiguous and compact territory" and equal in population "as nearly as is practicable . . ." (Article II, Section 6).

FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPANTS

The General Assembly, the governor, the Justice Department, and the federal and state courts were the formal participants in the 1981/1982 reapportionment; i.e., the participants who possessed legal responsibility for the development and approval of the new House reapportionment plan. The informal participants were those members of the General Assembly who lobbied before the House P & E Committee on their own behalf; local officials or groups who represented local governments; minority-interest-group lobbyists from the Virginia chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conferences (SCLC), and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); spokesmen for public-interest groups such as Common Cause and the Virginia Municipal League; and concerned individual citizens. All of these participants attempted to influence the placement of district boundaries in order to promote their own specific goals and objectives.

LEGAL BACKGROUND TO REAPPORTIONMENT

The reapportionment decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1960s and early 1970s placed legal constraints upon state legislative reapportionment. In *Baker* v. *Carr* (1962), the Court ruled that federal courts have jurisdiction over lawsuits challenging the apportionment of legislative districts, on the grounds that malapportioned districts may violate the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[2] Two years later, the Court ruled specifically that the "one person, one vote" principle must be applied to the apportionment of legislative districts in both houses of state legislatures.[3]

Although the Court maintains very strict requirements for the population equality of congressional districts, it upheld a 1973 Virginia case with a "total population deviation" among newly created state legislative districts of 16.4 percent.[4] Total population deviation is determined by adding the absolute value of the deviation (from the ideal population figure) in the most and least populous districts. For example, according to the 1980 census the ideal population of a single-member House of Delegates district is 53,463. If the smallest district contained 5 percent fewer people than the ideal figure, and the largest district contained 5 percent more than the ideal, then the total population deviation would be 10 percent. (The U.S. Supreme Court has indicated that a plan with a total population deviation under 10 percent is *prima facie* constitutional.)

The Court allows substantial variance in the population of state legislative districts so that unique geographical features, socioeconomic communities of interest, and the benefits of maintaining political subdivision boundaries can be taken into account in the construction of reapportionment plans. In *Mahan* v. *Howell* (1973), for example, the

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[1] This custom was not followed in the 1981/1982 reapportionment, however. About 25 percent of the Virginia Senate consistently voted against the House plans. Figures are available from the authors.

[2] *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

[3] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 568 (1964).

[4] *Mahan* v. *Howell*, 410 U.S. 315 (1973). This is the highest total population deviation ever upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Court recognized the geographical uniqueness of the Virginia Eastern Shore peninsula by upholding the assignment of an entire district to the two counties there.

USE OF SINGLE-MEMBER AND MULTI-MEMBER DISTRICTS

The Virginia House of Delegates traditionally has used a mix of single-member, multi-member, and "floater" districts. The House reapportionment plan adopted in 1971 contained twenty single-member districts; twenty-eight multi-member districts (eighteen two-member districts, six three-member districts, three five-member districts, and one seven-member district); and four floater districts.

A floater district encompasses either two adjoining districts or a district and an adjoining political subdivision. It is created either (a) when one district has excess population (i.e., more people than that implied by the number of delegates assigned to the district) and an adjoining district has too few residents to warrant a delegate of its own, or (b) when each of two adjoining districts possesses excess population. The floater delegate represents the people of both geographic areas.

Multi-member districts possess several properties that make their use particularly attractive to incumbent legislators. First, they allow incumbents to run as a team and thus offer the benefit of collective resources during a campaign. Second, they make it more difficult for challengers to unseat incumbents because the larger district makes it harder for a challenger to develop name familiarity among voters. Third, they often permit legislators to follow subdivision lines in constructing legislative districts and therefore produce districts recognizable by voters. Finally, the use of multi-member districts may be helpful in reducing population deviations in a reapportionment plan. For example, one county may contain 5 percent fewer people than the ideal population for a single-member district. A neighboring county may contain 5 percent more people than the same ideal population, producing a total population deviation of 10 percent. By combining the two localities into a two-member district, the population deviation would be reduced to zero.

On the other hand, the use of multi-member districts is thought to make it more difficult for minority populations to elect minority candidates than if single-member districts are used. Although this seems logical, it is interesting to note that the four black members of the 1981 House of Delegates all came from multi-member districts (two from a five-member district, one from a three-member district, and one from a seven-member district).[5]

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

The Democratic leadership of the House had hoped to receive preliminary census data by December 1980 in order that reapportionment could be completed during the January through March 1981 session of the General Assembly. Because the final data did not arrive until late February, however, Governor John N. Dalton was forced to call a special session of the General Assembly for March 30. By that time, the House P & E Committee had held statewide public hearings on the reapportionment issue and had devised a preliminary plan that, after further hearings in the first days of the special session, was sent to the full House. The plan was approved without amendment on April 8, 1981, by a vote of 87 to 11. The bill cleared the Senate the following day and was quickly approved by the governor. It was then sent to the Justice Department.

The Justice Department completed its review of the April 8, 1981 plan within the sixty-day period prescribed by the Voting Rights Act, and notified the General Assembly that it had rejected ten districts in the Southside area. These districts were judged to be discriminatory because their boundaries would have the effect of diluting black voting strength. An informal compromise regarding the Southside districts was worked out between the P & E Committee and the Justice Department and was taken up by the General Assembly on August 11, 1981. All attempted floor amendments were rejected, and the boundaries of the compromise agreement were adopted intact. The Justice Department approved the plan the next day.

In the meantime, the ACLU, NAACP, seven local governing bodies, and other citizens and local officials had filed suits against the House plan of April 8. These suits were not rendered moot by the August 11 revisions; they were consolidated and heard before a special three-judge federal court panel in Richmond on August 13, and a decision was released twelve days later.[6] The court found the plan unconstitutional because its total population deviation of 26.6 percent violated the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It ordered the November 1981 General Assembly elections to proceed as scheduled, using the August 11 plan, but with the proviso that the delegates be elected for only one year. A special election was ordered for November 1982 to elect delegates who would serve for the remainder of the 1982-1984 term.

The court also instructed the General Assembly to devise a new reapportionment plan prior to February 1, 1982. If the new plan was not acceptable, the Court then would impose its own plan, one in accordance with U.S. Supreme Court guidelines that required single-member districts for court-ordered plans.[7]

On September 29, 1981, P & E Committee Chairman John D. Gray (D., Hampton) appointed a special subcommittee of five Democrats and two Republicans, who were to work with other delegates representing the ten congressional districts to draft a new plan. A plan was devised, but formal action by both the full committee and the House was delayed until after the November 3 elections. On November 24, the House approved this new plan by a vote of 61 to 33. The new plan contained a primary plan that would go into effect upon the court's approval, as well as a "back-up" plan that would go into effect if the primary plan was declared unconstitutional.

The November 24 plan never reached the court, however, because Republican Governor John Dalton vetoed the entire proposal and called for the exclusive use of single-member districts. On December 14, the House failed to override the governor's veto, voting 49 to 44 against the motion to override.

Then on December 21, 1981, the House P & E Committee presented a new proposal that again contained both primary and back-up plans. The primary plan proposed single-member districts for most of the Commonwealth, the exception being multi-member districts to be used in eight urban areas: the cities of Richmond, Roanoke, Alexandria, Chesapeake, Portsmouth, Norfolk, Hampton, and Newport News. The back-up plan was similar except that these eight urban areas were also apportioned into single-member districts. The General Assembly approved this proposal on December 23, but Governor Dalton returned it on December 30 with a number of recommendations for amendment.

By January 12, 1982, a compromise between the governor and the House Democratic leadership had been forged. While this compromise rejected several of the governor's amendments, it did impose single-member districts across the Commonwealth, with the exception that the five districts in the City of Norfolk would be consolidated and, for electoral purposes, would function as a five-seat multi-member district. The bill incorporating this agreement was written so that if the court objected to the five-member district, a back-up plan voiding the consolidation of the five districts would take effect.

On March 12, 1982, the eve of final adjournment of the 1982 regular session of the General Assembly, the Justice Department notified the General Assembly that its newest plan (the fifth major plan to be considered) was unacceptable. The Justice Department objected to the plan because it submerged black population concentrations in the Norfolk multi-member district, divided black population concentrations in Portsmouth and Hampton, and overconcentrated black population in a Newport News district.[8]

Newly inaugurated Governor Charles S. Robb subsequently called a special session of the General Assembly for April 1, so that another plan—yet another compromise between the P & E Committee and the Justice

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[5] During the 1981/1982 reapportionment, the four black delegates disagreed about the desirability of single-member districts. The late James S. Christian Jr. and Benjamin J. Lambert III (both D., Richmond) advocated their use for all areas. Delegate William P. Robinson Jr. (D., Norfolk) opposed single-member districts for urban areas, fearing that minority populations would become politically isolated and that incentives for racial cooperation would be diminished. Delegate Robert C. Scott (D., Newport News, now a state senator) generally took the same view as Robinson, yet he voted for the single-member district plan subsequently proposed by Delegate Christian (Delegate Robinson abstained). Leaders of black constituent groups, on the other hand, were unanimous in their opposition to multi-member districts. Frank R. Parker, "The Virginia Legislative Reapportionment Case: Reapportionment Issues of the 1980's," 5 *George Mason University Law Review* 6 (Spring 1982).

[6] *Cosner* v. *Dalton*, 522 F. Supp. 350 (E.D. Va. 1981).

[7] *Conner* v. *Finch*, 431 U.S. 407 (1977); *Chapman* v. *Meier*, 420 U.S. 1 (1975).

[8] Parker, "The Virginia Legislative Reapportionment Case," p. 48.

Table 1. Characteristics of the 1971 House Reapportionment Plan and Plans considered during the 1981/1982 Reapportionment

	Date Plan adopted	Single-member Districts	Multi-member Districts	Floater Districts	No. of localities divided[a]	District Population Deviations		Total	Districts that are largely black (number of delegates elected) 40-49%	50-59%	over 60%
1971 Plan		20	28	4	1	+ 9.6%	-6.8%	16.4%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Group I											
	April 8, 1981	21	29	2	1	+12.5%	-14.1%	26.6%	7 (8)	1 (4)	0
	Aug. 11, 1981	17	31	1	1	+12.5%	-14.1%	26.6%	4 (6)	2 (6)	0
Group II											
	Nov. 24, 1981										
	Primary	10	34	1	1	+6.4%	-6.1%	12.5%	2 (4)	2 (6)	0
	Back-up	12	32	2	1	+4.9%	-4.9%	9.8%	2 (3)	2 (6)	0
Group III											
	Dec. 23, 1981										
	Primary	77	8	0	37	+2.5%	-2.5%	5.0%	4 (5)	3 (6)	0
	Back-up	100	0	0	43	+2.7%	-2.5%	5.2%	3 (3)	3 (3)	5 (5)
	Jan. 12, 1982										
	Primary	95	1	0	40	+2.7%	-2.5%	5.2%	3 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)
	Back-up	100	0	0	41	+2.7%	-2.5%	5.2%	3 (3)	3 (3)	5 (5)
	April 1, 1982	100	0	0	41	+2.7%	-2.4%	5.1%	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)

SOURCE: Compiled by authors from information provided by the state Division of Legislative Services.

[a] The word "divided" applies when the area of a single city or county is divided among two or more legislative districts. The 1971 figure does not include subsequent city or county boundary changes due to annexation.

Department—could be considered. This compromise also prescribed single-member districts for the entire state. After House and Senate approval of this compromise plan, Governor Robb signed the bill and sent it to Washington. The Justice Department's approval was granted on April 14, 1982.

The April 1 plan was accepted by the Virginia chapters of the NAACP and the ACLU, but it was challenged in federal court by five counties and by the Town of Christiansburg. The court rejected the Christiansburg challenge on June 23 and the other suits on September 28.[9] No other challenges or appeals were made.

GOALS AND PRIORITIES OF THE HOUSE PLANS

Each plan or group of plans considered by the House involved an attempt to satisfy a mix of legal constraints and political goals. The main legal constraints were (1) state constitutional requirements of compactness, contiguity, and equal population; (2) federal court guidelines enforcing the "one person, one vote" principle; and (3) provisions used by the Justice Department to enforce the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The major political goals sought during the process were (1) incumbency protection (promoted by incumbent delegates of both parties); (2) maintenance of political subdivision boundaries so that local jurisdictions would not be divided among legislative districts (promoted by incumbent delegates and local officials);[10] (3) enhanced prospects for Republican gains in the House (promoted by Governor Dalton and the Republican party); (4) improved chances for the election of minority candidates (promoted by the NAACP, SCLC, and ACLU); and (5) increased use of single-member districts to promote delegate accountability (promoted by the Virginia Municipal League, Common Cause, and other good government groups). The priority given to these legal constraints and political goals changed as the situation facing the delegates changed.

For ease of discussion, the six major reapportionment plans adopted by the House have been divided into three groups (see **Table 1**). These groups correspond to three distinct phases of the reapportionment process. The Group I plans include (a) the initial plan of April 8, 1981 (rejected by the Justice Department) and (b) its revised edition of August 11 (rejected by the federal court). Both of the Group I plans were designed to achieve two goals: re-electing incumbents and preserving the boundaries of political subdivisions and existing districts.

The Group II plan consists of the primary and back-up plans of November 24, 1981 (vetoed by Governor Dalton). The primary and back-up plans of Group II mark an intermediate phase in the process, in which the delegates yielded on the issue of population deviation but remained adamant in their promotion of incumbency and boundary protection—even if this promotion required the creation of more multi-member districts.

The three Group III plans are (a) the December 23, 1981 primary and back-up plans (returned by Governor Dalton); (b) the compromise primary and back-up plans adopted January 12, 1982 (rejected by the Justice Department); and (c) the plan adopted on April 1, 1982, which finally gained the approval or acceptance of all participants. These Group III plans are radically different from those that came before. They mark the phase in which the House Democratic leadership was forced to reckon with the goals and power of both the governor and the minority-interest groups.

GROUP I PLANS

An analysis of the first two reapportionment plans shows that incumbency protection was the goal to which the delegates initially gave highest priority. Incumbency protection can be enhanced by either preserving existing legislative district boundaries or revising the boundaries to improve electoral chances for incumbents. With each delegate looking out for his own individual interests as well as those of his colleagues, the Group I plans look very similar to the 1971 reapportionment plan. More than half the districts remained exactly the same, and a number of others were altered only slightly. Common Cause determined that only 8 of the 100 incumbents would have been displaced by the April 8 plan, and at least 3 of these had announced that they were not seeking re-election.[11] By preserving the 1971 district lines wherever possible, the relative political party strength was preserved in the House, with the Democrats easily retaining their majority status in the 1981 elections. Ninety percent of the incumbents running were re-elected (59 Democrats and 18 Republicans).

The goals of increasing black or Republican representation in the House were not incorporated in the Group I plans, except that one new black-majority district was created by the revised plan of August 11. (Only two black-majority districts had existed under the 1971 reapportionment plan.)

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[9] *Cline* v. *Robb*, 541 F.Supp. 613 (E.D. Va. 1982) (the Christiansburg challenge); and *Cosner* v. *Robb*, 548 F.Supp. 128 (E.D. Va. 1982). Surry County also filed suit but later withdrew its objectives.

[10] Until 1971, no locality had ever been divided into more than one district. With the 1971 plan, Fairfax County was divided into two five-member districts.

[11] Parker, "The Virginia Legislative Reapportionment Case," p. 9.

The increased use of single-member districts was a goal of the minority and public-interest groups, and eventually of the Republican party. However, it was not a priority of the House Democratic leadership. In fact, the August 11 plan contained fewer single-member districts than the 1971 reapportionment plan.

The Group I plans pleased most localities because, with the exception of heavily populated Fairfax County, the plans did not split any city or county among more than one district. The objections that were raised came from those localities that had been placed in a district represented by a delegate with whom the voters were unfamiliar.

The August 11 plan was rejected because the 26.63 percent population deviation clearly exceeded the 16.4 percent guideline that most observers believed was the outer limit that the court would allow. Both Governor Dalton and House Speaker A. L. Philpott (D., Henry County) had expressed doubts about the constitutionality of the plan because of this discrepancy, yet they did little to prevent its passage. The governor professed that reapportionment was a matter best left to the General Assembly.

The delegates' willingness to support a *prima facie* unconstitutional plan underscores the importance that they accorded the goal of incumbency protection (even though, ironically, a plan likely to be declared unconstitutional would afford no protection). The preservation of existing districts was simply more important than the need to obtain reasonable equity among district populations. In fact, the initial plan of April 8, 1981 was approved by the House P & E Committee "without any statistical analysis to determine the population variances of the proposed districts."[12]

The House leadership apparently thought that the court might tolerate a high deviation for the same reason it did in deciding *Mahan* v. *Howell*—namely, to maintain respect for subdivision boundaries and communities of interest. In any event, the delegates were willing to risk court rejection rather than to face up to the reality that real change must occur.

GROUP II PLAN

In response to the court ruling that the August 11 plan violated the "one person, one vote" principle, the delegates became much more concerned with population deviations. At the same time, they still gave highest priority to incumbency protection and the maintenance of political subdivision boundaries. Consequently, the total population deviation of the November 24, 1981 primary plan was 12.5 percent, and 9.8 percent for the back-up plan—both well under the 26.6 percent deviation of the Group I plans. This reduction was necessary to avoid a court-imposed plan that, in all likelihood, would not take incumbency protection into consideration.

The improvement made in population deviation was accomplished through the increased use of multi-member districts, a strategy that also furthered the goal of incumbency protection. Both the primary and the back-up plans contained a number of noticeably odd-looking and non-compact districts, few of which were the same as those in the 1971 plan. Furthermore, only ten single-member districts were created in the primary plan (twelve in the back-up plan), a reduction that continued the downward trend established by the August 11 plan. No attempt was made to increase the number of black-majority districts.

The Group II plan marks the point in the reapportionment process at which partisan concerns began to equal those of incumbency. Although the House adopted the P & E Committee's plan without amendment, the 61 to 33 vote broke strongly along partisan lines. Fifty-seven of the 72 Democrats present favored the plan, while 17 of 21 Republicans opposed it. More surprisingly, opponents of the plan garnered support within the Senate. Seven of 9 Republicans opposed the plan, as did 8 of 27 Democrats. There was only 1 Republican vote on the yea side of the 19 to 15 Senate vote.

Until his consideration of the Group II plan, Governor Dalton maintained that reapportionment was a matter whose resolution was best left to the General Assembly. The fact that the November 24, 1981 primary plan reduced the number of single-member districts, included obviously non-compact districts, and produced relatively high population deviations jeopardized the court's approval and invited the governor's veto. In vetoing the proposal, the governor pressured the House leadership, saying that the best interests of Virginians would be served by a plan that contained more single-member districts. Ostensibly, the governor and some of the Republican delegates favored single-member districts because they would make the Virginia legislature a more democratically responsive body. A stronger motivation, however, lay in the fact that the use of single-member districts might increase GOP representation in the House. Many longtime incumbent Democrats were shielded, in a sense, by multi-member districts in which Republican challengers had to enlist the support of a greater number of voters than would be required if single-member districts were used. These same multi-member districts also ensured that Republican enclaves would remain submerged within Democratic majorities.

The governor, sensing that the time was ripe, rallied the Republican delegates to the call for single-member districts. On December 14 the House leadership failed to obtain the two-thirds majority necessary to override the governor's veto. Only 44 delegates voted in favor of the motion to override. The Democrats split with 43 in favor and 27 opposed, while the Republicans were unified against the attempt by a margin of 21 to 1.

GROUP III PLANS

The governor's veto (and the subsequent failure of the House to override it) left the House leadership with little choice but to develop a plan containing significantly more single-member districts. The P & E Committee quickly formulated a plan that was a composite of three single-member district plans that had been drafted and introduced separately by the late James S. Christian Jr. (D., Richmond), who acted on behalf of a coalition of minority-interest groups; Clinton Miller (R., Shenandoah County); and J. Samuel Glasscock (D., Suffolk). By making use of these proposals, the committee hoped to expedite legislative approval of a plan before the 1982 General Assembly convened, since that Assembly would include eight more Republicans than the Assembly of 1981.

On December 23, 1981, the House P & E Committee sent to the House floor the plan that assigned single-member districts to all but eight urban areas, with the back-up plan composed of 100 single-member districts. This move to mostly single-member districts (a total of 77) had been almost unthinkable a few weeks before; it was now necessary, however, to gain the governor's approval and to retain a degree of incumbency protection for House Democratic leaders, most of whom came from the eight urban areas. The P & E Committee took pains to protect incumbents, even to the point of splitting a precinct to ensure that two incumbents would not have to oppose each other.

With the shift to single-member districts, the goal of preserving political subdivision boundaries largely was abandoned. Twenty-one of Virginia's 136 counties and cities are larger than the ideal district population of 53,463 and would of necessity have to be divided to form two or more districts. The primary plan of December 23 divided 37 counties and cities, while the back-up plan divided 43. The use of single-member districts also reduced the total population deviation to roughly 5 percent, leaving little doubt that the court would uphold the new plan.

Concern about the underrepresentation of blacks in the Virginia House was only marginally evident in the December 23 primary and back-up plans. While the primary plan increased the number of black-majority districts from two to three, the number of delegates elected from these multi-member districts remained at six. The back-up plan would have created eight black-majority, single-member districts, all located in urban areas.

Governor Dalton indicated his displeasure with the December 23 plan by returning it to the House with his recommendations for amendment.Two of his recommendations were designed to separate incumbent Republican delegates whose residences were placed in the same legislative district in both the primary and back-up plans. Two Republican incumbents from the Lynchburg area and two Republican incumbents from the Chesterfield County area were faced with this predicament. The governor also objected to the remaining multi-member districts and recommended that the primary plan be abandoned in favor of the back-up plan.

The House Democratic leadership struck a compromise with the governor that rejected his partisan recommendations but left only the City of Norfolk apportioned as a multi-member district. Some delegates commented that the five-member Norfolk district (home of Majority Leader Thomas W. Moss Jr.) "stuck out like a sore thumb." The compromise was approved on January 12, 1982, however, with the House adopting it by a vote of 68 to 25.

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[12] Ibid.

On March 12, the Justice Department rejected the January 12 plan because various Tidewater districts would have the effect of diluting black voting strength. The NAACP and ACLU exerted their power at this point, and the General Assembly yielded by agreeing to create a black-majority district in Hampton, and to abandon the multi-member district in Norfolk. Buoyed by Justice Department support, lobbyists for the ACLU and the NAACP forced a few other marginal, yet symbolic, boundary changes, making it possible for these organizations to accept the agreement. The new plan, passed on April 1, 1982, increased the number of black-majority districts from six to nine single-member districts.

As noted earlier, six localities filed suit against the April 1 plan in federal court. Augusta, Rockingham, Fauquier, and Tazewell counties each were split among three districts, and the Town of Christiansburg was divided between two districts. These four counties and the town argued that their fragmentation diluted their clout in the House and denied each locality and its citizens equal protection under the law.[13] They also claimed that the districts in which they were placed violated the Virginia constitution's mandate that districts be compact and contiguous. Middlesex County, the sixth party filing suit, made similar claims in objecting to the fact that it had been placed in a district with the Eastern Shore counties of Accomack and Northampton.

The court heard the Christiansburg suit in June and the other challenges in September 1982. It rejected all suits, implying that "equal protection" should be invoked in reapportionment cases only when racial discrimination or equal population is an issue. The court also declined to accept jurisdiction in matters involving interpretation of the state constitution. Thus, the constitutionality of the final plan was upheld.

LESSONS FROM THE SENATE'S REAPPORTIONMENT

The 1981/1982 House reapportionment experience can be understood fully only by contrasting it with that of the Virginia Senate. Except for conflict that arose when the Justice Department rejected two attempts to divide the black residents of Norfolk into two districts, each of which would have been 35 percent black, the Senate plan met little opposition and was approved by the governor on November 30, 1981. The Justice Department's approval followed on January 21, 1982.

The relative ease of Senate reapportionment—or, conversely, the relative contentiousness of the House reapportionment process—is largely the product of four differences between the two houses.

First, the larger size of the Senate's forty districts (ideally, 133,657 people per district) made it less likely that charges of racial gerrymandering, violation of political subdivision boundaries, or failure to respect "communities of interest" would arise. Unlike the smaller House districts, racial minorities inevitably and undeniably are submerged within all but a few senatorial districts. The larger districts increased the probability that district boundaries would follow traditional subdivision boundaries. In contrast to the House, which ultimately created 100 districts containing an average of 53,463 persons per district, the Senate plan afforded fewer opportunities for challenges by racial groups or local officials. In addition, larger districts may increase the similarity of socioeconomic composition among districts and make it more likely that senators will share the same legislative goals. This also would reduce contentiousness during the process of reapportionment.

Second, the original 1971 Senate plan prescribed forty single-member districts, with this number being reduced to thirty-seven when a federal court ordered the consolidation of three Norfolk districts into a single, three-member district. Thus, the Senate did not face a radical transition to single-member districts, as did the more than eighty delegates from the house's traditional multi-member and floaterial districts.

Third, the senate reapportionment process was less affected by electoral pressures. House elections were scheduled for November 1981. This meant that House districts had to be drawn and approved between the time the U.S. Census data arrived in late February 1981, and the date of the primary elections, scheduled for September 9. Delegates whose districts were altered would have but a few months to gain visibility and acceptance by their constituents. This increased the pressure to maintain House districts as they were. Senators, on the other hand, knew they had until November 1983, the date of their next election, to gain this visibility and acceptance. In addition, they knew that their efforts in the 1982 and 1983 sessions of the General Assembly would be grist for their re-election campaigns.

Finally, the smaller number of senators also helps to explain why the Senate's reapportionment was a more manageable process. Few senators meant fewer opportunities for personal conflict and disagreement.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The final reapportionment plan of April 1, 1982 is radically different from both the 1971 plan and those initially proposed by the House leadership. During the course of reapportionment, the goal of preserving political subdivision boundaries and, to a much lesser degree, the goal of incumbency protection were de-emphasized in order to satisfy the Court's "one person, one vote" guidelines and the requirements of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Partisan concerns emerged most clearly during the negotiations leading to the House adoption of the fifth plan in the process, on January 12, 1982. In this plan, the House Democratic leadership obtained protection for some of its most senior members, as well as the withdrawal of the governor's proposal to assist several Republican incumbents. The governor, in return, succeeded in forcing a plan that established single-member districts for all but five delegates.

The final plan substantially reduced the total population deviation, improved opportunities for the election of black candidates, and created better conditions for the development of democratic accountability in the legislature. These outcomes were largely the byproduct of the shift to single-member districts. With the court, the Justice Department, the governor, and the minority-interest groups urging the use of single-member districts, the House Democratic leaders simply had to yield. In doing so, however, they did not abandon their goal of incumbency protection.

Only four incumbents were forced from office as a direct result of reapportionment in 1982: two in the September primaries, one in the November 3 general election, and one who chose retirement. Each had been placed in a district where he or she had to compete with another incumbent in order to win renomination or re-election. One incumbent was defeated in the primary election by a nonincumbent challenger, as were six others in the general election. Of the ninety incumbents attempting to win re-election, eighty-one (90 percent) were successful. The resulting 19 percent turnover rate for the entire House is exactly the same as the turnover rate that the House averaged in its previous four elections.[14]

The new plan may or may not be the blueprint for partisan or racial change in the House of Delegates. Although the Republican party fielded a record sixty-five candidates, the November 1982 elections did not produce the Republican gains that the leaders of both parties had anticipated. The defeat of a total of four Democratic incumbents was balanced by the loss of a newly created seat and the defeat of two Republican incumbents. This left the party ratio in the House of Delegates at sixty-five Democrats, thirty-four Republicans, and one independent, a net gain of one for the Republicans. The real test may be the 1983 elections, when the two parties will be seeking two-year terms and the elections will not be overshadowed by congressional campaigns.

Virginia's new reapportionment plan created nine black-majority, single-member districts. Yet the number of black delegates was unchanged following the November election; all four black incumbents were re-elected without Republican party opposition. Four black nonincumbent candidates (one Democrat and three independents) were defeated. These eight black candidates represent an increase of one over the seven who ran in the 1981 election (under the August 11, 1981 plan), and an increase of four over the four incumbent black candidates who ran in 1979. While a small rise in black candidates is evident, the extent to which the new black-majority districts will stimulate political ambition within Virginia's black community remains to be seen.

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[13] Shelley Rolfe, "Federal Judges to hear Redistricting Challenges Tuesday," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 13, 1982.

[14] Two additional vacancies occurred following the November 1982 elections; this increased the total turnover rate in the House of Delegates to 21 percent.

THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE CONSTITUTION

Announcement from the National Endowment for the Humanities

The 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution offers a singular occasion for encouraging renewed scholarly interest in and public reflection on the principles and foundations of constitutional government. Toward this end, the Endowment has initiated a number of new categories within each of its regular grant-making divisions to promote the study and public appreciation of the history and principles of the Constitution.

Accordingly, the Endowment welcomes proposals involving studies by scholars over the whole range of philosophical and historical questions raised by the constitution and the founding period. Moreover, the Endowment wishes to encourage the wide dissemination of the results of such studies as well as of the best work now existing through conferences, public lectures and exhibitions, television, radio and movie productions, and through summaries and analyses for high school and college students, and for general audiences.

Proposals are solicited on the philosophical, literary, historical, and political origins of the Constitution, the relation of the structure of the Constitution to American political, social, and intellectual culture, and the connection between self-government and purposes of human life.

Topics of Special Interest

(The following is not meant to restrict the areas in which applications will be accepted, but is intended to indicate possible approaches to the study of the Constitution. Proposals are welcome from all fields of the humanities.)

1. History of the Period

This includes the Constitutional Convention and relevant events and documents that preceded it (such as the Articles of Confederation and the Annapolis Convention) and followed it (such as the State ratification debates, Federalist and Anti-Federalist Papers, and political and legal debates concerning the scope and meaning of the Constitution).

2. Constitutional Principles

Work in this area might include the theoretical antecedents—ancient, medieval, and modern—of the constitution; the founders' understanding of human nature and its relevance to Constitutional politics; the character of the *novous ordo seclorum* that the Constitution was intended to inaugurate; the relation of civil to natural rights; and the founders' views respecting the connection between the Constitution and national character and culture.

3. The United States Constitution and the World

Under this heading, projects might explore similarities to and differences between the U.S. Constitution and the constitutions of other nations, as well as possible differences of principle and purpose among modern democratic countries that can be seen by a comparison of the U.S. Constitution with the constitutions and laws of other countries.

4. Individual Rights

Work here could include the relation of the original structure of the Constitution to the preservation of natural and civil liberties; the connection between the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights and elaborated by the Supreme Court and the broader principles of republican government contained in the preamble and body of the Constitution; and the pursuit of individual happiness and the national well-being.

5. The Character of Democracy

This would include the relation of current American life and culture to the Constitution and the principles underlying it; the connection between democratic government and the cultivation of human excellence; and the American character as it is revealed through American art and literature, and as seen through the eyes of non-American observers.

6. American Federalism

In this area, the Endowment would encourage exploration of the principles of compact and agreement underlying the Federal structure; the relation of state constitutions to the U.S. Constitution; and the intent and reality of federalism.

7. Political Institutions

Study here would include the institutions of the Presidency, the Congress, and the Supreme Court as they are related to the whole of the Constitution and as seen through the disciplines of the humanities.

8. Constitutional Intepretation

This could include projects which seek to examine the history of scholarly treatments and popular conceptions of the Constitution as well as projects that seek to understand the meaning of the text through legal, historical, and philosophical studies.

All divisions of the Endowment are participating in this special initiative for the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. For additional information, guidelines for proposals, or other assistance, write to the Public Affairs Office or the Office of the Bicentennial. The address is:

(Division or Office)
National Endowment for the Humanities
Washington, D.C. 20506

or call the Public Affairs Office at (202) 786-0438.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
NEWS LETTER

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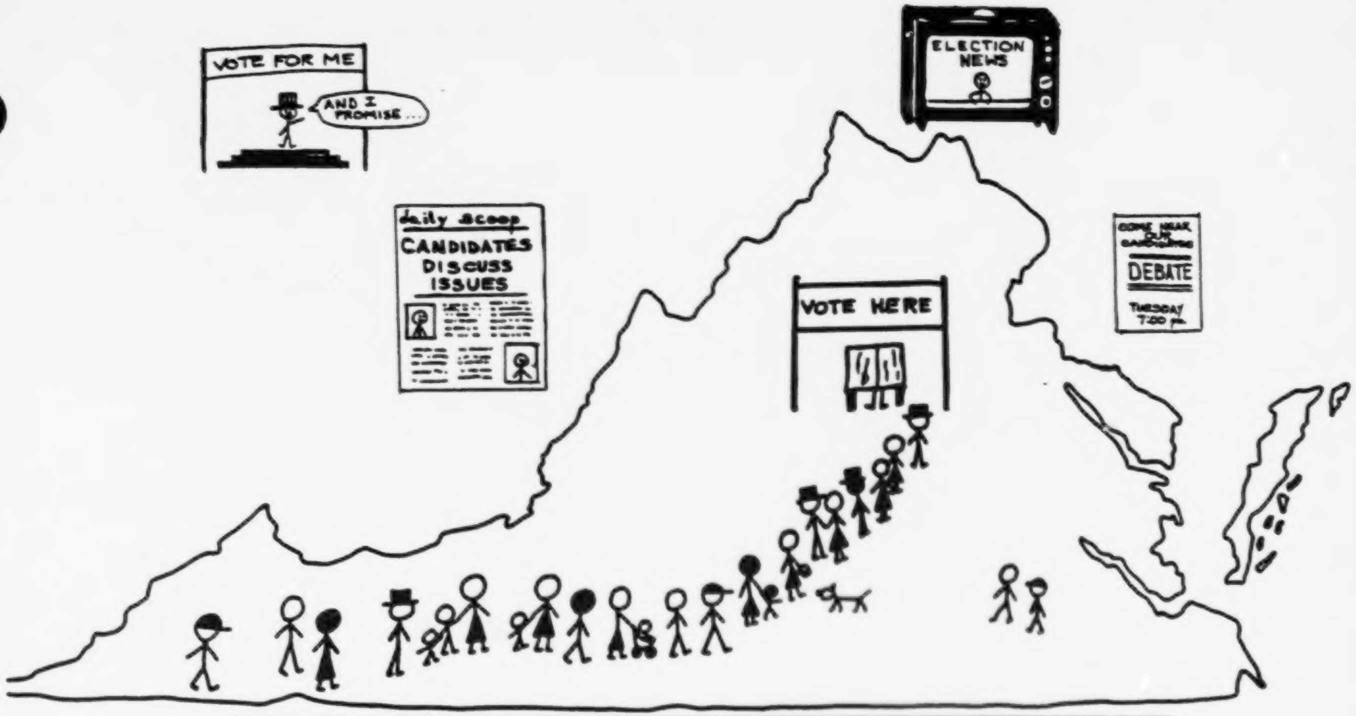

Virginia Standards of Learning, Social Studies:
12.1 THE STUDENT WILL PARTICIPATE IN CIVIC ACTIVITIES.
Focus will be placed on such activities as voter registration and voting in simulated and/or real elections, communications with public officials, attendance at public meetings, and involvement in civic activities.

D - CITIZEN POWER: POLITICS & ELECTIONS

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17 - YEAR OLDS VOTE IN VIRGINIA !!!

REGISTRATION AND FULL PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARIES, MASS MEETINGS, CONVENTIONS, AND SPECIAL ELECTIONS ARE OPEN TO ALL WHO WILL BE 18 BY THE NEXT GENERAL (NOVEMBER) ELECTION.

17 on or before	18 on or before	CAN REGISTER
Nov. 6, 1983	Nov. 6, 1984	IMMEDIATELY
Nov. 5, 1984	Nov. 5, 1985	Nov. 7, 1984
Nov. 4, 1985	Nov. 4, 1986	Nov. 6, 1985
Nov. 3, 1986	Nov. 3, 1987	Nov. 5, 1986
Nov. 8, 1987	Nov. 8, 1988	Nov. 9, 1987

BY MID-NOVEMBER, A GREAT NUMBER OF 12th GRADE STUDENTS CAN REGISTER TO VOTE AND BEGIN TO RECEIVE POLITICAL MAILINGS, ATTEND PARTY MEETINGS, AND PARTICIPATE IN PRIMARIES AND SPECIAL ELECTIONS. THEY WILL BE MORE AWARE OF THE NEWS, THE ISSUES, PARTIES, CANDIDATES, POLLS & PACs.

IDEAS !

VOTER REGISTRATION

- Encourage students to register as soon as they are eligible.
- Suggest a registration day with a registrar at the high school.
- Publicize registration deadlines before each election. Posters?

BEFORE AN ELECTION

- Contact the Electoral Board. Ask about a voting machine demonstration or use of the machines for your student government elections or class elections. Many Virginia electoral boards do this! If you have a League of Women Voters in your area, they might help arrange this and conduct the demonstrations.
- Hold a mock election/straw vote early in the campaign. Do NOT count the votes ... yet! Have students vote again shortly before the election. Compare and analyze the votes.
- Have a Candidate Forum at school for government students...see step-by-step instructions, D 11- 12.
- Use election news, issues, polls...See resources on the following pages.
- Use bulletin boards, class discussions, student errands to party headquarters. Consider giving credit for candidate or party work reported to the class.
- Use panel discussions, debates, or pro and con statements focused on ISSUES. Have students develop background/fact sheets. Who would be concerned about this issue, and why? What values are involved? How many different viewpoints can you list?

AFTER AN ELECTION

- Discuss the role of political parties in an election. How were the candidates selected, financed, and supported by the party? How were they supported by other organizations?
- Were special interest groups or PACs involved in the effort? in the financing? What were they hoping to gain?
- What financial reporting was required? Did the disclosures provide any surprises? How much money was spent? Where did it come from?
- Invite speakers to class: campaign chairmen, party officials, candidates. How did they get involved? What did they actually do? How do they use volunteers? Were students helping? How?

CLASS ACTIVITIES - A SUGGESTED CALENDAR

- CHECK WITH YOUR LOCAL REGISTRAR

  Find out precisely when registration books close -- the date and hour.
  Find out if there are extra hours/locations planned for the final weeks.
  PUBLICIZE THE INFORMATION IN GOVERNMENT CLASSROOMS & ON BULLETIN BOARDS.

- CHECK YOUR STUDENTS. ARE THERE ANY WHO ARE ELIGIBLE & INTEND TO REGISTER? See D 3 and D 7 for information.

- MAKE YOUR PLANS - Check with other teachers and appropriate administrators. Select ideas from all of this notebook and tailor plans to your particular area and school, campaign, and special interests.

- How about a Candidate Forum for your school? See D 11 - 12.

- Start students looking for the names of candidates. Who is running for what offices? Use the forms D 13 - 14 for the list as the information becomes available. See the Virginia Election Calendar, D 5, to be sure your students are listing all the contests.

■ ANYTIME ACTIVITIES

- Virginia's Perpetual Elections (D 9 - 10) and Propaganda, Half-Truths, and Distortions (D 15 - 16) are optional - use anytime, though both are particularly useful during a campaign.

READ THROUGH THE INFORMATION ON THE SIMULATION -- WHICH OF YOUR CLASSES WOULD BENEFIT FROM THIS. Many classes would regard it a challenge to pick the brains of the active campaign personnel in the parties in your area. If so, here's the excuse...and the vehicle. (Easy to adapt for a primary.)

■ AFTER THE CANDIDATES ARE IDENTIFIED AND BEFORE THE CAMPAIGN HEATS UP...Conduct Straw Vote #1. Ask students to write their votes on notebook paper, or duplicate ballots if you have many offices to vote. Put the completed ballots in a box with a slot on top. Seal up each class' votes in a brown envelope -- DO NOT REVEAL THE RESULTS...YET.

KEEP STUDENT ATTENTION FOCUSED ON THE ELECTION BY DAILY OR EVERY-OTHER-DAY DISCUSSIONS (See A 11 - 12) QUIZZES (See A 9). Start a bulletin board.

■ ABOUT 10 DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION -- GIVE OUT THE REMAINING SHEETS

-- Bandwagons (D 17 - 18). Plan student discussions of the opinion questions.

-- CHART - Candidates & Issues (D 19 - 20). THIS IS A CLASS ACTIVITY. Ask students to fill in their own opinions in Column 1 and to add the candidates' opinions (from their notebook lists) in the other columns. They then assign tentative weights to the issues and traits, BUT SAVE PARTS 2,3,4, & 5 for DISCUSSION AND WORK IN CLASS

-- THE PARTY & CAMPAIGN PROCESS (D 21-22) includes questions that will take some research. Student cooperation is suggested to find the information.

ALL THREE OF THESE SHEETS CAN LEAD TO GOOD CLASS DISCUSSION. IF YOUR GRADE PLAN INCLUDES PARTICIPATION, HERE IS YOUR CHANCE! If you move around the room while students are sharing and filling in points and information, you will be able to use a check mark for students who are "on task" on the sheets. Being very precise about grades can cut off the sharing and structure some of the valuable opinions and ideas OUT of the discussion.

Note: As students complete D 20, it will be time for the second straw ballot. Count #1 and #2 and compare the results for each class. DISCUSS. WHAT HAPPENED ON THE WAY TO THE ELECTION?

VIRGINIA ELECTION CALENDAR

CITY ELECTIONS: 1ST TUESDAY IN MAY. ALL OTHERS LISTED: GENERAL ELECTION DAY, TUESDAY AFTER 1ST MONDAY IN NOVEMBER
(Special elections may be called at other times)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
NATIONAL	PRESIDENT V. PRESIDENT SENATOR A U.S. HOUSE		U.S. HOUSE		PRESIDENT V. PRESIDENT SENATOR B U.S. HOUSE		SENATOR A U.S. HOUSE	
VIRGINIA		GOVERNOR LT. GOVERNOR ATTORNEY GENERAL HOUSE OF DELEGATES		VA. SENATE HOUSE OF DELEGATES		GOVERNOR LT. GOVERNOR ATTORNEY GENERAL HOUSE OF DELEGATES		VA. SENATE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS		City Sheriff Commonwealth's Attorney Treasurer Commissioner of Revenue		County Sheriff Commonwealth's Attorney Treasurer Commissioner of Revenue City Clerk of Court		City Sheriff Commonwealth's Attorney Treasurer Commissioner of Revenue		County Sheriff Commonwealth's Attorney Treasurer Commissioner of Revenue Clerk of Court
COUNTY	Arlington[2]	Some[1] Supervisors	Arlington	MOST SUPERVISORS	Arlington	Some Supervisors	Arlington	MOST SUPERVISORS
CITY	COUNCILORS[3]	Alexandria[4]	COUNCILORS		COUNCILORS Alexandria		COUNCILORS	Alexandria

1. More than 1/4 of Virginia's 95 counties stagger supervisor terms -- some elected each odd year.
2. Arlington has a Special County Manager Plan, with supervisors on staggered terms elected in even years.
3. Some cities elect all council members to 2-year terms every even year.
   Other cities elect councilors to 4-year terms, but stagger the terms so some are elected each even year.
4. Alexandria elects its City Council every three years.

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES ONE VOTE MAKE ?

In November 1982, 56 contested seats in the House of Delegates were voted, each in districts of about 60,000 people.

17 were won by a margin of less than 1000 votes.

6 were won by a margin of less than 100 votes:

1 by 84 votes (H.D. 87)
1 by 40 votes (H.D. 91)
1 by 29 votes (H.D. 66)
1 by 27 votes (H.D. 24)
1 by 25 votes (H.D. 58)
1 by 4 votes (H.D. 6)

In a 1970 special House of Delegates election, now-Senator Tom Michie won by 1 vote.

OTHER ONE-VOTE DECISIONS IN HISTORY:

- One vote made Rutherford B. Hayes President of the U.S. That vote was cast by an Indiana Congressman who had been elected by one vote.
- One vote made Thomas Jefferson President in 1800.
- Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1916 by carrying one state by less than one vote per precinct.
- One vote saved the Selective Service System only 12 weeks before Pearl Harbor.
- One vote made Texas part of the United States in 1845. That vote was cast by a senator who had been elected by one vote.
- One vote saved President Andrew Johnson from impeachment in 1868.
- One vote admitted California (1850), Idaho (1890), Washington (1898), and Oregon (1859) to the Union.
- One vote caused Charles I to be executed.
- One vote in 1776 decided that Americans would speak English rather than German.
- One vote made Adolph Hitler head of the Nazi Party in 1923.
- One vote made Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England (in 1645).
- One vote changed France from a monarchy to a Republic in 1875.

CAN YOU FIND MORE?

You never know when your vote might be the crucial one.

You never know when the mass meeting you do not attend will be taken over by a group whose views you cannot stand, who will then choose the candidates and run your community. Democracy is a high-risk political system...it is not a spectator sport! Take your rights and responsibilities seriously! Be an active citizen...participate in a party organization to help choose the candidates...then VOTE!

FACTS ABOUT VOTER REGISTRATION

To register to vote in Virginia, a person must be

- a U. S. citizen
- a resident of Virginia, and
- 18 years of age by the next general election day (November).

Anyone eligible to vote in the next general election may register and vote in special elections or in the primary, and participate in mass meetings or conventions in which the candidates are chosen.

Registration books close 30 days before a general election and 6 days before a special election.

Registration must be done in person.

Registration is permanent, provided you vote at least once in four years.

Registration requires the recording of name, address, Social Security number, birthplace and date, occupation, where the applicant has been registered previously, and any other names used.

The Code of Virginia (24, 1-42) states: No person who has been convicted of a felony shall be qualified to vote unless his civil rights have been restored by the Governor or other appropriate authority. No person adjudicated to be mentally incompetent shall be qualified to vote until his competence has been reestablished.

Virginia has open registration. No party preference is asked or recorded.

Registrars are listed in the phone book -- or call the city or county office or information number.

When registered voters move within the city or county, the Registrar should be notified in person or in writing. If they move during the 30 days before an election, they may vote once at the former precinct.

If registered voters move away from the city or county during the 30 days before an election, they may vote once by absentee ballot.

FACTS ABOUT ABSENTEE BALLOTS

A registered voter who will be out of town on election day may vote absentee ballot in the Registrar's office, in person, not less then three or more than forty days prior to an election.

A registered voter who is ill, in military service or on government duty, or a student, may vote by mail with an absentee ballot. This is a two step process:

1 - An application must be filled in, signed, and returned to the Registrar.

2 - The ballot will be mailed to the voter, who must have his/her signature witnessed by another person. The completed ballot must be sent back to the Registrar by election day.

Completing step #1, the application, ahead of time simplifies the process.

HOW TO USE A VOTING MACHINE

1 - When you arrive at the polling place for your precinct, verify your identification with the elections clerk who has your name in the Registration Book. (If you are registered and your name is not there, ask for help.)

2 - Enter the voting booth the election official has ready for you and pull the large red handle in front of the machine all the way to the right until the curtain is closed and you hear a loud click.

3 - Notice the pointer nearest each name you choose. Turn the pointer toward the name. (If it will not turn, you may have turned a pointer for that office already. The machine will accept only one choice for each office.) If you make a mistake, correct it -- return the wrong pointer, and push the one you intended.

NO VOTE IS RECORDED UNTIL YOU OPEN THE CURTAIN. In almost every election, votes are lost when voters turn the pointers thinking that is the vote, then they return the pointers to their original positions, leaving no vote for the machine to record. CHECK YOUR CHOICES. LEAVE THE POINTERS POINTING TOWARD THE NAMES YOU SELECT TO RECEIVE YOUR VOTE.

4 - Move the large red handle in front of the machine all the way back to the left until the curtain is open. The loud click means your vote has been recorded and the machine has popped the pointers back so nobody can see how you voted.

Public questions (referenda) are sometimes hard to find, as is the slot for write-in votes, which are permitted for all offices except President and Vice President of the United States. If the instructions are not posted and clear, ask for help. The machine attendants are trained to answer questions and to give help whenever it is needed. They cannot tell how you vote from outside the booth -- the record is sealed in the machine and is not opened until the polls are closed and official judges are there to verify the count.

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HOW TO USE A PUNCH CARD VOTING SYSTEM

1 - When you arrive at the polling place for your precinct, verify your identification with the elections clerk who has your name in the Registration Book. (If you are registered and your name is not there, ask for help.) You will then be given a punch card.

2 - Walk up to an available voting stand and insert the card in the slot at the top of the book and push it down until the two little red buttons pop through the holes in the card. If you are not sure it is inserted properly, ask the attendant to check it.

3 - Start at the front of the "book," and use the stylus attached to the tray to punch deep into the hole next to each name you wish to receive your vote.

4 - Check through the book before you remove your card. (If you have made a mistake, ask the attendant for a new card and start again.)

5 - TAKE YOUR PUNCHED CARD TO THE RECORDING MACHINE and feed it top-first into the machine BEFORE YOU LEAVE THE VOTING ROOM. Those little punches are hard to see, protecting the secrecy of your vote, but the machine lines them all up for a provable total at the end of the day.

VOTING IS MUCH EASIER TO DO THAN TO DESCRIBE - HELP IS ALWAYS AVAILABLE..ASK!

Worksheet

VIRGINIA'S PERPETUAL ELECTIONS

- Virginia, New Jersey, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Mississippi schedule major state elections in odd-numbered years. The other 45 states hold their contests for state office either with the presidential election or in the off-year, when members of Congress are elected.
- Virginia cities elect their officials in May of even-numbered years.

Why are we different? What difference does it really make? Are voters more confused by what some call "perpetual elections," or would they be more confused if offices at all three levels of government were on the same ballot? What would we gain and what would we lose if city officials were elected in the November General Election?

In the days of the Byrd organization in Virginia, when one party ruled the state, the primaries were the only election that mattered, and the outcome of the primaries was often preordained. The small number of citizens eligible to vote really didn't bother about the details, and the rest were not involved. Today, Virginia is a two-party state with contested elections at every level, and voter turnout is a matter of great concern. The questions raised by the elections calendar are bound to be discussed more often.

In the next few years:

1984 - City council elections in May. In November, elections for president, vice president, a senator, and all 10 members of the House of Representatives.

1985 - Elections for governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and 100 members of the Virginia House of Delegates, some county supervisors, and all city constitutional officers except clerk of court.

1986 - City council elections in May. In November, elections for all 10 members of the U. S. House of Representatives.

1987 - All 40 members of the Virginia Senate. All 100 members of the Virginia House of Delegates, all county constitutional officers except clerk of court, most county supervisors, and the city clerk of court.

... PLUS referenda, bond issues, primaries, conventions, mass meetings, caucuses, and all manner of special elections. Incumbents and challengers announce their intentions months before each contest, and the political winds are blowing almost all the time!

Some people say that the voters are tired of elections every year, and twice in even years...that the campaigns are so long they overlap. Issues and candidates become confused, officials and volunteers worn out, and voter registration and turnout is reduced below the levels for other states.

Other people support the separation of the state and local elections from the confusion of the national candidates and issues.

- It allows voters to focus on the state and local issues and questions.
- It keeps ballots shorter, minimizing voter fatigue that sometimes means offices and questions at the bottom of the ballot are not even voted.
- It prevents candidates from "riding into office on the coattails" of another candidate for another office who may have more power to mobilize voters (i.e., a local candidate benefitting, regardless of local issues, from the strong party turnout for a presidential candidate).

Virginia's Perpetual Elections (cont'd)

Those who support the nonparty local elections in the Spring, fear that elections would be politicized in November. Since there is no official party way to collect trash or run buses, some say party labels are not so important in local issues. A further complication is that the Hatch Act forbids federal employees from running for office with a political party designation, and a change from the nonparty election plan might affect local candidates in Northern Virginia.

Those who favor a change to party elections say that the health of the party depends upon its local identification and action -- that partisan local contests are vital in maintaining the grassroots of their organizations, bringing potential state and national candidates through the learning experiences at the local level.

Look up elections in the Virginia Constitution (Article VII, Sec. 5), and you will find that it says "Unless otherwise provided by law, the governing body of each city or town shall be elected on the second Tuesday in June and take office on the first day of the following September." Virginia Election Law does, in fact, provide otherwise. City and town elections are on the first Tuesday in May. The 1970 Election Law also stated that officials would take office on July 1st, "unless otherwise provided by charter." Some town officials still take office September 1st, as provided by their charters.

Look for, clip, note, and share with the class any news stories about voter registration and voting patterns in Virginia. There will be stories about the turnout (male-female, ethnic, religious, black-white, new registrations, weather and other factors).

Pick a position -- for or against change in Virginia's election calendar.

- Write a position paper documenting your point of view. OR
- Organize a debate for your class. OR
- Call your legislator and ask for his/her view and any information or materials on voter registration or voting patterns in Virginia.
- Word some questions and conduct an informal test of your questions, in your neighborhood, your bus, or your homeroom. Study the responses and decide how you would improve your questions. Select a sample for a real survey of your community. OR
- Talk to local political party officials and office-holders. Is there a difference in the reactions of people in each party? Would they prefer not to have elections every year and twice in even years (for city voters)? Write a brief summary of your research and share it with the class.

A CANDIDATE FORUM IN YOUR SCHOOL, FOR YOUR STUDENTS !

MAKE THE DECISIONS & START CONTACTS AT LEAST 6 WEEKS BEFORE ELECTION !

> Please read this material all the way through BEFORE you decide to have a forum. It can be a very rewarding learning experience for all, but you and your school can be embarrassed if it is not handled professionally !

1 - Talk with your department chairperson, your principal, and other key or concerned administrators. Be sure that you have their support and their assistance. Students will have to be excused from other classes to attend, and the presence of administrators can be very helpful at the forum if the campaign is a heated one.

2 - Select a moderator. If you have had experience with this kind of meeting and you feel competent, do it. If not, call the League of Women Voters nearest you for suggestions, ask a revered local leader whose political affiliations are not too obvious, or an administrator or fellow teacher who can handle a crowd in a dignified way and who knows the issues in the particular campaign to be featured in the forum. The moderator should be consulted on all the plans and arrangements.

3 - Decide which classes and teachers should attend. In most cases, include all government students and teachers, plus other teachers who may be free because you are corraling their students that period, and as many administrators as possible or appropriate.

4 - Check the school calendar and availability of the auditorium or area with appropriate accoustics, sound equipment, and seating capacity.

5 - Decide which offices/contests you will cover in your forum. If you include candidates for different offices or levels of government, plan how to divide the program so you don't confuse your students. To avoid criticism and possible legal repercussions, you must invite all qualified candidates, all registered candidates, or all announced candidates, whichever category fits your particular election. If there is a serious write-in candidate, it is better to include him/her than to be accused later of denying a chance to be heard. Sometimes "off-the-wall" candidates can be skipped with a clear conscience by restricting your participants to one of the categories (qualified - registered - announced). If you are in doubt, ask for legal guidance. Decide what you'll do if (for any reason) a candidate doesn't show. Also decide if you will permit an alternate to represent a candidate. Unopposed candidates can offer valuable information about the office and the issues: include them with other candidates.

6 - Decide on the program and the ground rules, in consultation with your moderator. Here is a suggested format:

  - Moderator welcomes candidates, explains program to all. If audience questions will be written, the arrangements (runners, selection panel to eliminate duplications) should be described clearly.
  - Introduce candidates (alphabetical order? flip a coin? some definite plan) Allow each 3 (?) minutes to describe the office and his/her particular qualifications, interests, and reasons for running. (If all seek the same office, the moderator might begin by describing the office and qualifications, then each candidate could sum up his/her background and views on relevant issues.) Half a minute before time is up, the timer signals the speaker. When time is up, the timer stands and remains standing until the speaker stops.

A Candidate Forum (cont'd)

- Allow one minute rebuttal/clarification to any candidate who wants it.

- Questions from the audience; decide whether they will be written or oral. Written questions require a trusted, knowledgable group of students and teachers (perhaps 3, total) who will be responsible for eliminating irrelevant or personal questions that should NOT be brought up, BUT allowing questions that might be important to the voters' right to know. Oral questions are more interesting, sometimes even exciting! The spontaneity is worth it, if you have enough teachers and administrators in the audience to be sure you have control. Station teachers around the room (at microphones, if you are using them) and have students line up to ask their questions. Teachers can help them with the wording, and shout out the question if the student's voice is not heard, and the moderator can call on different areas of the auditorium in rotation, without having to know each student's name. The moderator should repeat all questions before referring them to the candidates.

The moderator should be sensitive to the flow of the meeting. If no new information is forthcoming on an issue, the moderator should ask for questions on another topic. If too many questions are addressed to one candidate, the moderator should ask for questions directed primarily to other candidates. All candidates should be permitted to respond to each question, but they should be asked to be very brief on questions not addressed primarily to them. (If the issues are complex, but important, background information might be distributed to classes for discussion prior to the forum, particularly if you're not sure all are focused on the election.)

If you have reason to suspect long-windedness among the candidates, you may want to set a time limit on answers to questions. One minute?

At an appointed time, after appropriate warning ("Only 2 more questions." "One more short question."), the moderator concludes the question period.

- Each candidate should be allowed a concluding statement (one minute?) and the order of speaking should be reversed from the introductory remarks. The opening speaker should have the last word, the final rebuttal.

- Moderator closes the forum, reminding all who are registered to vote on election day, suggesting that students help others to vote by baby-sitting, driving or volunteering to assist candidates or parties of their choice. "Democracy is not a spectator sport."

7 - Contact the candidates with a preferred date and two alternate dates. Two to three weeks before the election works well--the excitement is building, and there is still time to use student enthusiasm in class discussion. Candidates can usually make meetings first period in the morning. If a candidate avoids you, send a registered letter to be sure you can prove you made the effort.

8 - Once the date is established, write a confirmation letter to each candidate and to any other people involved in the program, outlining the plan, exact time, where to park, how to find the meeting room, how many students and others you expect, and anything else they might need to know.

9 - Notify government teachers and suggest ways they might help prepare students for the forum -- clippings, bulletin boards, background data on candidates and issues, questions to ask. Unprepared students can make the forum a dud!

10 - Notify all administrators and teachers whose schedules might be affected. Appoint timers. Locate and reserve stop-watches (coaches usually cooperate).

11 - Enjoy the forum. Then thank everybody and get the story in the school paper!

ELECTION WORKSHEET OR NOTEBOOK CHART IDEAS

NAME ______________________________ TEACHER __________ PERIOD__

THESE PAGES ARE TO HELP YOU. They may or may not be checked or graded by your teacher. Different classes, rows, or students might even be checked on different days. Find and record the information when you hear it on the radio or TV, when you find it in the newspaper. Help each other. Help your grades and your understanding of elections and government. Start TODAY !

WE WILL USE THIS INFORMATION AND YOUR IDEAS IN SEVERAL CLASSES BETWEEN NOW AND ELECTION DAY - Tuesday, __________

WRITE IN THE FIRST COLUMN THE OFFICES TO BE FILLED BY THE VOTERS THIS YEAR IN __________

PUT THE NAMES OF THE PARTIES IN YOUR AREA AT THE TOPS OF THESE COLUMNS & START FILLING IN CANDIDATES' NAMES !

	__________	__________	__________

* Incumbent

ELECTED OFFICES NOTEBOOK CHARTS

FILL IN THE INFORMATION EARLY IN THE CAMPAIGN

Write these column-headings on the board.

Students set up notebook pages to record basic information, as shown.

Office	Duties and Responsibilities	Legal Qualifications	TERM	SALARY	Skills, experience, personality you think important for this job

Additional assignments/records to keep. Students head pages in their notebooks to keep the following information:

1. Keep a record each time you or your family are contacted by a party or a candidate, or any other group working for a candidate, or any group you suspect may endorse a candidate in this election.

   Contacted by How? (phone, in person - where?)

2. If you are working for a party or candidate, keep track of the time you spend and what you do.
3. Have any groups you respect taken a stand in favor of a candidate? What groups:
   Would their choice make you want to reconsider, if you had already decided to support another candidate?
   Were their statements informed and reasoned? Did they include the important issues in the campaign?
4. Have there been polls showing the voter preferences? Record who conducted the poll, who paid for it, the date the information was collected, and what it showed.
5. Radio and TV networks now project results in an election from questions asked of voters as they leave the polls early in the day. Their predictions start before noon. Do you think this influences voter turnout? How?

   Has this subject been discussed in the press?

6. Record and keep in your notebook any story that you think might influence a significant number of voters. Be ready to explain your reasons.
7. Vote in the preliminary straw vote in your class. Do not tell anyone the names of people you voted for. (You may even change your mind before election day!)

Worksheet

PROPAGANDA, HALF-TRUTHS, & DISTORTIONS

We all use the techniques of the propagandist for dramatic effect, to persuade our friends and families ("Everybody's doing it!"), to sell tickets to a benefit ("It's the best show the town has ever seen!") -- statements that mean well, but may not be wholly or provably true. Most of the time, people know we are exaggerating.

Sometimes statements are deliberately misleading and carefully contrived to be misleading or to convince us to do something that may not be wise or that may be contrary to our own best interests. You have noted them at different times. During the next couple of weeks, write them down when you hear them. Cut them out of newspapers and magazines (NOT the Library's copies!). See how many different kinds of distortions you can find -- particularly in political campaign statements. You'll need your list to participate in our class discussion.

1 - Name-calling. Using a label on a person or program to discredit or serve as a put-down. Ethnic slurs may still be heard, though less frequently than in previous generations. Terms such as "conservative," "moderate," and "liberal" are sometimes used as discounts.

2 - Glittering generalities. Vague terms that mean little or nothing without further explanation, or that may have many different shades of meaning to many different people. Does everybody understand the same thing when you say "the American way" or "law and order"?

3 - Testimonials. If your favorite athlete endorses a brand of soda, does that mean it's really better? Or does that mean the bottler pays the athlete to say it because he knows the endorsement will increase sales? Do you prove it?

4 - Scare tactics. Your bad breath, your dandruff, your athletic aroma, static cling, or other horror will interfere with your success in business or in your social life! Of course, electing the "wrong" candidate will spell disaster for the community, nation, and world.

5 - Sex Appeal & Snob Appeal. Just the opposite of #4. Use their product(s) and members of the opposite sex will race across open fields to you, give you diamonds, or run fingers dramatically through your hair! The boss will give you a raise! The parking attendant will show you new respect! Do you believe it?

6 - Plain folks. It's the lady nextdoor telling you about the best coffee, a better detergent to sparkle your laundry, man-on-the-street taste tests and the great success story of "up from the log cabin," "we were poor," or "walking 5 miles to school each day."

7 - Symbols. Flags, Uncle Sam, marching bands, and other patriotic trappings are sometimes used to give a mass appeal image to a candidate or product. People in fancy, evening attire may be used to lend a "classy" image to a product, even one not customarily used by people in evening clothes.

8 - Bandwagon. "Everybody is buying X," "...voting for Y," or "..going to Z." "Don't be left out!" Of course, everybody is not! Crowds of people heading for an apartment building with pushcarts and moving trucks...polls that show candidate Y leading in your district. These are sometimes very effective opinion-molders. Do they work on you?

9 - Card-stacking. They tell you only one side of the story, or only part of the statistics. Medications turn out to have dangerous side-effects. Candidates use words carefully to tell you only what they want you to know -- and perhaps, tell another group something different. Sometimes we guess the other half of the story. (Sometimes, if we can prove harm or loss from misleading claims, we can collect in a court of law!)

10 - Guilt by association. Working with, living near, attending the same school or church as X does not necessarily mean being involved in the affairs of another person. Putting people in such categories can be a great distortion of their views and activities.

11 - Logical inconsistencies. The drinking of lemonade is related to drowning! Statistics can show that both happen more often in hot weather, but to hint that lemonade causes drownings would be a gross misuse of statistics. Have you heard statements that sounded so good that you overlooked the fact that they didn't make much sense? Listen carefully to campaign speeches and advertising claims.

MAKE A LIST...Find your own collection of propaganda statements, half-truths, and distortions. Briefly tell what is or might be wrong or questionable about each. Then identify who might be influenced by each of your examples.

BANDWAGONS

> It is human nature to look for and remember things that prove we are right. We tend to reject information that makes us doubt or proves that we were wrong in a decision or judgment.

1 - Several weeks ago, you looked at the qualifications of the candidates running for office. You made a choice at that time and voted in a preliminary straw ballot. In the heat of the campaign, candidates and parties do and say things that not all of their supporters approve. Write here some of the things that bothered you or made you feel less comfortable with your vote. (You should have them listed in your notebook.)

2 - Have you found yourself defending this candidate, publicly or silently? Do you agree with the statement at the top of this page?

3 - If you had publicly endorsed this candidate, would your feelings be more intense? More comfortable? More uncomfortable?

4 - If you were to vote for the first time TODAY, would you choose the same candidate? Why? Why not?

5 - Have you discovered any other qualifications, characteristics, or attitudes that you had not listed, that you now feel are important for candidates in general? For this office in particular?

6 - Have any groups you respect taken a stand in favor of a candidate in this election?
Have their positions made you want to reconsider your choice?
Do you think their support statements were informed and reasoned?
Did their statements address the issues you feel are important in the campaign?

7 - If they supported your choice, how did it make you feel?
Which of their reasons do you consider most important?

8 - Have there been polls showing the voter preferences in this campaign?
If you chose the one who is supposed to be winning, how does it make you feel?

9 - If you chose one who is now supposed to be losing, how does it make you feel?

10 - Would you ever be tempted to change your vote to the one who is supposed to be winning?
Would it make a difference to you if the poll were conducted or paid for by supporters of the candidate they say is winning?

Bandwagons (cont'd)

11 - Wanting to be a supporter of the winning team is called "bandwagon effect" or "bandwagon syndrome." How is this feeling used by campaigners? (Use some quotes for illustration.)

12 - Broadcasting and TV networks now project winners in an election from interviews with voters as they leave the polls. Network predictions start early in the day. Do you think this influences voters later in the day?

13 - Do you think broadcasts of voting results on the east coast should be allowed before west coast polls close? What difference do you think it makes?

14 - Do you think all polls should open and close at the same time, regardless of what the clocks say?
How would you plan the voting hours to accommodate the 3-hour difference in time between the east and west coasts?

15 - Many other nations vote on Sundays to minimize the problems of voting interference from work schedules, shifts, and commuting. Do you think we should consider it in the United States? Tell 3 reasons why you think MORE voters would vote...OR...Tell 3 reasons why you think it would not make much difference.

16 - Can you think of other ways that registration and voting could be encouraged?

17 - What should you and other voters do if you know about the candidates, and you really do not like them or consider them competent for the offices they seek? Discuss the following alternatives and their consequences:

a) stay home in protest -- don't vote. (That will teach them!)
b) write a complaining letter to the editor of the newspaper
c) write in a candidate on the ballot -- Mickey Mouse, anybody!
d) vote for the "lesser of evils"
e) vote for the one recommended by groups you tend to agree with
f) vote for the one the polls say will win
g) contact party officials with suggestions for the next nominations
h) agree to help a party locate candidates next time -- be active
i) agree to run for office next time
j) other?

CANDIDATES & ISSUES

(Instructions on D 20)

Worksheet

D 19

MY OPINIONS ON ISSUES I THINK ARE MOST IMPORTANT IN THIS ELECTION	OPINIONS OF THE CANDIDATES ON THESE SAME ISSUES (Fill them in as you find them!)			
	Candidate ________	Candidate ________	Candidate ________	Candidate ________
Issue #1: My opinion: ○	○	○	○	○
Issue #2: My opinion: ○	○	○	○	○
Issue #3: My opinion: ○	○	○	○	○
Issue #4: My opinion: ○	○	○	○	○
Issue #5: My opinion: ○	○	○	○	○
PERSONAL TRAITS I THINK IMPORTANT IN A CANDIDATE Experience Background Education Personality Other ○	○	○	○	○
TOTAL 100				

CANDIDATES & ISSUES - Using the Chart on D 19

AFTER LISTING THE ISSUES AND HOW EACH CANDIDATE FEELS ON EACH ISSUE, USE A PENCIL AND FILL IN SOME NUMBERS IN THE LITTLE CIRCLES:

1 - Look seriously at column I. You have 100 points to distribute among the issues and personal traits in the election and evaluation of candidates. You should have in your notebook a chart that identifies skills, experience, and personality traits important for each office. Now, decide HOW important each one is for each office, and assign it a share of the 100 points.

Example A: "These two issues are very important to me, so I'll assign them 35 points each, with 5 points for these other two issues, and 20 points for personality, because an impossible beast wouldn't be able to accomplish anything." OR

Example B: "Personality and character (including honesty) have to be worth 50 points, leaving 15 points each for the two most important issues and 20 points for all the others put together."

Write your point values here:

Do they add up to 100 points? USE PENCIL & write them in the appropriate circles. Put zeros in for any issue that gets no points.

2 - Now GRADE the candidates on how closely their opinions on the issues agree with yours. Put zero for not-at-all. Award part of the points for a partial agreement, and all the points for total agreement. Write them in their little circles...again, USE PENCIL.

3 - Now, complete the personal traits evaluation for the candidates. Grade each on your criteria in column I.

4 - You guessed it! Now add up the points each candidate has earned for agreeing with you and pleasing you with his/her personal traits. Put the total in the sawed-off circle at the bottom of each column.

5 - Do you like the way it came out? If you don't, maybe your column I numbers were not really what you want. Fix them, and adjust the points for each candidate. Maybe there are other factors you want to include.

6 - Compare your understanding of the issue positions of different candidates with what other students have recorded. Have you represented their views accurately -- particularly those that disagree with yours, a little or a lot?

THIS IS ONE WAY TO MAKE A VOTING DECISION. Many people blindly follow the advice of others, or vote for one party because they have always voted for that party and they haven't taken the time to look at the issues. Any evaluation that includes positions on real issues should be an improvement over one that doesn't, becuase your representative will be representing YOU be introducing and voting on issues. Someone whose opinions agree more closely with yours on these issues, may be more likely to vote as you would prefer on other issues.

AFTER YOU HAVE ADJUSTED AND COMPLETED THIS CHART TO YOUR APPROXIMATE SATISFACTION, SHOW IT TO YOUR TEACHER AND ASK FOR YOUR BALLOT FOR STRAW VOTE #2.

Worksheet

THE PARTY & THE CAMPAIGN PROCESS

BETWEEN NOW AND ELECTION WEEK, keep your eyes and ears open and record answers and reactions to the following questions. Be ready for discussion.

1 - Based on what you have heard, who chose the candidates?
Do you think they volunteered and then sought party support?
OR Do you think the party had to convince them to run?
Do you think the party helped prepare them to run for these offices?

2 - How was the campaign money raised?
By whom? How much?

3 - Who determined the issues and platforms?

Were the issues all identified early in the campaign?

Were there some "sleepers"? (issues that did not seem important in the beginning, but became important as the campaign proceeded). Describe them.

Identify the issues that seemed most important
to the candidates -

to the press -

to the voters-

Were there issues that concerned the voters, that candidates did not deal with or answer satisfactorily? Describe.

4 - Did personal problems surface during the campaign?

Were they answered?

Were they important to the qualifications or the probable job performance of the candidate in the office he sought?

How were they handled by the press?

5 - Does there seem to be a party bias in any newspaper, TV, or radio station in your area?

Did any newspaper or station endorse a candidate?

Did newspapers, radio, and TV seem to be giving equal time or access to the media to all candidates?

The Party & Campaign Process (cont'd)

6 - How many times were you and your family contacted by the candidates for office?

by their parties?

by mail? by phone? at meetings? at your door?

in malls and other public places?
Did these contacts make a difference in how you felt about the election? about the candidates?

Do you know party workers in your precinct/ward?

Name the party chairpersons in your community/city/county.

Were you or your family asked to help in the campaign?

Were you asked to contribute money for the campaign?

Were you or your family active in the campaign in any way?

7 - Summarize here what you observe to be the role of the party in an election.

8 - Look at the qualifications for office, the responsibilities, and job description materials you wrote some weeks ago in your notebook. Do you think our election process results in voters choosing the best candidate for the job? Explain your answer.

9 - You graduated from high school ten years ago. You are active in your community. You have been asked to run for the office of ____________ (fill in the one that interests you most). How would the decision affect your family?

List two reasons why you would/should agree to run?

List two reasons why you would NOT agree to run?

10 - Virginia voters register to vote without listing a party preference. A great many Virginians claim they are "independents," with NO party affiliation. Consider your answer in #7 , and list here the points you would include in an opinion paper on "Widespread & Active Party Membership - The Key to Effective Democracy." (Would your paper support this statement or oppose it?) Be ready to discuss and defend your opinions.

Worksheet

POLL-WATCHER CHECK LIST

Polling Place_________________

Your teacher may forward these forms to elections officials, be sure that you record your observations accurately.

Visit the polling place twice on Election Day. Record the times of your observations: 1) 2)

If conditions were different at different times, be sure to label them by number: 1, or 2.

---

1. Were polling places publicized in advance of election day?
2. Is the polling place easy to find?
3. Is it clearly marked? Can signs be read from a moving car?
4. Is parking adequate? convenient? marked?
5. Are there steps or other impediments to the handicapped voter?
6. If there is more than one entrance, is the barrier-free entrance clearly marked?
7. It is against the law for campaign materials or personnel to be within 40 feet of the entrance to the polling place (usually interpreted to mean the entrance to the building). Is the law being observed?
   Did you see electioneering within the legal voting area? ____________
   Did you see anyone influencing voters within the legal voting area?____
   Did you see unauthorized assistance given to any voter? Describe:
8. Is the list of absentee ballot voters in this precinct posted prominently?
9. Is there adequate elections staff present to process the voter identifications with reasonable dispatch? 1) 2)
10. Would you characterize the election officials on duty as: __experienced __inexperienced __courteous __discourteous __competent __incompetent Other:(please specify):
11. (Station yourself so you can check a few people -- some stop to talk!) How long did it take for people to vote, from the time they entered the building until they left? 1) 2)
12. If there was a delay, was there any explanation?
13. Were all machines in use?
14. Did anyone leave without voting? (Explain)
15. Was anyone's right to vote challenged by an election official or other individual? (Explain)
16. Was the privacy of the voter respected? Were all booths curtained?
17. Were nonpartisan sample ballots posted or available?
18. Were instructions posted or available to voters? Model machines?
19. Were instructions posted or available on write-in votes? referenda?
20. Was help available for those who might need it?

Poll-Watching Check List (cont'd)

21. Was the voting booth room large enough to hold the personnel, machines, and voters without undue confusion?

22. Was the atmosphere business-like? friendly? helpful?

23. Were paper ballots available in the event of machine breakdown? Was there a sealed ballot box to put them in?

24. According to Virginia Election Law, polling places are to open at 6 a.m. and close promptly at 7 P.M., permitting anyone inside the door at 7 P.M. to remain and vote. From what you hear and observe, do you feel that these hours were followed at this polling place? (If not, describe)

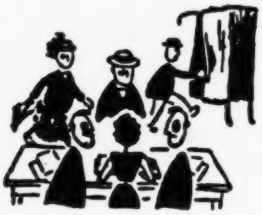
25. Note here the time that the vote from this precinct was reported by elections officials or the press:

If there was a significant delay, was a reason stated?

26. Are you eligible to vote? If so, did you vote?

27. Was there anything in the experience that was confusing?

28. Have you any other observations about the adequacy or inadequacy of this polling place?



NUMBER OF PRECINCTS AND REGISTERED VOTERS IN VIRGINIA
as of January 1, 1986

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

District	Locality	Precincts	Registered Voters
First	Accomack	27	15,009
	Caroline	7	7,469
	Charles City	3	3,119
	Essex	3	4,093
	Gloucester	7	11,814
	James City	6*	12,571
	King and Queen	4	3,348
	King George	3	4,655
	King William	6	4,926
	Lancaster	3	5,710
	Mathews	3	4,627
	Middlesex	6	4,679
	New Kent	6	4,604
	Northampton	9	6,465
	Northumberland	8	5,407
	Richmond County	6	3,233
	Westmoreland	5	6,924
	York	11	16,719
	Hampton	23*	52,459
	Newport News	41*	66,275
	Poquoson	3	5,026
	Williamsburg	1	4,065
	TOTAL	**191**	**253,197**
Second	Norfolk	55*	94,176
	Virginia Beach	57*	117,928
	TOTAL	**112**	**212,104**
Third	Chesterfield (part)	39*	76,366
	Henrico	57*	99,078
	Richmond City	73*	108,632
	TOTAL	**169**	**284,076**

* Includes Central Absentee Voter Election District precinct.

District	Locality	Precincts	Registered Voters
Fourth	Amelia	5	4,421
	Brunswick	11	7,265
	Chesterfield (part)	3*	3,589
	Dinwiddie	12	9,605
	Greensville	9	5,532
	Isle of Wight	13	10,963
	Nottoway	7	6,851
	Powhatan	6	6,056
	Prince George	7	8,573
	Southampton	12	10,109
	Surry	7	3,763
	Sussex	10	5,953
	Chesapeake	36*	53,368
	Colonial Heights	5	8,742
	Emporia	4	2,352
	Franklin City	1	3,857
	Hopewell	5	9,851
	Petersburg	15	18,111
	Portsmouth	31*	46,714
	Suffolk	17	22,294
	TOTAL	**216**	**247,969**
Fifth	Appomattox	10	6,350
	Bedford County	25	17,488
	Buckingham	9	5,567
	Campbell	16	21,070
	Carroll	18	11,761
	Charlotte	11	5,903
	Cumberland	4	4,196
	Fluvanna	4	4,256
	Franklin County	22	14,349
	Halifax	21	13,540
	Henry	22	24,622
	Lunenburg	6	5,582
	Mecklenburg	18	12,489
	Nelson	8*	5,748
	Patrick	14	8,030
	Pittsylvania	29	27,603
	Prince Edward	9	7,641
	Bedford City	2	2,972
	Danville	17	20,239
	Lynchburg (part)	7*/**	6,953
	Martinsville	7*	8,938
	South Boston	2	3,551
	TOTAL	**281**	**238,848**

[*] Includes Central Absentee Voter Election District precinct.

[**] Two of Lynchburg's 18 precincts are split by Congressional Districts 5 and 6; these two precincts are counted twice in the precinct tabulation - once in each Congressional District. The number of registered voters is accurate within each district.

District	Locality	Precincts	Registered Voters
Sixth	Alleghany	9	5,880
	Amherst	10	12,172
	Augusta	23	21,811
	Bath	7	2,728
	Botetourt	14	10,830
	Highland	10	1,699
	Roanoke County	31*	38,400
	Rockbridge	14	7,133
	Rockingham	24*	20,267
	Buena Vista	2	2,782
	Clifton Forge	2	2,193
	Covington	4	3,793
	Harrisonburg	4	8,878
	Lexington	2	2,505
	Lynchburg (part)	14*/**	23,782
	Roanoke City	33*	40,892
	Salem	11*	11,063
	Staunton	6*	9,247
	Waynesboro	4	6,704
	TOTAL	**224**	**232,759**
Seventh	Albemarle	17*	26,006
	Clarke	5	4,212
	Culpeper	12	9,471
	Fauquier	12	16,555
	Frederick	12*	13,860
	Goochland	7	6,326
	Greene	4	3,817
	Hanover	20*	26,961
	Louisa	13	7,699
	Madison	9	4,622
	Orange	5	7,862
	Page	5	9,001
	Prince William (part)	13*	14,462
	Rappahannock	6	3,190
	Shenandoah	15	13,423
	Spotsylvania	14	14,813
	Stafford (part)	6	9,847
	Warren	11	8,707
	Charlottesville	9*	16,833
	Fredericksburg	3	7,014
	Manassas	5*	7,249
	Manassas Park	1	1,831
	Winchester	5	8,172
	TOTAL	**209**	**241,933**

* Includes Central Absentee Voter Election District precinct.

** Two of Lynchburg's 18 precincts are split by Congressional Districts 5 and 6; therefore, these precincts are counted twice in the precinct tabulation - once in each Congressional District. The number of registered voters is accurate within each district.

District	Locality	Precincts	Registered Voters
Eighth	Fairfax County (part)	76*	169,846
	Prince William (part)	35*	44,903
	Stafford (part)	6	8,590
	Alexandria	33*	52,416
	TOTAL	**150**	**275,755**
Ninth	Bland	8	3,233
	Buchanan	19	16,565
	Craig	9	2,468
	Dickenson	13	11,116
	Floyd	5	6,133
	Giles	11	8,758
	Grayson	15	8,252
	Lee	19*	13,584
	Montgomery	19	23,049
	Pulaski	12	15,237
	Russell	12	15,974
	Scott	16	11,914
	Smyth	14	14,840
	Tazewell	24*	21,599
	Washington	18	21,275
	Wise	10*	19,218
	Wythe	13	11,726
	Bristol	5*	9,015
	Galax	4*	2,803
	Norton	2	2,119
	Radford	3	5,321
	TOTAL	**251**	**244,199**
Tenth	Arlington	40*	84,713
	Fairfax County (part)	89*	176,125
	Loudoun	30*	30,278
	Fairfax City	7*	11,116
	Falls Church	5	5,518
	TOTAL	**171**	**307,750**

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* Includes Central Absentee Voter Election District precinct.

CANDIDATE SELECTION IN VIRGINIA

Primaries - Mass Meetings - Conventions

There are about 60,000 people in a House of Delegates district, and about 25,000 of them are registered to vote.

5% to 10% of the registered voters participate in primaries -- about 2,500 in a House of Delegates district. If there are two candidates and a normal turn-out, it might require 1,251 votes to win a primary.

If we assume 2.4 voters per household, that's 600 families or less that could control the primary. One good-sized church, business, or elementary school often has more families than that!

PRIMARIES are often decided by one or a few votes.

Since registration in Virginia is NOT by party, primaries are essentially open and sometimes are controlled by voters who generally support the OTHER party. This is called cross-over voting, or raiding. Supporters of Party X will vote in the Party Y primary -- either to support a candidate they prefer to one their own party might offer OR to defeat the stronger candidate, making their Party X candidate more likely to win in the general election. Since the turnout is frequently light, an influx from the other party can distort the candidate selection process. Many districts have discontinued primaries, and this is one of the main reasons.

Another reason is that primaries are expensive for both candidates and parties. Candidates and their campaign managers must find money to pay for flyers, letters, posters, ads in newspapers, radio spots, TV, and sometimes for other campaign costs such as offices, phone banks, and computer assistance. Parties must pay the costs of using voting machines and staffing the polls, and then must paste the party back together after the primary so its candidate stands a chance in the general election.

PRIMARIES TEST THE CANDIDATES' VOTER APPEAL. THEY CAN BE VERY DIVISIVE, BUT THEY ARE THE TRADITIONAL GRASSROOTS WAY TO SELECT CANDIDATES.

MOST STATES REQUIRE PRIMARIES FOR THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL OFFICES AND FOR MAJOR STATE OFFICES. PRIMARIES ARE OPTIONAL IN VIRGINIA. LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS DECIDE ON THE METHOD OF CANDIDATE SELECTION.

MASS MEETINGS & CONVENTIONS are also used to select candidates in many parts of Virginia. Mass meetings allow citizens to see and hear the candidates in a party meeting, and to "instruct" local party officials and/or convention delegates on their choices. A mass meeting can be "packed" with supporters of a particular candidate. The candidates can lobby for the votes of those present. If there is no contest, then there is no need for a convention, and the party's only expenses were renting the hall for the meeting and providing incidental pencils, paper, coffee, and (usually!) receipts for campaign contributions. Conventions are meetings of the locally-chosen delegates, many of whom arrive "instructed" or "pledged" to a particular candidate. Delegates usually bear most of the cost of a convention, though their expenses may be paid by their local party members and organization. The big advantage to both mass meetings and conventions is that the rivals for an office can assess their relative strengths among the party's representatives assembled, can face the reality of only one winner, and be gracious about it. Losers can agree to support the winner, and help to heal the divisions that might otherwise result in voter confusion or apathy, and defeat for the party's nominee in the general election.

Is the general public, the "grassroots," better served by a primary, which is often just a miniature general election, which many claim is more a popularity contest, or "beauty contest"? Or is the "grassroots" better served by mass meetings and conventions, at which the candidates are selected by involved party members who may be more concerned with winning the general election?

Would a party worker be likely to look for different traits in a candidate than a voter would seek? Which ones?

If you were asked to write a paper supporting legislation requiring primaries in state elections, what reasons (3 or more) would you include?

1 -

2 -

3 -

If you were asked to write a paper opposing mandatory primaries in state elections, what reasons (3 or more) would you include?

1 -

2 -

3 -

Do you know any students who are active in a party? What kinds of things do they do during a campaign?

Special interest groups that concern themselves with only one issue give money and organize support for candidates who agree with them on the one issue. Describe several ways that this is different from the way a party looks at a candidate.

Political action committees (PACs) have become influential in U. S. elections. How does this affect party organizations? candidates? voters? Does it help or hinder our search for the most competent and honest office-holders? Or do you think it has any effect at all?

CAMPAIGN PLANNING SIMULATION

Part 1 - Class splits into sub-committees to draw up plans for a House of Delegates election campaign OR for another office (which may require some modifications).

Part 2 - Campaign Coordinating Committee, composed of chairpersons of the subcommittees, meets as a panel with the rest of the class looking on, using an analysis form. Teacher introduces "wild cards" as appropriate.

Part 3 - Class discussion of campaign plan, and of the committee process.

FIRST DECISION FOR TEACHER: You may decide to split the class into two sections to plan the campaigns from the points of view of two parties -- having each investigate the particular issues, fund sources, and favorable precincts of one party. (If you keep the class together to work on candidate X, you might give the party and candidate names that are appropriate for your school or community.)

PREPARATION: Select the committees and chairpersons -- by vote, drawing, or administrative decision. See enclosed agendas for an outline of the work of each. Correct them to fit local circumstances. If you have not been active recently in a campaign, you might want to consult with a local resident who has. Also you might want to warn party officials that your students will be looking for information and cost estimates.

- Duplicate both evaluation sheets for each member of the class.
- Duplicate subcommittee agendas for each member of the committee.
- Assign and review OR post a summary statement on the boundaries and political makeup of your delegate district. See Section B for raw data, unless your classes developed a Delegate District profile, or see The Almanac of Virginia Politics. What characteristics and interests would you want to be sure were represented in the members of the committees, or in their deliberations?
- Look over the "wild card" suggestions, and come up with some likely ones for your community. Choose some good news and a blow or two.
- Announce committee assignments in advance. Let students think about their roles and talk to family and friends about what voters want to know and how people become involved in a campaign.
- Allow some classtime several days before you plan to start the simulation for committees to meet and assign the phone calls and search for information. Give out subcommittee Evaluation Sheet 1 as a guide for expectations.

Part 1 - Subcommittee Meetings. 15 minutes to a whole class period should be allowed. Walk around and steer discussion (when necessary) to realistic plans with questions such as "How will you get people to do that?" "How much will that cost?" "Do you need a permit for a __" (parade/soundtruck/other) "Would that annoy more people than it would interest?" "Is there an issue you could raise or a position you could take that would appeal to those people?" Committees should have a secretary or recorder to keep notes on decisions and assignments.

Give out Evaluation Sheet 1* as the subcommittees gather, and collect completed forms as they complete their meetings. If they have done their information gathering, they may need a full class period to draft their proposals. Chairpersons should run these meetings.

Part 2 - Campaign Coordinating Committee. Chairpersons of the subcommittees meet as a panel, as the rest of the class watches and analyzes their effectiveness and their interaction. Use Evaluation Sheet 2.*

The community would continue to interact with the campaign committee during a real election, so the rest of the class should be able to pass notes to the panel and aid in its deliberations.

Teacher introduces "wild cards" or problems/opportunities for the panel to deal with in their planning. Here are a few suggestions:

- The Governor will come to town on Oct. 17 to speak for your candidate. How can you organize it to get the most publicity? money?
- There's a rumor that your candidate, X, has a problem with alcohol. How can you deal with the rumor without spreading it?
- You've just discovered that your opponent received $300 from a person indicted last week on drugs or gambling charges. How do you deal with this? (Remember: indicted does not mean convicted.)
- A couple of your candidate, X's, neighbors have just started a group called "Independents for X." How can you encourage them without threatening their choice to be independent?
- A local organization has come out in favor of your candidate. How will you treat the endorsement if it is one you want? What if this support is a real liability in another section of town?

YOU MIGHT WANT TO WAIT UNTIL THE CAMPAIGN PLANS ARE ALMOST COMPLETE BEFORE YOU INTRODUCE THE FINAL WILD CARD.

Part 3 - Class discussion of the campaign plan and of the committee process.

Would this candidate win? What do you think are the strong points in the plan? What are the weak points? Can you see problems that might come up during the campaign? Are there ways they could be countered?

Discuss the evaluation forms and the group process observed. Can students identify behaviors that make the group function smoothly?

Good candidates and honest elections are the lifeblood of democracy. Discuss the role of the citizen. What is meant by the statement that "Democracy is not a spectator sport"? What is meant by the statement that the "public gets the officials they deserve"?

(NOTE: Phone Bank is listed on Headquarters Agenda AND on Get Out The Vote Agenda. IT IS NOT A MISTAKE. See if the CCC counts it on both budgets! ?)

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* There is room to add the student's name at the top of each evaluation sheet if you think signed evaluation forms would be used constructively by your students. You might want to alter the questions so as not to pinpoint criticism of other students. You might also use a separate self-reporting form for personalized evaluation that includes only the what-I-did and what-I-felt about my own contribution.

One for each student

EVALUATION 1 - SUBCOMMITTEE ON ____________________

What was your assigned research?

Did you complete your task?

What sources did you contact? How useful was each?

1 -
2 -
3 -

Did all the members of your subcommittee complete their assigned research?

Did everyone take part in the discussion?

Did your chairperson set a good example (and did your subcommittee members follow it) by respecting the opinions of the members and encouraging participation?

Was there a spirit of cooperation on the subcommittee?

Did you stay on the subject most of the time in your meetings?

Do you think the plan proposed by your subcommittee was a good plan?

Did the plan represent the ideas of many members of the subcommittee?

How would you rate your subcommittee's efforts?

1 - poor 2 - o.k. 3 - average 4 - good 5 - great

On the same scale, how would you rate your contribution?

1 - poor 2 - o.k. 3 - average 4 - good 5 - great

What was the most interesting thing you learned about politics and campaigns?

What was the most interesting thing you learned about group work?

What was the most interesting thing you learned about your own participation?

Other comments:

One for each student

EVALUATION 2 - CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Did your subcommittee chairman present your report capably?

Did the CCC really coordinate all the reports into a workable plan?

Do you think the money would have been raised?

Do you think the volunteers would have been found? Would you be one?

Do you think the party would have gotten out the vote?

Would you win?

Did you realize how many things a party may have to do to win an election? What surprised you most?

Do you think the candidate would have been able to do everything everybody wanted him/her to do?

If YOU were the candidate, what things would you have wanted to change about the plan?

Did the CCC members listen to each other?

Did they seem to respect each other's opinions?

Write here or on the back of this paper at least 2 good things that you saw or heard someone say that made the group work together more effectively.

If you were asked to serve on a committee with a planning task like this, would you consider doing it?

Would you ever consider running for office?

Would you consider helping in a political campaign?

What would you be willing to do?

One copy for each member

SIMULATION - HEADQUARTERS & SCHEDULING SUBCOMMITTEE AGENDA

1 - Your mission is to plan and estimate the costs of running an office for the campaign. If you can staff it with volunteers, who will sign them up and be sure they are reminded, prompt, and appreciated? If you have to pay someone to be there, how will you find the person and what will it cost? How many volunteers will you need? Where? When?

Where will your office be? Why would the location matter? How much would rent cost for 6-8 weeks, or some period of your choice?

How much will phone service cost? How many phones will you need for the office? How many phones will you need for a "phone bank," if the Campaign Coordinating Committee approves one? How many callers will you need? How much space will it require? where?

DRAW UP A PLAN AND A PROBABLE BUDGET TO PRESENT TO THE CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

2 - Your second mission is to schedule the candidate and campaign manager and other speakers to "cover" the district. When can they be available?

What will you need to know about the district? Organizations that usually run candidate forums? Clubs that will invite or permit speakers? Neighborhoods that will meet for coffee? How can you gather this data?

What system can you set up to coordinate the calendar and be sure the candidate isn't scheduled in two places at once? Who will keep the "master schedule"? How will the messages be relayed?

3 - Other?

One copy for each member

SIMULATION - PUBLIC RELATIONS & MEDIA COMMITTEE

1 - Plan press conferences and news-making events that will give your candidate free press coverage. What is "going on" in the community that would allow the candidate to be seen and heard at no cost?

2 - Plan an advertising campaign that will "cover" the district media. What will be the main thrust, the platform, the slogan or headline that will tie the campaign together? Are there obvious ones?

How much do ads cost in the media in your area?
Newspapers (call the Display Dept. for rates)
Radio (call the major stations)
TV (call channels that serve your area)
Buses (do they have carcards inside? posters outside? costs?)
Billboards (any good locations? how much?)
Bumper stickers? Other ideas?

Estimate costs for photographs, flyers, brochures, palm cards, sample ballots, artwork and printing for posters, etc.
Estimate production costs for radio, TV. . . .

DRAW UP A PLAN AND A PROBABLE BUDGET TO PRESENT TO THE CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

3 - Find people who will write and coordinate fund appeals, letters to the editor, flyers, posters. Will they contribute their efforts to the campaign? If you would have to pay them, how much will it cost? Appoint a scrapbook chairman and someone to keep a record of free and paid news coverage and publicity.

SIMULATION - FINANCE COMMITTEE

One copy for each member

Some parts of the state are served by local TV channels, and TV is an important part of any political campaign. TV is very expensive -- both for the purchase of time and for the production of tapes and programs. If you can evaluate the importance of TV in your area BEFORE YOU START YOUR FINANCE PLAN, your figures can be more realistic. A big city daily newspaper will also run up bills faster than a small town paper.

Assumptions: That your candidate will be opposed by a candidate from another party, or by an independent.

That you will use some TV spots.

INFORMATION YOU NEED:

- Talk to officials of one or both parties. How much money is usually raised and spent by winners and lowers in this district? How is it usually raised?
- Survey the community. Are there businesses, products, or professional services whose owners or managers might offer free or lowcost services that you could use? Sympathetic printers, radio or television announcers or technicians might volunteer services or supplies at reduced rates or free.
- The other committees will bring in specific estimates for the items listed above...your job is to set up the system to bring in the money.

IF YOU ARE WORKING ON THE PLANS FOR A SPECIFIC PARTY OR CANDIDATE IN YOUR AREA, FIND OUT WHAT THE CANDIDATE'S PLATFORM AND ISSUE STATEMENTS INCLUDE. WHO WOULD BE MOST LIKELY TO SUPPORT THESE POSITIONS? WHO WOULD NOT SUPPORT THIS CANDIDATE? ARE THERE FRIENDS WHO MIGHT HELP, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE NOT USUALLY CONTRIBUTORS?

WHAT FUND-RAISERS WOULD YOU PLAN? Picnics? Dinners? Other? How much would you expect to clear after expenses are paid?

Assuming you have a list of previous contributors, would you send out a mailing? How much would it cost? What would you expect to raise from a mailing?

Is there PAC money in your area that this candidate might be eligible to receive? Would support of such a group cost the support of others?

WHAT REPORTING MUST YOU DO? TO WHOM? BY WHEN?

The campaign treasurer and the candidate are legally responsible for the money, the records, and the reports. Ask someone in a local party organization to show you the regulations and the report forms. Write a summary statement about the law on contributions, and share it with the Campaign Coordinating Committee. Everyone working on the campaign should be familiar with the regulations to prevent inadvertent violations.

Other ideas?

DRAW UP A PLAN AND PROBABLE BUDGET TO PRESENT TO THE CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE. Be sure to include estimates of your fund-raising expenses and a list of people in the community who might contribute materials/services.

One copy for each member

SIMULATION - GET OUT THE VOTE COMMITTEE

1. Records - Who are the usual supporters the party can probably count on in this election? How does the party know? Usually, there are master lists, a card file, or (more recently) a computer printout that shows as much information as can be assembled about the way each registered voter is believed to have voted or is likely to vote.

   This costs money to compile -- computer time, and printouts.

   But the information is only worth anything if it is kept up to date, and used.

   Assume that you have computer records of past preferences of most of the voters in your district. How will you update it? How will you know whether this particular candidate appeals to the same people that the last ones did? You'll need door-to-door or telephone call information, solicited by people known to the voter -- people he/she will talk to.

   Plan a neighborhood door-to-door campaign OR a phone bank. How many people will you need? How will you organize it? What will they say/ask?

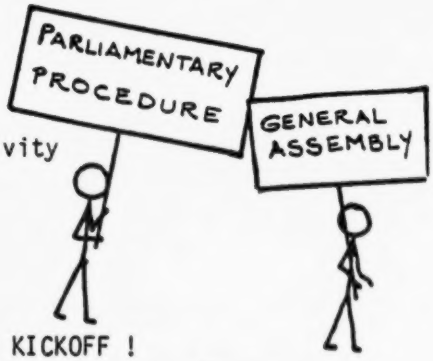
2. Are there groups this particular candidate might attract who may not be usual supporters of your party's candidates? How will you approach them? Who will approach them? What words will be used?

3. Do you plan a reminder, a call back, or some way to be sure your "favorables" still are favorable and intend to vote. You could also check on whether they need rides or baby-sitting. Party volunteers often make these calls over the weekend preceding election day. Plan a script that is a friendly reminder.

4. Party organizations that have volunteers on election day check the voting lists against their list of "favorables" and phone those who have not voted by 4 P.M., or some other appointed hour. Can you recruit people to record the names of those who vote as they are called off by the elections clerk? Can you find people to make the last minute reminder calls?

DRAW UP A PLAN - INCLUDING THE VOLUNTEERS YOU WILL NEED AND A BUDGET - TO PRESENT TO THE CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

If you are working on the plans for a specific party or candidate in your area, find out what the candidate's platform and issue statements include. Who would be most likely to help the party get out the vote? Are there neighborhoods you would want to give special attention? and others you would not give much time?

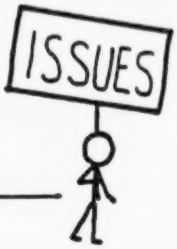


NOT JUST A GAME, but a compelling learning activity using basic legislative process, real issues, economics and politics in Virginia...it's a

MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TEACHER SETS IT IN MOTION, 3-4 WEEKS BEFORE THE KICKOFF !

- Checks resources, decides on time allotted and sets dates
- Identifies and discusses Virginia issues and news for weeks (months) in advance
- Gives out assignments, information, and deadlines
- Checks frequently to be sure assignments are receiving attention



STUDENTS DO THE WORK ENTHUSIASTICALLY !

- Learn about Virginia economic & political realities!
- Learn/use research skills, libraries, local experts, real legislators, state information sources!
- Contact officials with real issues/questions about politics, legislative procedures!
- Learn about coalitions that gain passage of regional concerns!
- Learn and use parliamentary procedure!

STUDENTS WORK HARDER...AND LEARN MORE ABOUT THE REAL WORLD !

E - CITIZEN POWER IN THE LEGISLATURE

Resources & Ideas for a Model General Assembly E 3
Plan & Suggested Timetable E 4 - 6
Simplified Chart: How A Bill Becomes A Law E 7
Selecting Districts for Student Assignments (map) E 8
Assignment Sheet - ALL Students E 9
Sample Letter to Assigned Legislator E 10
Bill Patron's Instructions E 11
Speaker/Pro tem & Chairperson's Instructions E 12
Instructions for a Well-Organized Clerk E 13 - 14
Parliamentary Procedure - A Few Basics E 15 - 16
General Assembly Issues - 1984 E 17
Visiting the General Assembly E 18
Attitudes & Test Questions E 19 - 20
Virginia House of Delegates, "The New Legislator" E 21 - 26
Summary of Revenue & Expenditures for 1982-84 (Pie Charts) E 27 - 32
University of Virginia News Letters:
  The 1982-83 General Assembly - Robert J. Austin
  Virginia State & Local Government Finances in the Eighties - John L. Knapp

RESOURCES & IDEAS FOR A MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN YOUR CLASSROOM

1 - You'll need student textbooks or supplementary resources that describe the structure and process of the Virginia General Assembly. See the Bibliography in Section A of this notebook.

- Will your students have access to copies of the Virginia Constitution?

- Is there an up-dated Code of Virginia in your community library for student reference?

- Have you a current copy of The Almanac of Virginia Politics to use in your classroom during the model general assembly? This book not only summarizes the economic and political makeup of each delegate district and senatorial district, but reports on the elections and voting records of each legislator. This information makes the model general assembly more realistic. If you do not have an Almanac, call 703-573-8716 or send $9.95 plus tax and 55¢ handling to 2310 Barbour Road, Falls Church, VA 22043. Up-dates are also available after each state election.

2 - Early in the school year, ask your school librarian to help you assemble vertical files on the issues you expect to be important in the elections and legislature. More than 700 lobbyists are registered for each assembly session and most of them will sent information on their positions. Ask your legislator for a list and send a form letter or card for materials on the issues you have chosen. These items might be marked to indicate their probable bias, or opposing views and lobbies might be listed on the file folder for cross-reference.

3 - Make a transparency of the simplified chart on "How a Bill Becomes a Law" or ask an artistically-inclined student to enlarge it on a poster and explain it to the class.

4 - Locate a local expert on parliamentary procedure and arrange to have a demonstration of its use in your classes. Check with your FFA advisor, English Department, other teachers, local service clubs, League of Women Voters, former local officials or legislators, students who have attended the YMCA Model General Assembly, and your school administrators to find the right person to lead the demonstration. Duplicate the 2-page summary in this section of the notebook, or make your own student handout.

5 - Include in your unit on Congress, the definitions of a legislator's roles as trustee, delegate, partisan, or politico. These concepts will help your students understand the pressures of legislative decisions in this model.

6 - Contact the Instructional Media & Technology Development & Dissemination Service, Virginia Department of Education, for an excellent 30-minute videotape showing the facilities and services of Virginia. Title: "Get Involved in Government, II: State Government." Virginia government services come alive, and the tape is new! (More coming!)

7 - Start a bulletin board of state issues, using materials from many sources that show differences of opinion. Students will enter the spirit of the model general assembly with more enthusiasm if they already have opinions on some of the issues. You can spot potential bill sponsors in the class.

8 - Watch for the appointment of General Assembly committees and chairpersons. From what students learn about the committee members and leaders, and about their home districts, can the fate of certain bills be predicted?

9 - Would a local grocer donate Virginia apples to the teams or classes which predict most accurately the winners in the elections throughout the state or the fates of a list of controversial bills? (Keep the prize a mystery!)

PLAN & SUGGESTED TIMETABLE FOR A MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A super learning activity and a great change of pace!

As early as possible in the school year

- begin including Virginia news in class discussions,
- assign a notebook page/section to issues in Virginia,
- assign a notebook page for names and titles, a Who's Who in Virginia,
- check with other government teachers to see if you need to coordinate plans, mail requests for information, questions to your legislators, and class visits by officials.

AT LEAST 3 WEEKS BEFORE YOUR MODEL G.A.

Read through this Section E. If you like to use attitude tests, before and after, see E 19. To tie in with Chapter 2 of the textbook, "By the Good People of Virginia.." Our Commonwealth's Government, identify 8 - 10 issues, and use broad-category budget charts (E 29-34). To tie in with Chapter 5 on Virginia Finances, you may want to ask your legislators for more detailed information or contact Legislative Services. The complete budget document is almost 400 pages long.

Make decisions (below) and give out assignments at least 3 weeks before you plan to begin your Model G.A. Students can send off for information while the class is completing another unit, or other sections of this notebook.

DECISION 1 - Each class should agree on a list of governmental issues, as a starting place for the bills for the model G.A. See the list (E 17) and the News Letter on the 1982-83 General Assembly. You may spot the patrons for the bills and lobbyists for one view or another in these early discussions. Give out BILL PATRON SHEETs to these students, so that they can do their research and write up a simple "bill."

DECISION 2 - WHICH HOUSE(S) WILL YOU USE FOR YOUR MODEL? If your class is large, has several leaders, and you have another classroom or meeting space available near-by, you might split the class and represent both houses--it would be realistically confusing! Most classes of average ability will be able to handle one house, and you might pair classes to gain the realism of passing each other's bills.

DECISION 3 - EACH STUDENT IS ASSIGNED A DISTRICT to represent. See Economic Regions Map in Section B of this notebook, District maps in the front pocket, or choose districts from each of the major areas of the state sectioned on the map on E 8. Include both urban and rural representatives. Post a list for each class. Spread out the assigned districts in your classes or with other teachers to avoid pestering individual legislators repeatedly.

DECISION 4 - WHICH STUDENTS WILL DO DOUBLE-DUTY AS SPEAKER OR PRO TEM, CLERK OR LOBBYISTS? The Speaker (or pro tem) should be a NATURAL LEADER who knows or should learn parliamentary procedure. Choose an ORGANIZED student to be clerk, to keep track of the bills and maintain a calendar on newsprint in the room so everyone can see it. Duplicate and give out instruction sheets to each appointee.

TWO DAYS AFTER YOU GIVE OUT ASSIGNMENT SHEETS, START ASKING FOR REPORT #1 (E 9)

ABOUT 2 WEEKS BEFORE YOUR MODEL G.A.

- POST A CALENDAR SHOWING DATES OF YOUR OPENING SESSION AND DATES OF FIRST COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Consider asking your delegate or senator to play the role of governor and give the opening address, identifying budget and legislative priorities. If the G.A. is in session while you are doing your model, you or an informed student might give a summary of the Governor's "State of the Commonwealth" address.
- POST THE STANDING COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT LIST. Assign every student to at least one of the 4-5 committees you create. They'll all meet at once, leading to very realistic conflicts for legislator/lobbyists and bill patrons. Create committees that would consider the issues/bills selected by each class. (See lists and ideas in this section and the News Letter on the 1982-83 General Assembly.)
- POST THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION CHART in the front pocket of this notebook, AND A POSTER (made by a student?) ON "HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW IN VIRGINIA."
- Duplicate Parliamentary Procedure sheets (E 15-16) and such other information as you think necessary from "The New Legislator" (E 21-26) for your Speaker/Pro tem, and committee chairmen.
- Ask about letters from legislators, and lobbyists. Collect Report #2.

ABOUT 1 WEEK BEFORE YOUR MODEL G.A.

- Duplicate Parliamentary Procedure sheets for all students, explain briefly and choose a couple of school or community issues for a demonstration of the techniques of managing a group. Who will be your guest expert to run the demonstration?
- Check with students assigned to be clerks. Have patrons submitted bills on the previously-chosen issues? Are there additional bills of the students' own choosing to be discussed? (If not, do you want to suggest a few?)
- Have you a "governor" for opening day?
- Make copies or a transparency on "How a Bill Becomes a Law." There are charts in the Chamber of Commerce books; League of Women Voters, Your Virginia State Government, and a simplified version in this section. Go over it with your students. Even if you taught it earlier in the course, it will have new meaning in the context of this model activity.

MANAGING THE MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Opening Day - Speaker declares the session officially open and introduces the "governor." After the "State of the Commonwealth" address, the house recesses. COMMITTEES MEET AND SCHEDULE HEARINGS ON THE BILLS THEY ARE TO CONSIDER. Times and places of public hearings should be posted in the classroom to alert lobbyists and patrons.

Second Day - First readings (bill numbers and titles) in general session. followed by committee meetings.

Third Day - First readings of new bills. Second readings and discussion or debate of bills that had first reading the day before. (Instructions on Speaker Sheet.) Committee meetings. ANNOUNCE CUT-OFF: NO MORE BILLS AFTER 4th DAY, or other day of your choosing.

Fourth Day - Last day for Clerk to receive new bills. Proceed as on third day. Clerk will probably need help from teacher to keep bills straight and duplicate or post corrected wording of bills for floor discussion.

(This pattern should be allowed to continue only so long as the discussion is producing information about students' personal views on issues OR the views of the legislator or district represented by the students. BEFORE ALL BILLS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT OUT OF COMMITTEE, announce the date of the end of the legislative session. There is never enough time, and the model session should end in a crush to be realistic.)

Note: If you are running a 2-house model G.A., the bills passed by one are then sent to the other for the same process -- committee to first, second, third readings. A committee of conference, composed of members of both houses, reconciles differences between bills not passed in identical form in the two houses. The conference report then must be passed by a majority of each house.

CONCLUSION: Teacher (or your guest governor) announces which bills will be "signed into law" and which vetoed. Give reasons (i.e., cost, difficulty of fair enforcement, ambiguity or duplication, conflict with other laws or levels of authority, or other impairment.) Have an over-ride session, if time and energy permit.

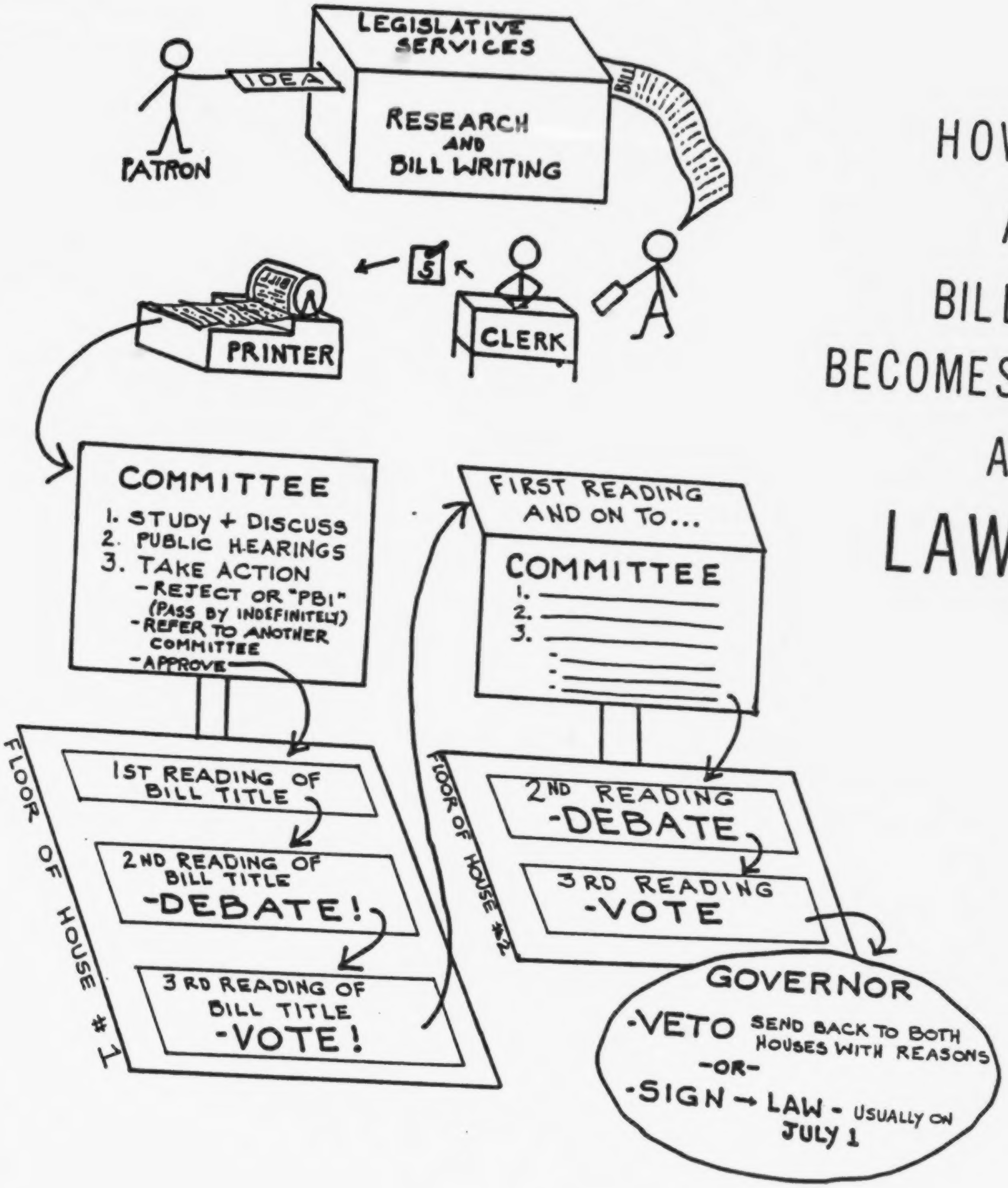
DE-BRIEFING: Some questions and discussion ideas are listed on E 18. Review for test on process, issues, officials, citizen input at various stages, vocabulary, subjective attitudes. Other ideas on E 19-20.

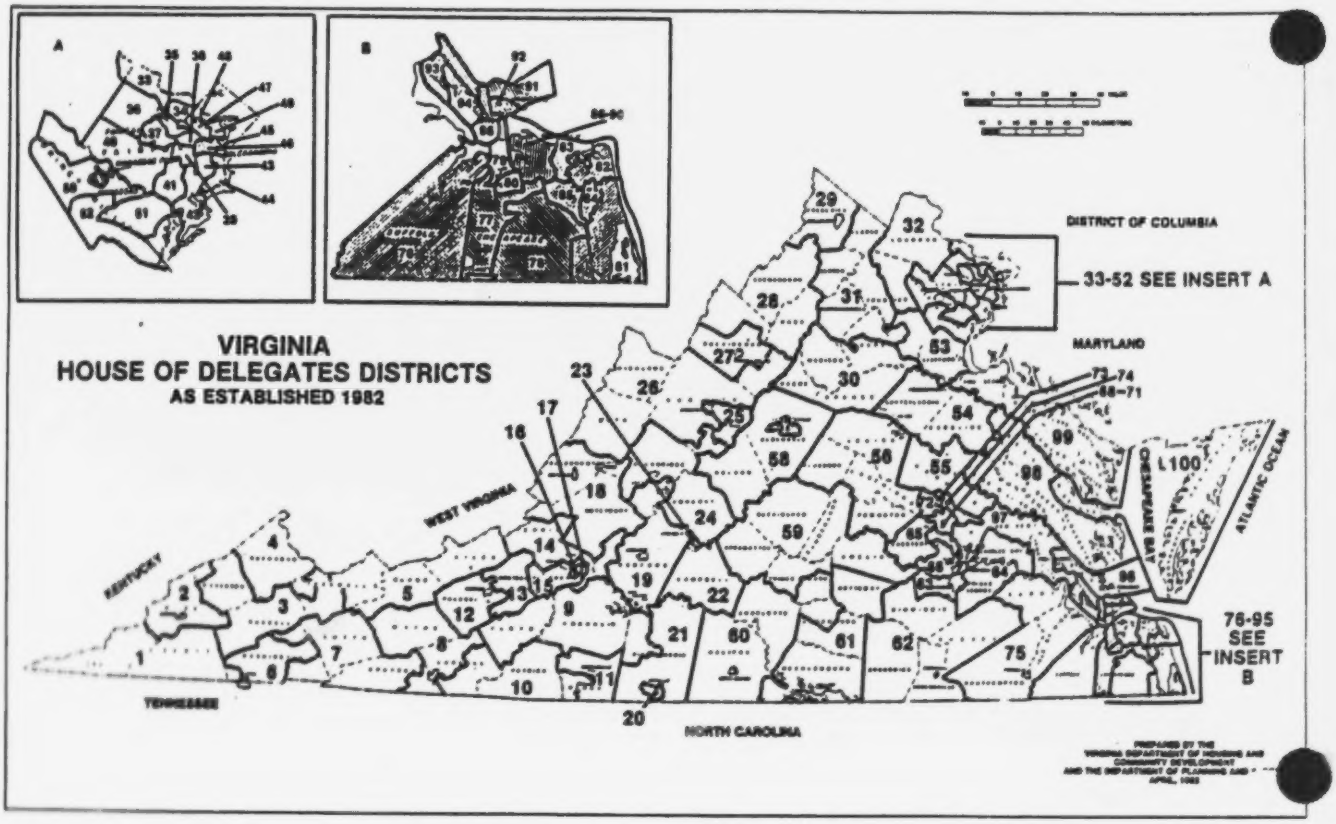
The procedures listed here do not include all the fine points. If you and your classes want to be more realistic, ask your legislator for a current copy of The Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates, attend sessions and hearings, and see if you can encourage clubs and organizations in your school to use correct parliamentary procedure in their meetings, so students will use it easily.

In any event, invite your legislators to speak to government classes BEFORE each session about the legislation they expect to hear, and again AFTER the session to discuss what actually happened and why. If you can videotape such interviews and show the tape to students before the legislator comes to visit the class, student questions and discussion might be sharpened.

If you use state and local government issues throughout the year in current events discussions, this Model General Assembly can become a high point of student involvement in the course. No national textbook chapters on state government can provide the insights on politics and build participation in the class and in the world outside of school as easily and with such enthusiasm as the study of current local problems that affect teacher and student pocketbooks and the petty details of our daily experience...air, water, traffic, trash, crime, negligence, health care, drugs, regulation, personal freedoms, community services, budgets and taxes......

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW


LEGISLATIVE SERVICES
IDEA
RESEARCH AND BILL WRITING
PATRON
BILL
BILL
S
CLERK
PRINTER
COMMITTEE
1. STUDY + DISCUSS
2. PUBLIC HEARINGS
3. TAKE ACTION
-REJECT OR "PBI" (PASS BY INDEFINITELY)
-REFER TO ANOTHER COMMITTEE
-APPROVE
FLOOR OF HOUSE #1
1ST READING OF BILL TITLE
2ND READING OF BILL TITLE -DEBATE!
3RD READING OF BILL TITLE -VOTE!
FIRST READING AND ON TO...
COMMITTEE
1.
2.
3.
FLOOR OF HOUSE #2
2ND READING -DEBATE
3RD READING -VOTE
GOVERNOR
-VETO SEND BACK TO BOTH HOUSES WITH REASONS
-OR-
-SIGN → LAW - USUALLY ON JULY 1


VIRGINIA
HOUSE OF DELEGATES DISTRICTS
AS ESTABLISHED 1982
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
33-52 SEE INSERT A
MARYLAND
72-74
68-71
76-95
SEE
INSERT
B
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
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100

TO SELECT DISTRICTS FOR STUDENT ASSIGNMENT:

1 - VERY IMPORTANT Find out how many classes in your school will be doing a Model General Assembly. In order not to bother the same legislators over and over, it is important that the teachers get together and coordinate assignments. If more than 100 students are involved, let the students who are assigned the same district get together and write one letter and one list of bills for the legislator's reaction.

2 - Divide the 100 districts by the number of students participating, less one for each House Clerk. (The clerk's job will be complicated enough without adding district representation to it.)

> Example: If only one class in your school is doing the Model General Assembly, and that class has 25 students, assign each student a district from each group of four districts. Choose one district from #1 - 4, one district from #5 - 8, one from #9 - 12, etc.

3 - Look over the choices to be sure you have an appropriate mix of urban and rural districts represented in each class.

ASSIGNMENT SHEET - ALL STUDENTS

District #___, House___ Senate___

3 THINGS TO DO IMMEDIATELY: Deadline: ____________________

1. Look up your assigned district in the Almanac of Virginia Politics or other sources. Find out about the population: What kind of people are there? Are their numbers growing? How fast? Why? What are the important industries and products? Describe the geography. Are there distinctive features that would influence the politics? How has this area voted in the past? Find the name and address of the person who represents this district in the house your class is portraying.

2 - Write to the current legislator in "your district." Use the sample wording, or rewrite it to suit yourself and request the same information. ENCLOSE a copy of the LIST OF BILLS/ISSUES your class is studying AND a STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for his/her reply. Make carbons or copies of letter and list.

3. REPORT # 1. Hand in a copy of the letter you sent clearly marked with the date you mailed it...AND a chart showing the class issues/bills and your guesses on how the legislator will respond to each one. Use columns for "little interest," "might co-sponsor," "probable yes vote." Can you tell from the information you found in your research (#1 above) how this legislator might vote on these bills? Can you identify any bills that might be of little interest to this part of the state, which the legislator might use in a trade for votes on a bill that would be important to this area?

---

4. In addition to the bills/issues identified on the class list, are there other concerns you have that you think the General Assembly should address? If you think "there ought to be a law about. . ." and you think others might agree, ask for the Bill Patron's Instruction Sheet and make one up!

---

5. REPORT #2. DUE 2 DAYS AFTER YOU HEAR FROM "YOUR" LEGISLATOR. Hand in what you receive AND a chart showing your analysis of the responses to specific issues. (Your chart might be another page taped to the bill list you sent for comment.) It should show your prediction of the response, your personal feelings about the bill and how you will probably vote in our Model General Assembly. If your lawmaker wrote out an analysis or attached conditions to his/her vote, be sure you analyze them so you can draw a conclusion from the information. Look up the definitions of DELEGATE, TRUSTEE, PARTISAN, and POLITICO in your text. From what you have learned about this district, if you were representing it in the General Assembly, which of these four legislative styles would you be most likely to use most of the time. Be ready to discuss this question and describe your reasoning.

   It would be wise to keep a copy of this information for your own use while your teacher is looking over the material.

6. Keep up your collection of clippings and other information on the issues your class is discussing. (Sign up if you want to do an explanatory poster showing one "side" of a controversy, or showing both pros and cons.

7. Review how a bill becomes a law in Virginia. Summarize it in your notebook so you will be ready to understand and participate in the process. THIS WILL BE ON THE UNIT TEST...AND ON QUIZZES, STARTING ALMOST IMMEDIATELY!

8. Go over the Parliamentary Procedure summary sheet. Learn how to make a simple motion, amend a motion, and vote. Where is parliamentary procedure used? Why? Why should you know it. THIS WILL BE ON THE TEST!

SAMPLE LETTER TO LEGISLATOR

Note: Envelope address is same as inside address. If the legislature is in session when you write, send your letter to the Richmond office; otherwise, send it to the legislator's home district office.

Title for address: *The Honorable Franklin Surry Madison*

Salutation for a delegate: *Dear (Mr., Mrs., or Miss) Madison,*
Salutation for a senator: *Dear Senator Madison,*

(Date)

The Honorable ___________
_____*(Address)*___________
____

Dear ___________________________,

Our government class is studying the General Assembly, and I have been selected to "represent" your __th District in a model session.

I read the description of the __th District in The Almanac of Virginia Politics. Is there additional information you think I should know to have a better picture of your views and your constituency?

Our class will be debating and voting on several bills during our model session and we would like to be as realistic as possible. I hope you can take a couple of minutes to note briefly your reactions to these bill titles or to note factors that would be important in determining your vote. The list and a stamped, self-addressed envelope are enclosed.

If you expect to introduce or co-patron bills in the next session, or if you think we have missed an important issue, it would be very helpful if you would include a title or a sentence or two of summary.

I will share your responses with others at my school, so your mailbox will not be filled with duplicate requests from ______ High.

Thank you very much,

(signed)
____
(your name and address)
____

Encl: 2
List
Return envelope

BILL LIST FOR LEGISLATOR'S REACTIONS:

BILL TITLE/SUMMARY	My District's probable reaction	Factors that would determine my vote
(List titles decided by your class.)	*(Leave blank for legislator to fill in.)*	
		(You might write a THANK YOU in the corner.) ↓

REMINDER: DO NOT FORGET TO ENCLOSE THE RETURN ENVELOPE

BILL PATRON INSTRUCTIONS

SO...you have a bill to propose? something you think should be done in Virginia? Good! That's what starts the process. Here's how to proceed:

1 - Look again at the steps in "How a Bill Becomes a Law."

2 - Write up the main idea of the bill in one statement that begins "A bill to..." amend existing law, legalize, prohibit, limit, extend, change, restore, fund, or other action...on some specific item, class of items, activity, law, or other.

Next add the source of any funds needed, the penalty for violation, the department or agency responsible for enforcement, or other information necessary for the idea to be implemented. If funds are required, try to approximate the cost per year.

3 - Find other legislators to co-patron the bill. The more co-patrons you have, the more votes you know the bill will have and the more advocates it will have when it is discussed. Do your co-patrons have suggestions for changes in your idea?

4 - Research your bill. The Division of Legislative Services does a thorough job of research on each bill it prepares for the General Assembly, but there are resources in your community YOU can use to check out some legal points in your bill. Look at the Virginia Constitution for powers and possible prohibitions. Find a copy of the Code of Virginia in your library or ask a lawyer to show you how to check the legality of your proposal. Is there already such a law? Would the funding, the penalties, or other details violate the Code?

5 - Write or type your bill in proper form (see below)*. Give two copies to the student serving as Clerk, who passes one on to the assigned committee.

6 - Help your bill pass the committee. Line up favorable votes. Find a lobbyist and an "interested citizen" or two to testify before the committee. Enlist for these roles any students who show concern, and who are not members of the committee considering it.

7 - Schedule a caucus of legislators who favor the bill to plan strategy. If the bill is not of vital interest to certain areas of the state, maybe you can swap votes on a project of theirs for support for your bill. Plan what each speaker will say at the committee hearing.

8 - Plan speakers for the bill on the floor of the house, if the committee reports it out favorably. What amendments might you accept to bargain for more votes. All patrons should speak in favor of their bills.

IF YOUR MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS TWO HOUSES, YOU WILL NEED TO BE SURE THAT THE BILL IS LOBBIED IN THE OTHER HOUSE. You might want to find a legislator in the other house to sponsor an identical bill and guide it through with co-patrons and lobbying.

---

* 1 HOUSE BILL # ___
2 Offered: ________________(fill in date)
3 Patron: ________________(fill in name)
4 Referred to the Committee on _____(fill in name of committee)

5 Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:
6 that ____________
7 ____________

SPEAKER/PRO TEM & CHAIRPERSONS INSTRUCTIONS

You have a great opportunity to learn, review, and help teach a technique that will be necessary to the success of the Model General Assembly in your class in a couple of weeks, a technique that could be VERY USEFUL to you in the future. People who use parliamentary procedure with skill and good humor are sought after for positions of leadership in groups of all kinds.

Check off each step as you complete it.

___ 1 - Recruit a stand-in for your role. Work together.

___ 2 - Read the 2-page summary of Parliamentary Procedure.

___ 3 - Read the 6-page material, "The New Legislator" (E 21-26)

___ 4 - Re-read the 2-page summary of Parliamentary Procedure.

___ 5 - Look for a film or other A-V materials in your library, English Department, or in your community. Your FFA advisor or student government coordinator may have materials or know where to find them.

___ 6 - Attend a meeting, if you can learn of one in your community where parliamentary procedure will be used. Write a brief evaluation of the skill of the chairperson and the group, based on your study.

___ 7 - Meet with others who will be conducting meetings and discuss what happens to motions, amendments to motions, votes, special motions and questions. How will you begin a session, and how will you end it?

___ 8 - Talk to a local expert to help run a demonstration for your chairpersons group or for your class. Plan some discussion questions and situations for the demonstration. Practice how you would handle them.

___ 9 - Plan additional helps for your classmates before and during the Model G.A. so they will understand proper ways to accomplish group action.

___10 - Practice to yourself and with your stand-in, until you are sure you can lead the group with skill and good humor.

Plan how you will manage the sessions and the calendar.

Work with the clerk of your house or the recorder of your committee each day to list bills on the calendar that will be debated or voted. What bills are ready for action? What bills are reported out of committee and should be on the house calendar?

Use a timer - Limit sessions to allow time each day for committees to work.

- Limit speeches. (2 minutes for patron, 1 minute for others?)
- Limit the number of speakers. Suggest that proponents caucus to plan strategy and manage time.

THERE IS NEVER ENOUGH TIME FOR LEGISLATORS TO STUDY AND DEBATE EVERY POINT. KEEP THE CLASS MOVING FAST TO BE REALISTIC!

Committee Chairpersons: Appoint a recorder immediately. Select someone you can count on to keep the committee's paperwork straightened out, to schedule hearings and discussions on each bill, to be sure the approved wording of each bill is passed along to the clerk of the house, put on the calendar, and considered by the whole group. It is your job to be sure that each bill assigned to your committee is acted upon: reported out (approved as presented or amended), referred to another committee, passed by/ignored (or killed) deliberately. Plan your strategies with committee members.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR A WELL-ORGANIZED CLERK (and notes for recorders.*)

The clerk in this Model General Assembly is similar to a real one, and VERY IMPORTANT to the success of the activity.

- The clerk receives two copies of each bill, prepared in proper form, from bill patrons, and assigns them numbers (H.B. 1, 2, 3, for House bills or S.B. 1. 2. 3. for Senate bills.)
- The clerk, in consultation with the speaker or pro tem, refers the bills to standing committees for consideration. (Three or four committees should suffice, with their names and missions adapted to the chosen issues.)
- The clerk receives two copies of committee-approved bills from the chairperson or recorder of the committee, as soon as they are approved.
- The clerk plans (with the speaker or pro tem) and posts the calendar for each day's session, differentiating
  HOUSE BILLS ON THEIR THIRD READING
  HOUSE BILLS ON THEIR SECOND READING
  HOUSE BILLS ON THEIR FIRST READING
  SENATE BILLS ON FIRST READING & REFERRED TO COMMITTEE
  HOUSE BILLS REFERRED TO THE SENATE

  (The Senate calendar would have opposite designations.)
- The clerk keeps track of the decisions made on the floor of the house.
- The clerk should recruit assistants (committee recorders) when needed.

THE CLERK IS THE HUB OF ALL THE PAPERWORK THAT MAKES THE MODEL FUNCTION. BE SURE YOU KEEP A COPY OF ALL IMPORTANT PAPERS THAT PASS THROUGH YOUR HANDS. USE TWO FOLDERS:

#1 - BILLS FILED. One copy of each bill submitted by a patron, marked with the bill number and the committee given the other copy.

#2 - BILLS RETURNED FROM COMMITTEE. One copy of the official committee-approved wording of each bill returned for floor consideration. (The second copy goes to the Speaker or pro tem.)
Note amendments AND check off readings: 1st__ 2nd__ 3rd__

KEEP THE FOLDERS IN A SAFE PLACE IN THE CLASSROOM. DON'T RISK LOSING THEM!

*Notes for recorders: The recorder chosen by each committee chairperson is the source of information vital to the job of the clerk. Keep careful note of corrections and double-check the copies of the bills you pass on for action on the floor. OFFER TO HELP THE CLERK BY PREPARING THE CALENDAR ENTRIES FOR BILLS FROM YOUR COMMITTEE. HELP ANY OTHER WAY YOU CAN.

Before you start your assignments as clerk, read and understand How a Bill Becomes a Law in Virginia. Read the materials on The New Legislator. Equip yourself with the file folders labeled as above, a stack of large 24" to 30" squares of newsprint, a selection of marking pens or bold crayons, tacks or tape appropriate and permitted for use on the walls or other surface of your classroom. Ask your delegate or senator for a copy of an official calendar to help you replicate the form. It should be neat; it must be legible. See ideas on how to do it. on the next page.

THE CALENDAR IS A KEY -- AND THE CLERK IS THE KEEPER OF THE CALENDAR

Calendar booklets are distributed each day the Virginia General Assembly is in session. Since you do not have a print shop in your classroom (and unlimited paper supplies) the following alternative is suggested to keep your student legislators informed of the progress of each bill. The same technique can post the wording of the bill being debated or voted where all participants can see it.

1 - You need an area 24" to 30" wide and at least 4' tall -- a wall that you can tape onto, or pin or thumb tack. A tall bulletin board is ideal. If several classes will be doing Model G.A.s in the same room, identify an area for each or use a separate backing sheet for each class that can be prepared and ready to hang at the start of the period.

If your classroom has hooks on sliders over the blackboard, you can stiffen the long side of a piece of posterboard by folding it over a yardstick or dowel and sealing the reinforcement with masking tape, then suspend it from the hooks with string loops.

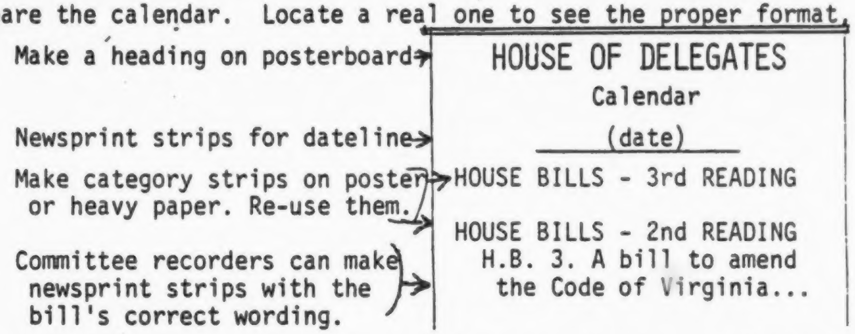
If your classroom has a tack strip, make the calendar heading on posterboard and pin it with longer-than-average tacks. Tape on newsprint panels as needed.

If your classroom has walls that can take tacks or masking tape, you need only identify sections for each class.

If you can neither tape nor tack, consider an easel and lots of paper.

As a last resort, mark off part of the blackboard for the calendar and tape newsprint to it, but reserve a part of the board for the clerk's use during debate to keep wordings and amendments straight.

2 - Prepare the calendar. Locate a real one to see the proper format.


Make a heading on posterboard
Newsprint strips for dateline
Make category strips on poster or heavy paper. Re-use them.
Committee recorders can make newsprint strips with the bill's correct wording.
HOUSE OF DELEGATES
Calendar
(date)
HOUSE BILLS - 3rd READING
HOUSE BILLS - 2nd READING
H.B. 3. A bill to amend the Code of Virginia...

3 - When legislators discuss bills, they have a printed copy of the latest wording in front of them. Accomplish this with markers and a big piece of newsprint, several big pieces of newsprint. Write the bill's wording in large letters so it can be seen all over the room. Tape the newsprint pieces to the board. As amendments are proposed, write them on the adjoining section of board, using the line numbers on the bill to key in amendments. When amendments are approved, patch the newsprint to show the changes. Type a copy of the bill as passed.

4 - If the bill is passed, the clerk sends it to the other house, if you are using a two-house model. If not, the bill is signed by the speaker or pro tem and delivered to the "governor" or teacher for signing or veto.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE - A FEW BASICS FROM ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER

-- To expedite majority decisions, while protecting each group member's rights
-- To assure freedom of speech and allow full debate before decision

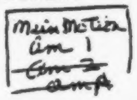
Anyone who works with groups and meetings or wants to understand the processes of legislative bodies should learn the proper use of parliamentary procedure. Virginia legislators follow the rules in The Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates, based on Robert's Rules of Order and Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice.

# # # # #

Some definitions and a sequence of action on a MAIN MOTION:

1. Chair - the presiding officer. All speakers must first be "recognized." (*"The chair recognizes the Delegate from Hampton"*)
2. *"I move..."* to propose any action by the body (group). Only one main motion may be "on the floor" or "before the body" at a time.
3. *"I second the motion"* The seconder believes the matter should be discussed, but is not committed to vote for or against. I no member seconds, the subject is dropped (no discussion, no vote). Chair proceeds with the agenda.

   -A poorly worded motion may lead to multiple amendments and confusion of the group and the procedure. A good chair will work before the meeting to be sure that motions are clearly worded. This saves time and patience.
4. Discussion/Debate. A seconded motion should be restated by the chair at the opening of debate. A proponent (someone who favors the motion) should speak first. Next, the chair asks if there are any members who wish a point clarified or additional information. Then, anyone who wishes is free to speak, though the chair may wish to alternate between those in favor and those opposed. No person should speak a second time until all who wish have spoken once.
5. *"I move the previous (or pending) question,"* This cuts off discussion and calls for a vote. It must be seconded, and (since it limits freedom of expression) approved by 2/3 vote. If approved, the vote on the motion follows immediately.
6. The chair restates the motion (or asks the secretary to), and then asks *"Those in favor, signify by saying aye,"*...then *"Those opposed, nay."* The chair rules on the majority and announces *"The motion has carried."* or *"...failed."*
7. AMENDMENTS. Controversial or spontaneous motions (and sometimes those carefully planned) often require some alteration in order to satisfy the majority. Amendments may add something to the original motion, take something out of it, or substitute something entirely different. This is where confusion may occur. AMENDMENTS ARE SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS and each must be seconded to be considered by the group...then it MUST BE APPROVED OR REJECTED BEFORE THE GROUP CAN CONSIDER ANY OTHER AMENDMENT OR VOTE ON THE MAIN MOTION. (Amendments themselves may be amended. An amendment-to-the-amendment must be voted on before the amendment itself can be brought to vote. The chair might keep a diagram of → the motions and ask the parliamentarian, secretary, or clerk to help keep motions in order.)



OTHER MOTIONS USEFUL FOR THE CONDUCT OF A MEETING (in order of precedence):

Privileged motions - have precedence over ALL others.

1. *"I move to adjourn,"* - to end the meeting with no provision to reconvene. This motion requires a second, cannot be amended or debated, and requires a majority vote to pass.
2. *"I move to recess until..."* - a temporary halt, meeting to resume at the stated time, exactly where it left off. This motion requires a second, can be amended but not debated, and requires a majority vote to pass.

3. *"Point of personal privilege"* - to request the extension of a courtesy to a member. Can interrupt speaker. Chair rules on the request, which may be to allow a member to introduce special visitors in the gallery -- particularly during the period designated as "the morning hour."

   "Point of privilege" to request a courtesy associated with the topic under discussion. Can interrupt speaker. Must be acted upon by the member at whom it is directed. *("Will the delegate yield to questions?")*

Subsidiary Motions - precedence over all others, except the 3 immediately above.

4. *"Move to postpone temporarily"* a motion under consideration until a stated time. Requires a second, and majority vote. Cannot be debated or amended.
5. *"Move the previous question"* - stop discussion, vote immediately. Requires a second, and approval of 2/3. Cannot be debated or amended.
6. Motion to limit or extend debate. Requires a second, and 2/3 approval. May be amended in limited ways (i.e., to change time). Cannot be debated.
7. Move to postpone or refer to committee - either essentially kills the motion, unless a specific plan for reconsideration is included. Requires second, and majority vote to pass. May be amended and debated.

Main Motions - see procedure on reverse.

Specific Main Motions - to rescind a previous decision, to reconsider or resume consideration of a previous motion. Must be seconded. Require majority vote.

Incidental Motions - all must be decided immediately since they concern the conduct of the meeting:

- *"..appeal the chair's decision* - to challenge decisions on rules, votes, procedures. A tie vote or majority is required to overturn the chair's decision. A member may interrupt any speaker with this appeal. It requires a second, is debatable, but NOT amendable.
- A member who made a motion may *"Withdraw the motion"* with no second or vote.
- *"Point of order"* - A member may interrupt any speaker when something contrary to accepted procedure seems to be taking place. It requires a second, cannot be amended or debated, or voted. Chair or parliamentarian responds.
- *"Parliamentary inquiry"* - A member may interrupt any speaker with a parliamentary question. No second or vote. Chair or parliamentarian responds.
- *"I move to suspend the rules"* to permit an action not usually allowed. Must be seconded, cannot be debated or amended. Requires 2/3 approval.

The chair directs traffic to keep the group functioning on course. When discussion becomes repetitive: *"The chair will entertain a motion to call the question."* If the group is divided or unable to agree: *"The chair will entertain a motion to refer the matter to committee"* - perhaps setting a time for the report or naming the committee. The chair sees to it that the body understands the question under discussion at all times, and states it clearly immediately before any vote. The chair should *"entertain a motion to recess until 2 P.M."* or *"..for 30 minutes"* when the members need a break or when a caucus (meeting) might help members break a deadlock. When the agenda is completed, the chair may *"entertain a motion to adjourn."* A member responds *"So moved,"* another member says *"Second the motion."* The chair calls for the vote and rules on the majority.

Members "lose the floor" if they don't remain standing, or if they violate parliamentary procedure. If they *"yield the floor to.."* another member, it is assumed that they may resume when the other member is finished.

1987 GENERAL ASSEMBLY ISSUES

Study Commissions Between sessions, commissions of legislators and other appointees determine the basic direction and content of the bills that will be proposed in the next session. Citizens who hope to influence legislation often can be much more effective during this formative period. Teachers and students looking for information BEFORE the General Assembly debates begin can contact members of the study committees and commissions for information and reports on bills they plan to follow. Ask your Delegate or Senator for information, or contact Legislative Services, General Assembly Building, 910 Capitol Street, Richmond, VA 23219.

Here is a partial list of the studies currently underway in prepartion for the 1987 General Assembly:

- Savings and loan and interest rate laws
- Water suppply and wastewater treatment facilities
- Model Joint Custody Act
- Teenage pregnancies
- Screening of adults working with children
- Tourism and economic development
- Conflict of interest laws
- Virginia High School League
- Acid rain
- No pass/no play
- Transportation in the twenty-first century
- Alzheimer's Disease
- Tidal shoreline erosion policy
- Purchase of foreign coal
- Taxation of public service corporations
- Proposed federal income tax changes
- Charitable contributions
- Toxic Substances Information Act
- Group Insurance for the unemployed
- Good Samaritan exemptions
- Governor's Commission on the Efficiency of State Government

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OTHER PERENNIAL & UNRESOLVED ISSUES -- & A FEW NEW ONES

- Equal Rights Amendment - Privileges & Elections Committee
- Repeal of sales tax on food and nonprescription drugs - Committee on Finance
- Changes in drinking age - Additions to the 1983 legislation?
- Bottle Bill - Conservationists want deposits, bottling companies don't
- Tobacco tax - our rate is second lowest in the nation
- Sales tax - Should it be broadened to cover services? - Committee on Finance
- Increased medical and social service costs - decreased federal funds
- Gasoline tax receipts down - smaller cars. Tax on %, not per gallon?
- Twin-trailers - safety problems and highway wear-and-tear, federal dollars
- Budget - Raise taxes or cut programs to fund new/more services? DECISIONS!
- A bond issue for capital needs to ease operating budget pressures
-

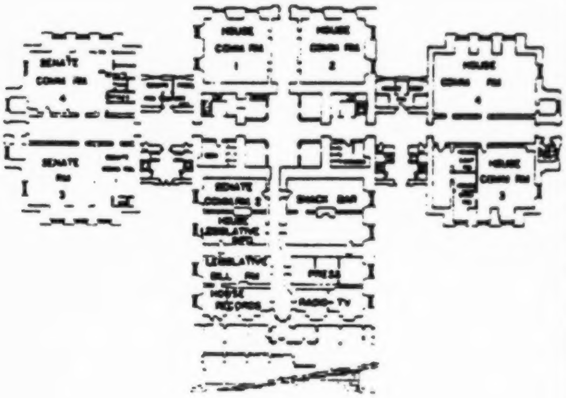
EACH CLASS SHOULD CHOOSE AT LEAST 8 - 10 ISSUES AND SELECT 3 - 4 PATRONS TO LEAD THE RESEARCH AND DEBATE ON EACH. See the Bill Patron Instructions.

VISITING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ...

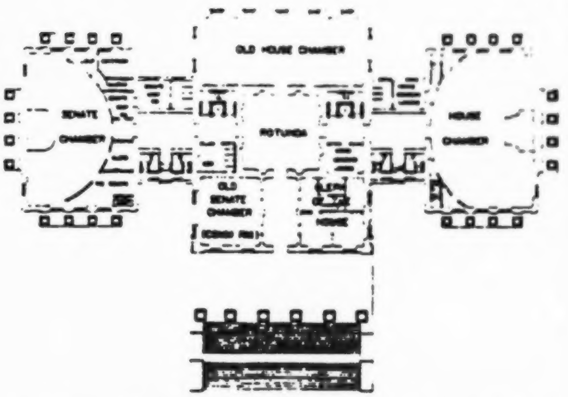
Our Virginia State Capitol is an important part of Virginia and United States history. It is well worth a tour, and guides are available in the Rotunda. When the General Assembly is in session, the building is full of people, and since the halls and stairs are narrow, it is very hard to keep a group together. The House and Senate galleries often cannot accommodate all who would like to watch the sessions, so visitors may be allowed only a short time in the gallery, though there is usually plenty of seating in nearby rooms equipped with TV.

Virginia State Capitol

First (Ground) Floor


SENATE COMM RM 4
HOUSE COMM RM 1
HOUSE COMM RM 2
HOUSE COMM RM 4
SENATE RM 3
SNACK BAR
HOUSE COMM RM 3
PRESS
RADIO-TV
HOUSE RECORDS

Second Floor


OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
SENATE CHAMBER
ROTUNDA
HOUSE CHAMBER
OLD SENATE CHAMBER
COMM RM
HOUSE

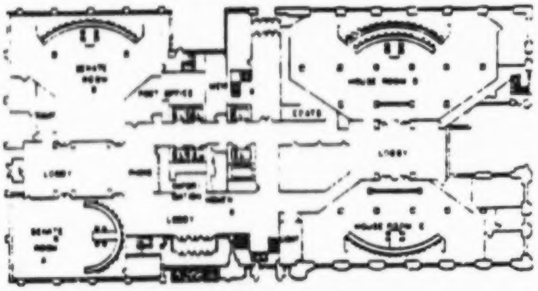
The second floor mezzanine houses the offices of the speakers of the Senate and House as well as the visitors' galleries. The Governor's office is located on the third floor.

Some schools have excused absence procedures that would permit a few students to visit the General Assembly on their own, and share a report with the class on their return. Anyone planning to visit should check with a legislator's office to choose a day when interesting committee hearings and floor debate are scheduled. Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays usually offer good choices.

Parking may be difficult. Go early and plan to pay $3 or $4 for a spot in a parking garage, then walk to the Capitol and General Assembly Building.

General Assembly Building

First Floor


POST OFFICE
LOBBY
LOBBY
LOBBY

The General Assembly Building is across the street from the Capitol, on the northwest corner of the square. It has additional meeting rooms on the first floor, and offices of all legislators on the floors above. The directory on the wall near the elevators will help you find any member's office. There are also conference rooms on the upper floors.

QUESTIONS - FOR ATTITUDE SURVEYS AND UNIT TESTS

Try a form such as the following before and after studying politics and elections. It will make interesting discussion, and might show a change of attitude in the class as a whole, and reveal a few students who are ready to accept the challenge of participation. Reading about politics and elections is unlikely to make much difference. Getting actively involved, contacting live officials and researching and discussing current issues CAN make a big difference! Try it! Remember that attitude surveys are always anonymous and handed in separately from other papers.

Check which of the following you would be willing to do:
___ Register to vote.
___ Vote.
___ Join the local political (Democratic or Republican or ?) organization.
___ Sign a petition endorsing a candidate for office.
___ Sign a petition for certain legislation.
___ Write letters to your legislator expressing your views on certain bills.
___ Hand out campaign literature for a party/candidate, door-to-door/mall.
___ Work regularly at campaign headquarters before an election.
___ Propose legislation and organize support for it.
___ Attend public hearings on proposed legislation: __local, __state.
___ Speak for or against legislation at a hearing: __local, __state.
___ Be a candidate for office, __soon, __perhaps in the future.
___ Be a campaign manager, or other key party official.
___ Work for a party or candidate.

IDEAS FOR TEST QUESTIONS BASED ON THE MODEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1 - Make a list of the bills we debated in our model G.A., then add three columns and fill in "My constituents' feelings," "My preference," and "How I Voted."
Analyze your vote. Were you acting as a trustee, delegate, partisan, or politico? Is it likely that you would be reelected? If you think it would be close, how would you explain your record to the voters?

2 - (Questions about parliamentary procedure)

3 - (Questions about General Assembly customs and procedure)

4 - (Questions about how a bill becomes a law - arrange the steps in order?)

5 - Describe the legislators and the political action committees and other lobbyists on two or more sides of one of the bills we debated. (Or specify a different bill in each class.)

6 - Describe the role of the legislator and what difference it would make in his work and his votes if he had little/some/much contact and direction from his constituents.

7 - Vocabulary - words from the legislative process and words from the issues.

8 - Describe the role of the speaker/pro tem, a committee chairman, the clerk or recorder.

9 - If you were running for the General Assembly, what would be your platform?

10 - If you were redesigning the legislative process, what changes would you recommend? Explain your reasons.

11 - (Questions about lobbyists - over 700 were registered for the 1983 session. Some provide valuable information: most make campaign contributions.)

A model General Assembly is a learning experience with many facets. It is useful to call student attention to the deliberate inclusion of these cognitive, affective, and skills components. This form will give you useful feedback.*

Reminder: Attitude surveys are always submitted anonymously, without identification, and handed in separately.

Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always	Always	
						Classroom atmosphere provided a chance to express ideas, attitudes, and feelings without fear of peer ridicule.
						Classroom atmosphere provided a chance to express ideas, attitudes, and feelings without fear of teacher ridicule.
						Model exercise provided the development of greater communication with other students (exchange of ideas, insights).
						Model exercise provided the development of greater communication with my teacher (exchange of ideas, insights).
						As the model progressed, I became aware or more aware of my academic strengths and ways to improve them.
						As the model progressed, I became aware or more aware of my academic weaknesses and ways to correct them.
						Through discussion of issues and procedures, I developed insight into different viewpoints and thought patterns.
						Had to develop greater resourcefulness in researching data.
						Had to develop new skills of debate and persuasion.
						Received enough attention and suggestions from teacher to complete each step successfully.
						Received enough cooperation from other students to complete each step successfully.
						Felt that my contribution as an individual was valuable and sought-after.
						Feel that the information gained about Virginia politics and issues will have a carry-over after graduation.
						Feel that the insights gained about human nature and behavior may have a carry-over into other areas of my life.

Please comment below and on the back of this paper. Your reactions to the good aspects of this activity and to things that need improvement will be a great help in planning future sessions of the model assembly.

* *Developed by Pat Bell,*
Waynesboro High School

EXCERPTS FROM "THE NEW LEGISLATOR"

(Notes and quotes from official instructions,
House of Delegates - 1984)

This publication is given to new members of the House of Delegates, prior to each session. It contains valuable information about the conduct of business in the House. Senate business is conducted in almost the same way.

The new legislator must learn his/her job: the formalities of the legislative process, all the fine points of how a bill vecomes a law, the different kinds of committees and bills, and parliamentary procedure.

The freshman legislator is expected to do his/her homework, to learn how committees work and to be reasonably quiet until familiar with procedures and customs. In order to be relied upon and trusted, a legislator must never make commitments or promises that he/she does not expect to keep.

Legislators are expected to be polite and courteous, particularly in debate.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Privileges and Elections
Courts of Justice
Education
General Laws
Roads & Internal Navigation
Finance
Appropriations
Counties, Cities & Towns
Corporations, Insurance & Banking
Health, Welfare & Institutions
Conservation & Natural Resources
Agriculture
Labor
Claims
Chesapeake & Its Tributaries
Mining & Mineral Resources
Militia & Police
Rules
Nomination & Confirmations

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Agriculture, Conservation & Natural Resources
Commerce & Labor
Courts of Justice
Education & Health
Finance
General Laws
Local Government
Privileges & Elections
Rehabilitation & Social Services
Transportation
Rules

The Standing Committee members are appointed by the Speaker in the House of Delegates, with some consideration to the background and vocation of the members as well as their requests. The Speaker also attempts to attain a fairly balanced representation of the ten Congressional Districts on the committees. Standing committees use the Rules of the House in conducting their business. Committ4es may decide to (1) hold a bill for further study and action at a later date; (2) report the bil with or without amendment to the House for debate, or recommend that it be referred to another committee; (3) report to the floor a committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill, or (4) pass it by indefinitely and thus kill the bill.

THE HOUSE CHAMBER: DECORUM, CUSTOM, AND PROCEDURE

Observance of the floor rules and procedures is essential to the character of the Virginia House of Delegates. The Rules, which are adopted when the House is organized every two years, are designed to insure the orderly and efficient flow of business. Any discussion of decorum and procedure, then, must begin with the Rules of the House. The Rules are found in the *Manual of the House of Delegates*, as well as in a separate publication. The Rules, along with *Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, should be read with care.

What follows is a summary of important points concerning the orderly conduct of the daily sessions of the House. Only experience will put the new member completely at ease with the conduct of business, but the following points should be of some initial help.

Order of Business

The morning hour is defined as that period between the time when the Speaker convenes the session and the time that the Calendar is called. This is the normal period to address matters of "personal privilege." After the morning hour, the House shall proceed to consider bills and resolutions in the order set forth in the printed Calendar. After the Calendar is read and debate on all bills is concluded, a member may rise and request the Speaker to "return to the morning hour." If this is granted he may then present those matters to the House.

Addressing the House

When a member rises to speak he shall, standing in his place, respectfully address, "Mr. Speaker"; he shall confine himself strictly to the question before the House and, when he has finished, he shall sit down. He may seek permission to use the center aisle; however, this is done only for important purposes. A point of personal privilege refers to some compelling personal matter of interest to the member. If this occurs the member should rise at an opportune moment and the Speaker will state, "For what purpose does the gentleman (or gentlewoman) from.............. rise?" The member would then reply, "Mr. Speaker, to a point of personal privilege," and then he would proceed to state his case.

When the House is in session a member should never, even in the heat of debate, address another member directly by his proper name. He should always ask the Speaker's permission to address another member and then while speaking should refer to another member as "the gentleman (or gentlewoman) from ...."

When two or more members rise at the same time, the Speaker shall name the person to speak, but in all cases the member who shall first rise and address the Chair shall speak first. Also, no member may speak more than once on any question until all others who want to speak have done so. He may not speak more than twice without the consent of a majority of the members present.

A member is allowed to speak on a bill while it is on its second reading. During this time a member may debate or ask questions. In questioning a member, permission to do so must be granted by the Speaker. For example: A member is speaking on a bill. The member who wishes to ask a question may stand and interrupt the member who is speaking by saying, "Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman (or gentlewoman) from .... yield for a question?" The Speaker puts this question to the speaking member by saying, "Will the gentleman (or gentlewoman) from .... yield for a question from the gentleman (or gentlewoman) from ....?" The speaking member may reply, "I will yield for a question." If he does not wish to yield for a question he may reply, "I decline to yield." If he so desires he may explain his reasons for not yielding. The Speaker will then say, "The gentleman (or gentlewoman) declines to yield." If a member does propound a question, he must remain standing while his question is being answered. When the inquiring member takes his seat, the Speaker will assume the question has been answered and will proceed with the business of the House.

In some cases the patron of a bill would not want to speak to, nor have the vote taken on, his bill after its second or third reading. In this case, when the bill is reached on the Calendar, the patron would immediately stand and say, "Mr. Speaker, I move the bill be passed by for the day" or "Mr. Speaker, I move the bill be passed by temporarily." In this case, the bill is placed at the end of the Calendar. In rare instances the motion could be put to a vote. Under House Rule 63, such a motion takes precedence over all other motions except for a motion to adjourn. Thus, a motion to pass by could technically call for an immediate vote. A vote is seldom taken, however, and the Speaker will simply note the request of the patron and pass the bill by.

Pending a debate any member may move for the "previous question" or the "pending question," provided that no other motion or remark is made. The pending question shall be put in this form: "Mr. Speaker, I move the pending question," or "I move the previous question." (See House Rules 65 and 66.)

A point of order may be used to challenge any point of procedure and is decided by the Speaker without debate, subject to an appeal to the House.

House Rule 53 provides that: "The Speaker shall preserve order and decorum; may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose, and shall decide questions of order without debate, subject to an appeal to the House." If the decision relates to a question of decorum or propriety of conduct, it shall not be debatable; if it relates to the priority of business or the relevancy or applicability of propositions, the appeal may be debated, but no member shall speak on it more than once, except by leave of the House.

Chamber Etiquette

House Rule 83 states that only members of the General Assembly, former members, members of the Congress of the United States, state officers, judges, officers and certain employees of the General Assembly, and such other persons as the Speaker may designate, shall be permitted on the floor of the House during the session thereof; provided that the privileges granted hereunder shall not be exercised by any person having business for compensation before the House or any committee thereof. The officers of this body shall enforce this rule under the direction of the Speaker.

Under § 2.1-358 of the Code of Virginia any member has the right to introduce, debate and vote on legislation with which he is particularly familiar because of his employment, background and occupation unless a member shall determine in his own discretion that such action involves self-interest or a conflict of interest.

The Hall of the House may be used for no other purpose than the sessions of the House and for meetings of the committees and members of the legislature on public affairs, except by vote of the House.

House Rule 60 provides that: "No member shall, while the House is sitting, interrupt or hinder its business by standing up, leaving his place, moving about the Hall, engaging in conversation, expressing approval or disapproval of any of the proceedings, or by any other conduct tending to disorder and confusion." This rule is not rigidly enforced by the Speaker, though it should be taken into consideration.

Informal Rules

As in any formal organization, the General Assembly does not depend upon its formal rules alone to guide its procedure. Informal rules are often just as important, if not more so, than formal rules. Surely the two most important informal rules deal with matters of integrity and matters of courtesy.

Once a member of the Assembly has made a commitment to another member, honor requires that he keep that commitment. Under unusual circumstances, a member may feel he must change his original commitment. When such is the case, the member must first discuss the situation with the member to whom he made the commitment. If a member has pledged a patron support of his bill and then fails to vote for the bill without first speaking with the patron, the integrity of the member's word has been severely damaged.

Because a member must maintain his integrity, he should be careful in agreeing to endorse (sign as a co-patron) a bill presented to him by its patron. If the member generally favors the bill but feels it needs a few changes or refinements, he should ask that the changes be made before he signs the bill, rather than in committee, on the floor, or in the Senate.

In matters of courtesy one rule can guide a member's conduct. When a member is contemplating an action which will affect other members of the Assembly, he should inform whomever his action will affect before he acts. Such a consideration is of particular importance if a member intends to take an action which will in any way affect a bill introduced by another member.

If a member wishes to amend another member's bill, he should make every effort to present his amendments in committee. If he does not become aware of the bill until it reaches the floor, he should speak with the bill's patron concerning his proposed floor amendment. The patron can then respond to the member privately, as well as formulate rebuttal arguments for delivery on the floor. Such a course may appear tactically unwise to the prospective amender, but he should remember that the same courtesy will be extended to him when another member wishes to amend one of his bills.

Guiding a Bill Through the House

The member wishing to introduce a bill or resolution must present to the Clerk of the House one "original" and two copies of the bill as drafted by the Division of Legislative Services.

The member may present the copies of his bill to the Clerk at his desk in the Chamber during the daily sessions of the House, or he may "prefile" the bill. Bills may be prefiled with the Clerk's office no earlier than sixty days before the sixty-day session begins, but bills may be prefiled up to six months prior to the thirty-day session. Patrons should secure the signatures of all the desired co-patrons before they prefile their bills. Bills may be prefiled by mail; certified or registered mail is preferable.

Bills calling for a charter change must be submitted on or before the first day of the session. A member is well advised to file all his bills as early as possible, so that they will receive early committee and House consideration. The logjam of bills to be considered near the end of the session can easily prevent a committee from giving a bill the full attention it deserves. Early filing–prefiling, if possible–serves the interests of both the patron of the bill and of the House as a whole.

After the bill is introduced, it is ordered printed and referred to the appropriate committee. As noted in the section on committees, the committee clerk will notify the patron of the date on which the committee will consider the bill. If the committee reports the bill to the House, it is given to the Clerk for its first reading.

On the first reading the bill number and title are printed on the Calendar or are read by the Clerk.

The second reading of the bill occurs the next day and is the time at which the patron explains his bill to the membership of the House as a whole. The bill is subject to debate and amendment on its second reading. First, the Clerk calls the bill by number and reads the title. Then the patron "speaks to the bill," explaining its intent to the membership. At the beginning of his remarks to the House the member should state, "Mr. Speaker, I wish to present the following........" After he has explained his bill (and any amendment to it, if there is one), he customarily finishes with the words, "I hope it will be the pleasure of the House to advance the bill to its third reading." As noted in the section on decorum, once the member has spoken to the bill, he may not speak again, except in answer to a direct question, until all other members have had a chance to speak on the bill.

If a bill passes its second reading it is engrossed. If amendments are adopted, the bill is reprinted incorporating the changes. The next day it is placed on the Calendar for its third and final reading. At this point the House determines whether the bill will pass and be sent to the Senate for its consideration. Normally on the third reading, after the Clerk reads the title, the

Speaker says, "Shall the bill pass?" A recorded vote is then taken and the bill is either passed or defeated.

Note, however, that even after approval on the second or third reading, amendments to the bill may be made. A bill can be spoken to on the third reading but not amended, so the procedure used to accomplish such amendment is rather complicated.

For example, the member who wants to amend the bill after it has passed its second reading must first be recognized by the Speaker. He would then move to "reconsider the vote by which the bill was engrossed and return it to its second reading for purposes of amendment." This motion can only be made by one who was on the prevailing side of the vote on the bill at its previous reading.

A motion to reconsider is not in order if the action of the House has been communicated to the Senate. If it has not been communicated, the motion to reconsider must be made within two days after the bill's final reading and passage. If the motion to reconsider is approved, then other motions are in order.

Although a member cannot argue for or against a bill on its third reading without making a "motion to reconsider," he may "speak to the bill." The difference between debate and "speaking" is subtle.

Specifically, on the third reading, the member may "speak" for or against, but he cannot yield for argument to another member during his statement. This technique is sometimes used by one who endorsed a bill as it was originally introduced but disagrees with it in amended form. At this time he may put "on record" his reasons for not supporting the bill on third reading.

When a bill is passed on the third reading, it is sent to the Senate either by the Clerk in a communication or by a member in person. The Clerk or member informs the Senate that the bill has passed the House and that the House requests the concurrence of the Senate.

The bill is referred to a Senate committee, and the patron will have the opportunity to speak to his bill before that committee. Since a House patron cannot explain his bill on the floor of the Senate, it is therefore the responsibility of the Delegate to make certain that a Senator is prepared to do so.

If a bill originating in the House is sent to the Senate and then returned to the House with a Senate amendment that is unacceptable to the bill's chief patron and the House as a whole, proceedings can begin which may result in the appointment of a Committee of Conference to resolve the differences, in an effort to produce a measure acceptable to both houses.

Points to Remember About Floor Debate and Voting in the House of Delegates

The section on decorum, custom, and procedure discussed the method by which a bill's patron may request that his bill be passed by temporarily or for the day. Such a request may also be made by the patron during the debate on his bill if it appears that it is needed to eliminate another member's difficulty or if an amendment is necessitated by questions raised on the floor.

If an unrecorded division on any question is desired, a request to the Speaker for a "division" may be made. A vote is then taken by a show of hands. A member may request a recorded division by addressing the Speaker and requesting a vote of "ayes and nays." The Speaker will then request a vote of those who wish "ayes and nays." In order to call for such a recorded division there must be twenty percent of those members present supporting such procedure. The call for the "ayes and nays" must be timely.

If a member is in his seat but fails to vote, this fact may be called to the attention of the Speaker by another member and he will be recorded as voting "no."

THE LEGISLATIVE DAY

There is no "typical legislative day" which could accurately describe the activities of all, or even most, legislators during the span of a General Assembly session. The member's daily schedule varies according to the time required for formal sessions and his individual committee assignments.

One of the member's committees may meet two mornings a week; another may meet two afternoons a week. Some committees meet less often than others. In any event, committee meetings are scheduled around the House sessions, so that no committees meet during the sessions, except in unusual circumstances. The member with a morning committee meeting may wish to stop by his office to check his mail, or he may simply wait until the House recesses in the afternoon to do his office work.

Aside from House and committee sessions, the member may also have subcommittee meetings. Subcommittees usually consist of about three members who, at the request of the committee chairman, study several bills and report to the full committee. Subcommittees meet at a time and place convenient to the members.

Answering mail, conferring with colleagues, consulting Legislative Services, studying pending legislation, and meeting constituents and lobbyists are a few of the activities that fill a member's "free" time. The member also receives invitations to various social events and presentations, which provide even more variety to the legislative day.

House sessions grow longer as committees report a greater number of bills. In the last few days the House is often in session for the entire day and well into the night.

Commonwealth of Virginia
Office of the Comptroller

Annual Report of the Comptroller
to the Governor of Virginia for the
Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1985

December 13, 1985

Edward J. Mazur, C.P.A.
Comptroller

P.O. Box 6-N
Richmond, Virginia 23215

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia
State Capitol
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Governor Robb:

In compliance with the provisions of Section 2.1-207 of the *Code of Virginia*, (1950), as amended, I hereby submit my report on the financial condition of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1985. As further elaborated upon within the remainder of this letter, my report presents the performance of the Commonwealth on both the cash and the accrual bases of accounting. Under the cash basis, our performance resulted in a General Fund surplus of $47.1 million and a total balance in the General Fund of $343.9 million at June 30, 1985. Under the accrual basis, which we have employed in order to conform with financial reporting standards for governments, our performance resulted in a total General Fund balance of $422.7 million, of which $125.9 million was unreserved and undesignated. Performance under both of these bases of accounting has resulted in a continued strengthening of the General Fund of the Commonwealth, a positive achievement that will be well received by the members of the financial community who purchase the Commonwealth's bonds. This strengthening will also assist the State in maintaining its "triple A" bond rating.

This comprehensive annual financial report has been prepared in conformance with generally accepted accounting principles, except as noted in the Auditor's Opinion section of this report, and except as further amplified in the Notes to the Financial Statements. This conformance is the result of significant progress toward reporting in complete conformity with standards established by the Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB) and the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB). For example, in this year's financial statements we have reflected the Higher Education Fund, for the first time, in accordance with the National Association of College and University Business Officers' *College and University Business Administration* (1982); and the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants' *Audits of Colleges and Universities* (1975). In addition, we have implemented a new lease accounting system, in accordance with SFAS Number 13, that has resulted in the reporting of $18 million in assets that the Commonwealth is currently leasing. We have also continued to implement the Statewide property management system, and have added an additional $1,046 million in fixed assets to the financial statements over fiscal year 1984.

This report also reflects continued progress in conforming to the recommendations of the Government Finance Officers Association regarding the format of comprehensive annual financial reports. Further, we are working to anticipate and respond to new requirements currently being established by the Governmental Accounting Standards Board.

The Commonwealth of Virginia remains in the forefront of states that are bringing their financial reporting into full compliance with generally accepted accounting principles. Maintaining a progressive position in the financial reporting area is consistent with our objective of providing the users of our financial statements, including those in the investment community, with a complete disclosure of financial position. It is also consistent with our objective of improving the ability of the State's senior management to evaluate the financial condition of the Commonwealth.

Management's Responsibilities

This report has been prepared by the Department of Accounts, whose management is responsible for the integrity and objectivity of the financial statements and other information presented herein. The combined financial statements are considered by management to present fairly the Commonwealth's financial position, results of operations, and changes in fund balances. We believe the data presented is accurate in all material respects and that all disclosures necessary to enable the reader to obtain a thorough understanding of the Commonwealth's financial activities have been included.

In part, the basis for these conclusions relates to our assessment of the internal controls operating within the Commonwealth. The establishment of such internal controls requires estimates and judgments from management so that, in attaining reasonable assurance as to the adequacy of such controls, the cost of controls should not exceed the benefits obtained. I believe the Commonwealth's internal accounting controls adequately safeguard its assets and provide reasonable assurance as to the proper recording of financial transactions. The Auditor of Public Accounts' opinion letter, covering his examination of the Commonwealth's financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1985, is included herein.

General Fund Condition—Budgetary Basis

The General Fund is an important point of focus in determining the overall financial condition of the Commonwealth. Virginia uses the cash basis of accounting for budgetary purposes. Under this basis, revenues and expenditures are recorded at the time cash is actually received or disbursed in accordance with the provisions of the Appropriations Act. This basis of accounting is widely accepted for budgetary purposes and has been used in Virginia for many years. My report includes statements and schedules that present the financial activity of the General Fund of the Commonwealth on a cash basis.

Figure 1 illustrates the fund balances of the General Fund at the end of each fiscal year since June 30, 1981, and highlights the undesignated portion. The undesignated portion denotes the surplus that existed at the end of each fiscal year.

Figure 2 illustrates the General Fund activity as planned by the General Assembly and as recorded in Chapter 619, Acts of Assembly. The budgeted amounts for capital outlay include $56.8 million in reappropriations from prior years, plus $194 million in additional capital

Fig. 1 **General Fund Balance—Cash Basi Highlighting the Undesignated Fund Balance**
(Dollars in Millions)

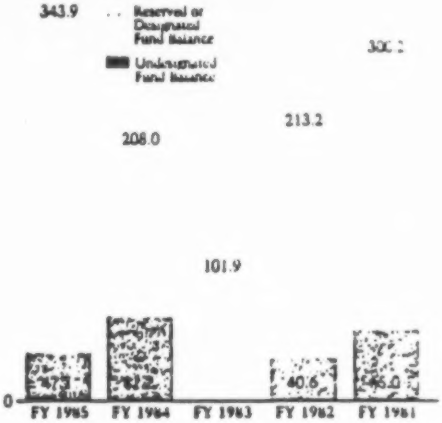


Fig. 2 **Analysis of General Fund Budget**
(Dollars in Millions)

	1984-86 Biennium	[illegible] FY 1985	 FY 1986
Beginning Fund Balance:			
Operating	$ 43.0	$ 43.0	
Capital Outlay			
Reappropriations	56.8	56.8	
Total	99.8	99.8	$ 172.9
Estimated Revenues	7,912.0	3,795.9	4,116.1
Other Financing Sources	90.9	86.7	4.2
Total Available Funds	8,102.7	3,982.4	4,293.2
Appropriations (a)	(7,849.9)	(3,753.5)	(4,096.4)
Capital Outlay	(250.8)	(56.0)	(194.8)
Ending Fund Balance	$ 2.0	$ 172.9	$ 2.0

(a) Appropriations consist primarily of operating expenditures and transfers to the Higher Education Fund.

Fig. 3 **Analysis of Budget vs. Actual General Fund Activity**
(Dollars in Millions)

	Budget	Actual	Variance
Fund Balance, July 1, 1984	$ 43.0	$ 208.0	$ 165.0
Revenues, ABC Profits, and Appropriations Act Transfers	3,796.0	3,840.5	44.5
Appropriations Act Adjustment	86.7	—	(86.7)
Expenditures and Other Uses	(3,809.6)	(3,704.6)	105.0
Net Effect on Fund Balance	73.1	135.9	62.8
Fund Balance, June 30, 1985	$ 116.1	$ 343.9	$ 227.8

Fig. 4 Summary of Accrued Receivables and Payables—General Fund

(Dollars in Millions)

Receivables and Accrued Revenues:	
Transfer of 4th Quarter ABC Profits to General Fund	$ 8.0
Accounts Receivable	4.3
Taxes Receivable (Net)	8.5
Sales Taxes	123.8
Withheld Taxes Receivable	103.0
Total Receivables	247.6
Payables and Accrued Liabilities:	
Refunds Payable on Withheld Income Taxes	33.5
Accounts Payable	61.2
Sales Tax Due to Localities	69.3
ABC Profits Due to Localities	3.9
Other Payments Due to Localities	.9
Total Payables	168.8
Receivables and Accrued Revenues Over Payables and Accrued Liabilities	$ 78.8

outlays authorized by Chapter 619. The development and approval of the biennial budget is, in essence, the beginning of the financial transaction process. After approval of the budget by the legislature, budgetary control is maintained by a formal appropriation and allotment system. The budgeted amounts reflected in the accompanying financial statements represent summaries of departmental or agency budgets by "program."

Figure 3 illustrates the Governor's actions to stay within the limits of appropriations made by the General Assembly. The analysis of budget versus actual performance is derived from the statement in this report entitled, "Combined Statement of Revenues, Expenditures, and Changes in Fund Balances—Budget and Actual—Budgetary Basis—General and Special Revenue Funds." As Figure 3 indicates, the Commonwealth received $44.5 million more in revenues, ABC profits and Appropriations Act transfers than planned. The increased revenues and reduced expenditures, together with a realization of an additional $165.0 million in balances carried over from the year ending June 30, 1984, resulted in $227.8 million more than planned being added to the fund balance of the General Fund.

General Fund Condition—Accrual Basis

Although the Commonwealth budgets and manages its financial affairs on the accepted cash basis of accounting, the nation's financial community has encouraged states to also include, in their annual reports, financial statements that are prepared on the accrual basis of accounting. This basis more adequately serves their analytical and other needs. As a result of these reporting needs, efforts have been underway since 1981 to conform Virginia's financial accounting practices to the requirements of generally accepted accounting principles (GAAP). As noted earlier, this progression toward conformance with GAAP has resulted in the inclusion in this year's report of the Higher Education Fund in accordance with the National Association of College and University Business Officers' *College and University Business*

Fig. 5 Schedule of General Fund Revenue—Budgetary Basis

For the Years Ended June 30, 1985, and 1984
(Dollars in Millions)[1]

	Actual			Budget		Projection	
	FY 1985	FY 1984	% FY 1985 Over (Under) FY 1984	FY 1985	% FY 1985 Actual Over (Under) Budget	[2]FY 1986 Revenue Estimates	% FY 1986 Estimates Over (Under) FY 1985 Actual
Individual Income Taxes	$ 1,948	$ 1,771	10.0	$ 1,951	(.2)	$ 2,182	12.0
Sales and Use Taxes	931	835	11.5	929	.2	993	6.7
Corporate Income Taxes	288	243	18.5	270	6.7	278	(3.5)
Public Service Corporations	138	122	13.1	129	7.0	142	2.9
Premiums of Insurance Companies	109	97	12.4	107	1.9	110	.9
Other Taxes	204	206	(1.0)	195	4.6	200	(2.0)
Other Revenues	173	124	39.5	164	5.5	163	(5.8)
Total Revenue	$ 3,791	$ 3,398	11.6	$ 3,745	1.2	$ 4,068	7.3

[1] Revenues exclude transfers.
[2] FY 1986 revenue estimates are from the 1985 Appropriations Act. Estimates are subject to revision by the Administration, with the approval of the General Assembly.

Administration (1982); and the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants' *Audits of Colleges and Universities* (1975). In addition, we have implemented a new lease accounting system, in accordance with SFAS Number 13, that has captured $18 million in assets that the Commonwealth is currently leasing. With the addition of $1,046 million in fixed assets to this year's balance sheet, significant strides have also been made in reporting the full value of the Commonwealth's fixed assets.

As required under the accrual basis of accounting, these financial statements reflect certain receivables and accrued revenues, amounting to $247.6 million, and certain accounts payable and accrued liabilities, amounting to $168.8 million. Receivables and accrued revenues exceeded accounts payable and accrued liabilities by $78.8 million at year-end. These items, which are illustrated in Figure 4, are transactions associated with the year ending June 30, 1985; however, the cash will not be received nor disbursed until fiscal year 1986.

Analysis of Revenues and Expenditures

General Fund revenue (excluding ABC and Appropriations Act Transfers) (Fig. 5) for the year ended June 30, 1985, was $3.8 billion, or 11.6% greater than the preceding year. The primary sources of this increase were a $177 million increase in Individual Income Taxes and a $96 million increase in Sales and Use Taxes. Revenue for the current year was 1.2% over the projected amount. As Figure 5 indicates, anticipated General Fund revenues for the coming fiscal year are expected to be approximately $4.1 billion, or 7.3% over fiscal year 1985.

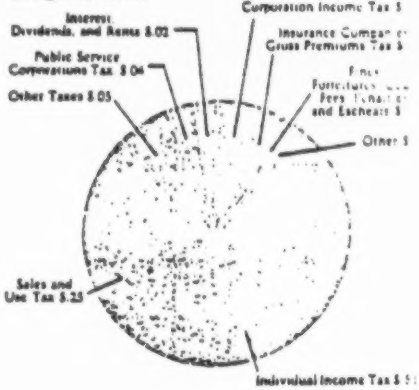
General Fund expenditures (Fig. 8) for the current year were $3.1 billion, or 11.7% greater than the preceding year. The primary areas which comprise this increase were a $181 million increase in Education and a $60 million increase in Individual and Family Services expenditures.

For informational purposes, Figures 6 and 9 present the composition of the revenue dollar for the General Fund and for all activities of the government, respectively. In a similar manner, Figures 7 and 10 present the composition of the expenditure dollar for the General Fund and for all activities of the government, respectively. These presentations are intended to provide information regarding the sources and uses of dollars received.

Debt Administration

Virginia has traditionally received excellent bond ratings from both Moody's Investors Service and Standard & Poor's Corporation, reflecting our long-standing record of sound fiscal management, our diversified economic base, and low-debt ratios. The Commonwealth funds substantial amounts of capital outlay expenditures from current revenues of the General Fund and from non-general fund sources each fiscal year and, accordingly, limits its issuance of bonded debt. A total of $326.7 million in bonds backed by the full faith and credit of the Commonwealth were outstanding at June 30, 1985. Of that amount, $241.2 million were being serviced from revenue-producing capital

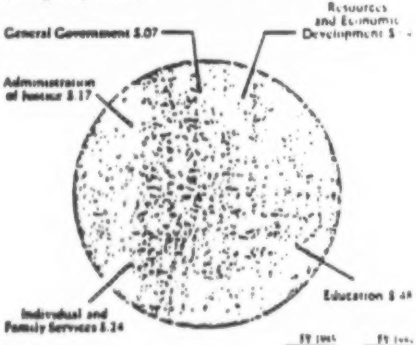
Fig. 6 **Revenue Dollar**
General Fund—Fiscal Year 1985
(Budgetary Basis)[1]



	FY 1985	FY 198
Individual Income Tax	$ 51	$ 52
Sales and Use Tax	25	25
Corporation Income Tax	08	07
Public Service Corporations Tax	.04	03
Insurance Companies Gross Premiums Tax	.03	03
Other Taxes	.05	06
Interest, Dividends, and Rents	02	02
Fines, Forfeitures, Court Fees, Penalties, and Escheats	01	01
Other	01	01
Total	$ 1.00	$ 1.00

[1]Revenues exclude transfers.

Fig. 7 **Expenditure Dollar**
General Fund—Fiscal Year 1985
(Budgetary Basis)

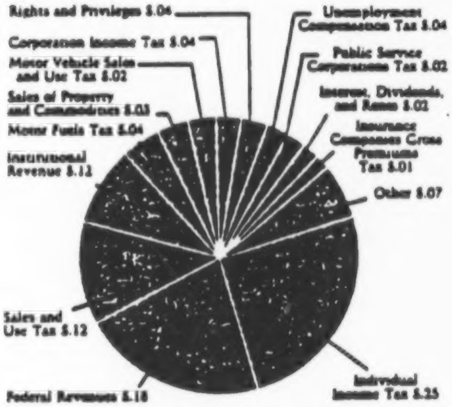


	FY 1985	FY 198
Education	$ 48	$ 47
Individual and Family Services	.24	24
Administration of Justice	17	18
General Government	07	07
Resources and Economic Development	.04	04
Total	$ 1.00	$ 1.00

Fig. 8 **General Fund Expenditures By Function** (Budgetary Basis)
(Dollars in Millions)

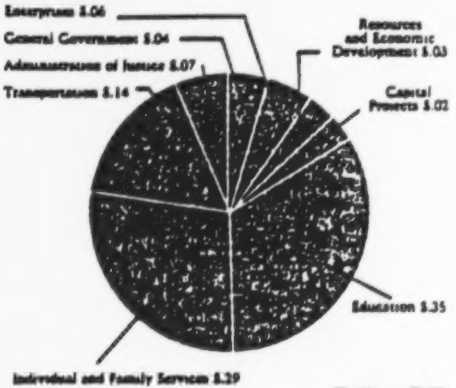
	FY 1985	FY 1984	% Increase (Decrease)	FY 1985 % of Total
General Government	$ 223	$ 203	9.9	7.3
Education	1,452	1,271	14.2	47.6
Transportation	8	7	14.3	.3
Resources and Economic Development	110	97	13.4	3.6
Individual and Family Services	718	658	9.1	23.5
Administration of Justice	534	489	9.2	17.5
Enterprises	5	6	(16.7)	.2
Total Expenditures	$3,050	$2,731	11.7	100.0

Fig. 9 **Revenue Dollar**
All Funds—Fiscal Year 1985
(Budgetary Basis)[1]



	FY 1985	FY 1984
Federal Revenues	$ .18	$ .19
Individual Income Tax	.25	.25
Sales and Use Tax	.12	.12
Institutional Revenue	.12	.12
Motor Fuels Tax	.04	.05
Sales of Property and Commodities	.03	.03
Corporation Income Tax	.04	.03
Rights and Privileges	.04	.04
Unemployment Compensation Tax	.04	.04
Public Service Corporations Tax	.02	.02
Interest, Dividends, and Rents	.02	.01
Insurance Co. Gross Premiums Tax	.01	.01
Motor Vehicle Sales and Use Tax	.02	.02
Other	.07	.07
Total	$ 1.00	$ 1.00

Fig. 10 **Expenditure Dollar**
All Funds—Fiscal Year 1985
(Budgetary Basis)



	FY 1985	FY 1984
Education	$ .35	$ .34
Individual and Family Services	.29	.30
Transportation	.14	.13
Administration of Justice	.07	.07
Enterprises	.06	.07
General Government	.04	.03
Capital Projects	.02	.03
Resources and Economic Development	.03	.03
Total	$ 1.00	$ 1.00

projects, primarily auxiliary enterprises of colleges and universities, and toll highways. Debt service payments and principal repayments on the balance of $85.5 million will be funded from General Fund tax revenues. Principal and interest payments on this portion of the Commonwealth's bonded debt were less than 0.5% of total General Fund expenditures in fiscal year 1985.

During fiscal year 1985, the Commonwealth issued $24.7 million in general obligation bonds, all of which financed revenue-producing projects operated by institutions of higher education. These bonds were rated "triple A" by both major rating agencies. In fiscal year 1986, the Commonwealth expects to issue approximately $100 million in long-term general obligation bonds, which will also be self-supporting.

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[1] Revenues include ABC Profit transfers, Appropriations Act transfers, and certain other transfers.

Investments

The Commonwealth pools its surplus cash into a general account from which it makes investments in a variety of instruments. The average daily invested balance for the year ended June 30, 1985, amounted to $821.5 million. This balance was invested as follows: 14.3% in Repurchase Agreements, 37.7% in U. S. Government and Agency Securities, 45.3% in Money Market Securities, and 2.7% in Time Deposits. Maturities for these investments ranged from one day to five years. For fiscal year 1984-1985, the average yield on investments was 10.4%, as compared to a yield of 10% during fiscal year 1983-1984. Total interest received from available balances was $81.3 million. This represented an increase of $28.8 million from the previous year.

Public Benefit Corporations

Certain outside organizations have been determined to be part of the Commonwealth's financial reporting entity and are included as Public Benefit Corporations. Public Benefit Corporations are public corporations empowered by the *Code of Virginia* to provide certain services to the citizens of the Commonwealth, but which are not agencies of the Commonwealth. While these organizations are not State agencies, generally accepted accounting principles require that they be included as part of the Commonwealth's financial reporting entity. The basis for such inclusion principally relates to the power of the Governor to appoint a majority of the Board Members involved, who, in turn, formulate policy. An additional basis relates to requirements that organizations submit reports to the Governor.

This comprehensive annual financial report reflects my commitment to you, to the citizens of the Commonwealth, and to the financial community to maintain our financial statements in conformance with the highest standards of financial accountability.

Respectfully submitted,

Edward J Mazur

Edward J. Mazur
Comptroller of the Commonwealth of Virginia

Financial Condition of the Commonwealth

For the state to be in good financial condition, its financial affairs must be managed prudently. To do this, government policy makers must plan for the future. They must identify the state's most important needs, decide what services can be paid for, and find the best ways to pay for services. Virginia is in an enviable position compared to most states in the nation and seems poised to retain its favorable record.

Revenues

Government revenues grew fast over the last 25 years. State revenues from all sources grew unusually fast during the 1960s, almost tripling the rate of the 1950s. The same was true for the 1970s–again the growth rate was three times that of the 1960s. There are many reasons for this growth. Some of the most important are given below.

During the late 1960s: the economy was steady and suffered only two minor recessions; the general sales tax was enacted and later raised; the way revenues were collected was changed so that money came in faster; Congress passed Elementary and Secondary Education Act which brought a lot of money into the state; automobile license fees were increased; and a new tax on state motor vehicle sales and use was enacted.

During the decade of the 1970s: the economy grew rapidly in the first half of the decade and inflation was high during the rest of the decade; the tax rates rose on alcoholic beverages, corporate income tax, individual income tax, and motor fuels tax; changes were made so that the state individual income tax laws followed federal income tax laws, the withholding tax was collected faster, and tax tables for unemployment compensation were changed; and federal funding began for four new programs–General Revenue Sharing, Title XX, Comprehensive Employment and Training, and Rehabilitative Services.

During the Decade of the 1980s: there was high inflation and a major recession during the early 1980s, but better conditions by mid-decade; the motor fuels tax, alcoholic beverage tax and automobile license tax were raised; taxes were taken off business licenses, fuels for home heating, and liquor by the drink; an oil franchise tax was put on the wholesale price of gasoline; federal funding began for low income energy assistance; and federal funding dropped for many programs begun in earlier years.

As evidenced from these actions, little has been done to increase general fund revenues. On the other hand, many things have caused nongeneral fund revenues to fall during the past 15 years.

State government's financial health is closely tied to the condition of the economy. The Virginia economy moves with the national economy. Virginia's economy, responding to the ending of the national recession in November, 1982, is now growing. The outlook for Virginia largely depends on the same things that cloud the national outlook–the large federal deficit, unfavorable balance of payments and the possibility of renewed inflation.

As a broad and continuing policy, the General Assembly has marked off certain types of revenue for special purposes. Other types of revenue support the rest of state programs. For example, the motor fuels tax is used only for highway purposes. Revenues which are set aside for such special purposes are called nongeneral funds. Revenues which can be used for anything are called general funds.

The things state government does are paid for by money which comes from many different sources. The following chart shows the money the state will have to spend in the upcoming biennium for six categories of revenue. These numbers are given as both dollars and percentages.

Figure A8 **Revenues from All Sources, 1986-88**

	Percent of Total	$Millions	Percent	
			GF	NGF
Taxes	55.8	10,345.0	85.6	14.4
Grants & Donations	19.4	3,598.3	0	100.0
Institutional Revenue	12.0	2,222.3	.3	99.7
Rights & Privileges	3.7	683.6	4.6	95.4
Property & Commodities	2.7	498.7	.4	99.6
Other Revenues	4.3	792.4	48.0	62.0
Balances & Transfers	2.1	397.3	67.8	32.2
TOTAL	**100.0**	**18,537.7**	**51.0**	**49.0**

The general fund revenues mainly come from five taxes: individual income tax, corporate income tax, gross premium taxes (on insurance), public service corporation taxes, and the general sales and use tax. These five taxes make up 91.2 percent of the general fund revenues of $9,192.0 million. For the 1986-88 biennium, general fund revenues are projected to grow by 16.1 percent over the current biennium. Additional general fund resources of $269.7 million will also be available from a projected balance at June 30, 1986 and transfers from other accounts.

The nongeneral fund revenues mainly come from two sources: grants and donations, and tuition and hospital (institutional) revenues. These two sources make up 65.0 percent of the nongeneral fund revenues of $8,948.4 million. The 1986-88 nongeneral fund revenues are forecast to grow 7.6 percent over the current biennium. Additional nongeneral fund resources of $127.6 million will also be available from projected balances at June 30, 1986.

For the 1986-88 biennium, the total money on hand will be $18,537.7 million. The adjacent chart shows how much general and nongeneral funds there are for the current and next biennium.

Figure A9 **General & Nongeneral Funds**

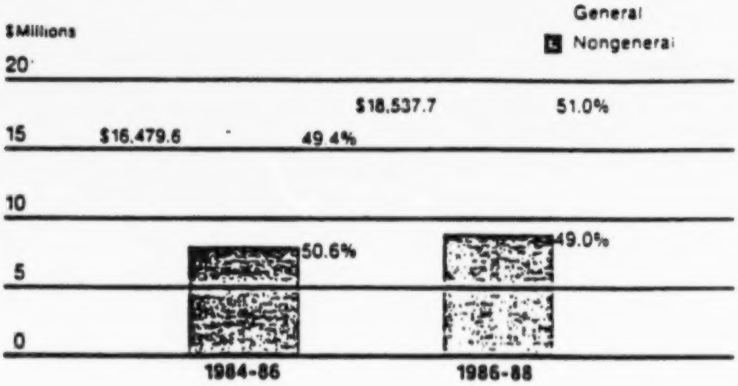
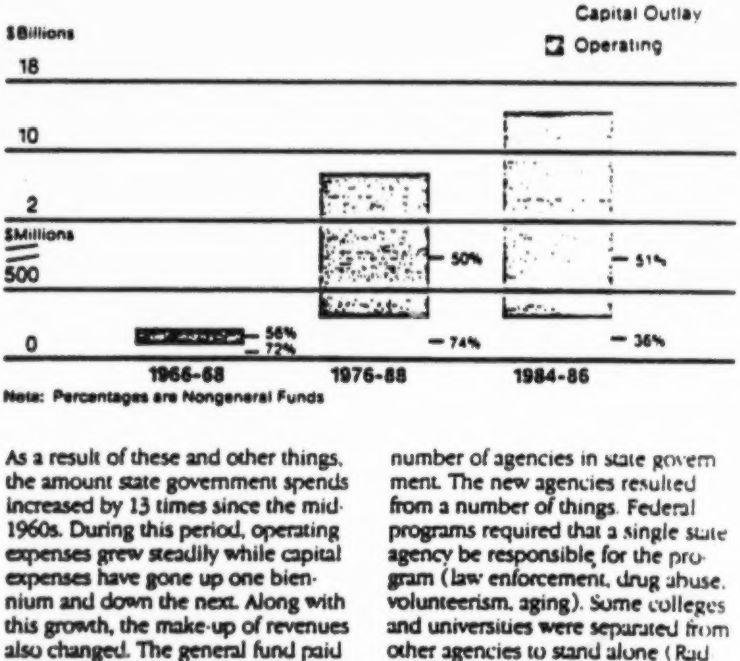


Figure A10 **Operating & Capital Expenses by Source of Funds**



Note: Percentages are Nongeneral Funds

Expenditures

Over the past twenty years, the amount government has spent has grown at all levels in Virginia (state, local, federal). Most of this growth is due to: government taking on certain services and funding responsibilities; the idea of what government should do changing–generally, moving towards government doing more; the growth of the number of people needing government services, such as school age, college age, and institutional populations; what the federal government pays for and requires of state and local governments has changed; the state now paying more for some local government programs; and the economy changing with recessions and inflation.

As a result of these and other things, the amount state government spends increased by 13 times since the mid-1960s. During this period, operating expenses grew steadily while capital expenses have gone up one biennium and down the next. Along with this growth, the make-up of revenues also changed. The general fund paid for 42 percent of the expenses in 1966-68 and paid for slightly less than one-half of the total expenditures in both 1976-78 and 1984-86. The chart above shows these changes. It also shows operating and capital expenses, by source of funds.

Along with the increases in expenditures was the doubling of the number of agencies in state government. The new agencies resulted from a number of things. Federal programs required that a single state agency be responsible for the program (law enforcement, drug abuse, volunteerism, aging). Some colleges and universities were separated from other agencies to stand alone (Radford, Christopher Newport). Certain programs in public safety and human resources (social services, corrections) were important enough to be run by separate agencies.

The prosperity of recent decades and ideas encouraging governmental involvement sharpened the growth in the size and complexity of government. By the beginning of the

1980s, questions were being asked about the suitability and degree of government involvement in the lives of its citizens. Along with this public concern, state government had less money from the federal government, new federal programs to take on, and a slowed rate of growth in state revenues. These things, plus record unemployment, closing businesses and inflation, called for a sweeping look at state government.

The state faced decisions on how to continue doing what must be done, how to stop doing unnecessary services, and how to take on new and different services. To give a framework for these decisions, four guiding principles were developed in 1982.

First: Hold down the size and complexity of state government. Do this by identifying and supporting those services which are essential and serve the crucial needs of the citizens. In addition, study all services which are less essential or merely desirable.

Second: Find and put in place efficient and fair ways to make services self-supporting or to make services less dependent upon general fund money, wherever possible.

Third: Limit the growth in expenditures by making sure that resources are used more productively and efficiently.

Fourth: Simplify and reduce the cost of governmental administrative processes and regulations.

These principles have produced and are continuing to produce results. Regulations have been reduced. State agencies have been abolished and merged. Changes have been made in who is responsible for government-operated services. Fewer employees do more work. State resources have been directed to the most important programs.

A two-part strategy of the 1984-86 budget is being continued in the 1986-88 recommended budget. The first part calls on agencies to absorb increased costs for supplies, materials, and other "nonpersonal services" by reducing their operating expenses through better management, more efficient service delivery, cutting back on unneeded or outmoded activities and other cost cutting techniques.

The second part of this strategy directs the increase in revenues that result from economic growth toward the highest priorities of the Governor and General Assembly. In this manner, the essential needs of the state are addressed without the need for a general tax increase.

Financial Statement

Each year, the State Comptroller reports on the money borrowed, the assets, the money held in reserve, the money not spent, and the money owed by the state. This report is called the ***Report of the Comptroller of Commonwealth of Virginia***. It shows that Virginia has good fiscal practices and has made improvements since last year. There are several reasons for this. First, the value of what the state owns (assets) rose sharply in three groups: Property, Plant and Equipment, and Investments. Secondly, the value of what the state owes (liabilities) rose moderately, and this was offset by a rise in short-term assets.

The general fund is the main thing which affects the overall financial condition of the Commonwealth. Virginia uses the cash basis of accounting for its budget. Under this revenues and expenditures are recorded at the time cash actually comes in or goes out. This basis of accounting is widely accepted for budgeting, and Virginia has used it for many years

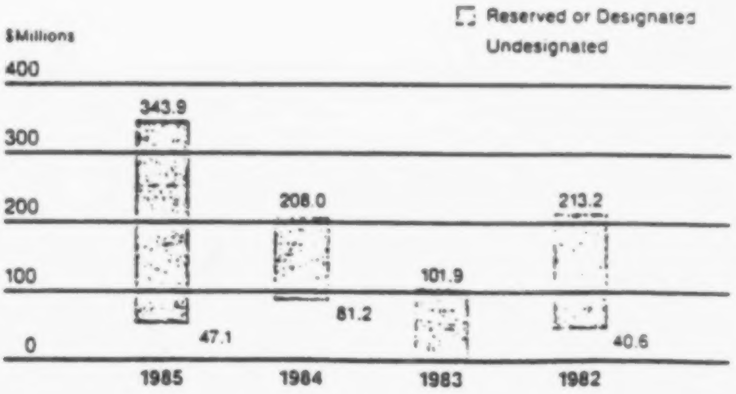
The amount of money in the general fund at the end of each fiscal year since June 30, 1982, is shown below. It shows money unspent at the end of the fiscal year. The shaded portion is the actual surplus available for appropriation.

Another method available to government to finance expenses is to issue a bond. A bond is a way of paying for a construction project over a long period of time. Governments and businesses which want to issue bonds are rated by Wall Street companies. This rating is based on the ability of the borrower to repay the money.

Virginia has always gotten high bond ratings from the two most respected raters, Moody's Investors Service and Standard & Poor's Corporation. This shows that the state has a long record of sound fiscal management, a varied economy and low debt. The Commonwealth pays for most of its capital projects from current money from the general fund and from nongeneral fund sources each fiscal year. As a result, it does not issue

Figure A11

General Fund Balances



many bonds. A total of $326.7 million in bonds, backed by the full faith and credit of the Commonwealth, were outstanding as of June 30, 1985. Of that amount, $241.2 million was being repayed from money-making capital projects. These are mainly enterprises at colleges and universities and toll highways. Debt service (interest) and principal (money borrowed) payments on the balance of $85.5 million will be paid for with general fund tax money. Principal and interest payments on this part of the Commonwealth's bonded debt were less than 0.5 percent of total general fund expenditures in fiscal year 1985. This is a low percentage compared to other states.

During fiscal year 1985, the Commonwealth issued $24.7 million in bonds. All of these bonds went for enterprise projects run by colleges and universities. These bonds all got the highest rating possible ("triple A") by both major national rating agencies. In fiscal year 1986, the Commonwealth expects to issue approximately $100 million in long-term bonds. These will also be for projects which will make the money to pay back the amount borrowed.

The Commonwealth pools its unspent money into a general account from which it makes investments in a variety of securities. The average daily amount invested for the year ended June 30, 1985, was $821.5 million. This money was invested as follows: 14.3 percent in Repurchase Agreements; 37.7 percent in U. S. Government and Agency Securities; 45.3 percent in Money Market Securities; and 2.7 percent in Time Deposits. Maturities for these investments ranged from one day to five years. For fiscal year 1984-85, the average amount made on investments was 10.4 percent. This is better than the yield of 10 percent during fiscal year 1983-1984. Total interest made on this money was $81.3 million. This was $28.8 million more than the previous year.

Intergovernmental Finances

Much of what Virginia's state and local governments do depends on the federal government. The federal government affects the state through its requirements and the funds it gives to meet those requirements. In addition, federal policies affect the health of the state's economy. The health of the national economy influences how much it will cost state and local governments to borrow money, hire people and buy supplies. It also affects how many Virginians will need social services because they cannot find jobs.

Likewise, the state plays a large role in the operations of local governments. Local governments must work in the legal, service and financial setting created by the state. State mandates, financial assistance and limits placed on local taxing authority all affect local financial conditions and local ability to provide services.

Two major things will dominate federal fiscal policy and state-federal-local government relations for years to come. These are efforts to control the federal deficit and changing ideas about what level of government should deliver services. This could bring many changes to state and local governments through the rest of the century. Important issues include the following:

Federal Fund Reduction-A change already can be seen in the level of federal funding for state programs. In 1980, federal funds were 25 percent of the state's revenues. By 1990, they may be only 18 percent. This means the state must either reduce services or replace federal funds with other monies. Examples of areas where federal funds have been altered include:

Education-Federal aid to education in Virginia has remained relatively stable since 1980. However, state expenditures necessary for quality education have increased a great deal. The state can expect to pay more of the costs of education in the future.

Human Services-Federal funds for human services programs have been reduced in two areas. First, a number of grant programs were put into block grants and their funding reduced by 25 percent. Second, efforts to reduce Medicaid costs have resulted in fewer matching federal funds for the program. The state will probably pay a greater share for human services programs in the future.

Physical Facilities-The federal government has reduced its funding for new wastewater treatment facilities, and the future of federal highway and transit funding is uncertain. The state will probably have to play a greater role in building and maintaining these facilities during the rest of the century.

Tax Conformity-In 1972, Virginia's income tax was changed to conform to the federal income tax structure. As a result, any changes in federal tax laws affect Virginia's revenue collections. Frequent changes in federal tax policy have created a much more unsettled situation than was seen when the state adopted partial conformance. If a major federal tax reform occurs, Virginia's tax rate and bracket structure may need to be changed to make sure the state has adequate tax revenues to insure services are provided to citizens.

Local Fiscal Stress-Local governments must raise money, set priorities and spend funds in meeting the needs of local citizens. Many local governments have become financially strapped. This is due to national economic conditions, falling federal aid to localities, state and federal mandates, and higher taxpayer resistance to local taxes and fees. Localities have acted by setting new taxes, higher taxes and spending controls; delaying capital improvements; and reducing employees. State government will be called upon to give localities more money, especially for education, which makes up for more than two-thirds of state aid to localities.

Infrastructure Financing - Funding for physical facilities is critical because the state's highways, railroads, airports, water and wastewater systems, and port facilities are crucial to the economy. Virginia has one of the largest state highway systems in the country. The state serves as a crossroads for major north-south and east-west rail systems. Virginia needs $18 billion for new and reconstructed highways, bridges and transit facilities. In addition, new water and wastewater treatment plants will require $2 billion above the costs of repairing existing systems.

Virginia cannot pay for public facilities solely out of current revenues. Some money must be borrowed. However, the federal government continually borrows money to finance its deficit. This causes more competition among borrowers and will probably keep the cost of borrowing high. In addition, there are now proposals to end or limit the federal income tax deduction on government bonds. These things may make it hard for the state to raise money by selling bonds. (It may be of particular concern in the areas of health care, education, housing, and industrial development.)

Virginia state government has the highest rating possible in the national bond market. Virginia also has good tax rates, ranking 41st in the nation as a percent of personal income. These things put Virginia in a good financial position. By continuing Virginia's prudent fiscal management, the state will remain financially healthy. It should be able to continue placing a reasonable tax burden on its citizens and financing its infrastructure needs.

Budget for the Commonwealth

The 1986-88 budget differs in many areas when compared to the current biennium. There are changes to services offered, service providers and recipients of services. The following pages highlight these changes. Information is provided on the overall budget, state services, state employment, state aid, as well as debt and capital expenses.

Overall Budget

The state government budget is divided into two kinds of expenses: operating and capital. The operating expenses include expenses to maintain the day-to-day activities of state government. The capital expenses are one-time costs associated with buying, repairing, or improving government facilities.

For the upcoming biennium, the state proposes to spend $18.4 billion. This amount represents a $1.4 billion or 9 percent increase over the current biennium. The operating expenses may be divided into three broad categories of expenses: state services, state aid, and debt payments. State service costs consist of personal services (salaries, benefits) and nonpersonal services (supplies, materials, contracts, equipment). For the 1986-88 biennium, $10.7 billion is recommended.

The state provides direct cash payments to cities, counties, towns, individuals, and other public and private agencies. Such state aid accounts for $7.2 billion of the 1986-88 budget.

Debt payments for interest and principal for the payment of loans and bonds issued by the state is recommended at $171 million for the 1986-88 biennium. Thus, the operating expense budget is recommended at $18.1 billion.

The capital budget, which includes expenses associated with acquisition, construction, repair, and improvement of state facilities, is recommended at $304.9 million. The adjacent chart reflects the proposed expenses for 1986-88.

Figure A26 **Overall 1986-88 Budget**

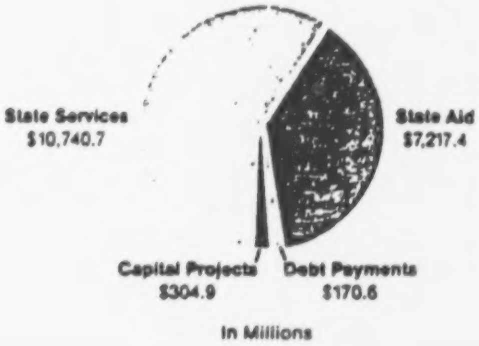


Figure A27 **State Government Services, 1984-86 & 1986-88**

Service Area	1984-86	1986-88	Difference
Education	5,761.4	6,686.5	925.1
Economic Development & Resource Management	510.9	536.4	25.5
Law Enforcement, Courts & Corrections	1,166.2	1,318.3	152.1
Human Services	4,834.8	5,152.6	317.8
Transportation	2,464.2	2,530.4	66.2
General Government	910.7	909.7	-1.0
Enterprises	1,054.8	994.8	-60.0
TOTAL	16,703.0	18,128.7	1,425.7

State Services

The personal and nonpersonal expenses, as well as state aid payments, when combined provide a broad array of services to the citizens of the Commonwealth. All of the activities of state government can be divided into eight areas of service. In 1986-88, these areas will include emphasis on new activities in priority areas as well as additional funding of certain existing programs. A comparison of adjusted appropriations for 1984-86 with 1986-88 recommendations is shown for each of these areas in the adjacent chart.

Education

Those activities intended to assist individuals in developing knowledge, skills and cultural awareness are recommended at $6.7 billion in 1986-88. Some major highlights of the education recommendations are given below.

Standards of Quality-The 1986-88 budget recommends full funding of the state's share of the cost of meeting the standards of quality (SOQ) in public elementary and secondary schools. This comes to an additional $545.4 million above the current biennium for Direct Aid to Public Education in support of the standards of quality. The recommended amount allows local governments to increase the average classroom teacher salary in Virginia to a level equivalent to the projected national median salary. Full funding of the state's share of SOQ and raising teachers' salaries to the national median have been major objectives shared by the Governor and General Assembly for the past two bienniums.

Higher Education-Recommendations for higher education include funds to pay for first year faculty salary increases ranging from 8 to 13 percent. If this increase is also approved for the second year, Virginia's faculty salary average will be the highest in our geographic region. The budget also recommends $5.1 million for staffing shifts among the institutions as a result of dropping enrollments in some institutions and rising enrollments in others. This action is designed to improve the quality of undergraduate education, to enhance faculty excellence, and to measure student academic achievement. To address instructional equipment deficiencies and obsolescence, $102.8 million is recommended. Included is $28.8 million to be used with bond proceeds to address equipment needs. Finally, the budget recommends a 9 percent increase in the support given to various student aid programs in public institutions of higher education.

Indigent Health Care-The state's two teaching hospitals, the Medical College of Virginia and the University of Virginia Hospitals, are the main providers of health care to the state's poor people. An additional $42.3 million is recommended to increase the amount of general fund support for indigent care and medical education costs at these two hospitals to 100 percent of the costs by the end of fiscal year 1988. For the first time, these amounts are based on a uniform costing methodology, developed by the Auditor of Public Accounts, and on uniform eligibility criteria.

Economic Development and Resource Management

Those activities intended to develop the economic base, preserve natural resources and protect the consumer are recommended at $536 million in 1986-88. Some major highlights of the economic development and resource management recommendations are given below.

Industrial and Tourist Promotion-Two new initiatives, tourism research and meetings and conventions advertising, will be supported within present levels of funding. The overall advertising budget is recommended for an increase of approximately 10 percent per year ($900,000) to keep pace with inflation in the advertising industry.

Industrial Training-This is the only ongoing incentive offered by the state to persuade new businesses to locate in Virginia. The demand for these services is expected to rise and an additional 20 percent per year, for a total of $4.6 million, is recommended.

Chesapeake Bay Cleanup-This program, first funded in the present biennium, continues to be of critical importance to the state. The budget recommends a total of $20.5 million in expenditures for the biennium, an increase of $3.3 million over 1984-86.

Wastewater Treatment Facilities-Statewide, over $2 billion will be needed to meet the needs for wastewater treatment facilities between 1985 and the year 2000. A number of funding options are now being considered in the state and federal government. To prepare for the state's share of these needs, the Governor is recommending that $10 million per year be set aside in a revolving loan fund to help localities finance these facilities. The state contribution will be matched with between $38 to $[illegible] million in federal funds.

Coal Mine Safety-An additional $1 million is recommended to continue and expand the Governor's Mine Safety Program for the reduction of injuries and fatalities in Virginia's underground mines.

Law Enforcement, Courts and Corrections

Those activities related to civil and criminal justice, including crime prevention, arrests, trials, and punishment are recommended at $1.3 billion in 1986-88. Some major highlights of the law enforcement, courts and corrections recommendations are given below.

State Police-The Department of State Police is funded at $4.4 million for an additional 75 positions. This will carry out recommendations of the 1984 Mission and Staffing Study, and add positions for urban interstate patrol as recommended in a 1985 consultant report on the subject. Also, $1.5 million has been recommended to begin automating the fingerprint files maintained by the State Police.

Local Juvenile Facilities-The budget recommends an additional $3.3 million for a cost of living adjustment for employees of local juvenile correctional facilities, and full funding of several related programs.

Mental Health Services for Inmates-The budget provides an additional

$3.6 million to begin planning and construction of a mental health treatment facility for mentally ill inmates.

Overcrowding of Local Jails–The budget recommends an additional $4.9 million to continue the Governor's initiative for taking 500 additional inmates from overcrowded local jails and placing them in the state prison system. Some $3 million is included for salaries of sheriffs' positions to staff five new local jail facilities opening during the next biennium. Finally, $6.8 million is recommended for expenses associated with state prisoners in local jails.

Augusta Correctional Center–The budget provides an additional $10.389 million for full funding of the Augusta Correctional Center. The 1986-88 biennium is the first full biennium that this facility will be open.

Legal Services for Indigents–An additional $3.3 million is included to provide a 15 percent increase in fees paid to lawyers for representing indigent clients in criminal cases.

Human Services

Those activities which support the economic, social and physical well being of individuals and families are recommended at $5.2 billion in 1986-88. Some major highlights of the human services recommendations are given below.

Community Mental Health Services–There continues to be a large, unmet need for community mental health services, particularly for former patients of mental hospitals. The budget recommends $165.5 million for Community Services Boards, which oversee local mental health services. This amount includes a 6 percent salary increase for employees of Community Services Boards, as well as an additional 65 employees at these Boards to act as case managers for former mental hospital patients who are returning to their communities. It also funds the state's share of five community group homes in southwest Virginia.

Family Violence–Family violence harms the community as well as the individuals within the family. This is a problem which has only recently received much attention. The budget includes $1.6 million from the general fund to continue the funding approved by the 1985 General Assembly to expand state programs responding to family violence.

Local Social Service Department Administrative Costs–Local welfare/social service programs are now being funded through a mix of federal, state and local money. The budget bill requires a study of caseload standards to identify suitable staffing levels for local social service agencies. These standards would then be used to calculate the amount of federal, state and local support. The budget also funds the state's share of a 6 percent salary increase for employees of local social service agencies.

Medicaid–The budget recommends an additional $7.1 million from the general fund to pay for the removal of the Medicaid 21-day payment cap for hospitalized children. It also provides $1.8 million in additional funds so that the Medicaid audit backlog can be eliminated.

Infant Deaths–Virginia continues to have a relatively high number of infants who die in their first year of life. Approximately $9 million in new money is recommended to fund programs dealing with infant mortality. This includes $500,000 for new projects to prevent infant deaths.

Transportation

Those activities related to the movement of people, goods and services are recommended at $2.5 billion in 1986-88. Some highlights of the transportation recommendations are given below.

Port Competition–Major improvements were undertaken at Hampton Roads in 1985 so that the state could keep its competitive position with other East Coast ports. The budget recommends an additional $9.3 million for debt service on the 1985 series of bonds issued by the Port Authority. An additional $6.5 million is recommended for construction of cranes and the acquisition of additional paved acreage.

Public Transit–The budget recommends an additional $3.2 million for payments to public transit operators.

General Government

Those activities which support the general operations of state, regional and local levels of government, including legislative affairs and executive management are recommended at $910 million in 1986-88.

Tax Compliance–An estimated $40.7 million in additional state revenue and $6.8 million in local revenues will be collected due to expanded tax compliance actions. Some 87 full time auditors, resident audit personnel and compliance positions to work throughout the country are recommended at a cost of $6.5 million.

Asbestos Removal–The budget recommends $1.2 million to perform a mandated statewide asbestos survey. The survey will be done in phases over the next several years.

Health Care Cost Containment–To continue the pre-admission review of non-emergency stays, concurrent review of inpatient hospital stays, a pilot comprehensive health risk reduction program, and to evaluate results, the budget includes a recommendation of $2.2 million.

Revenue Reserve–The budget includes 1 percent of the first year's general fund revenues, or $44.7 million, in a revenue reserve. This reserve will provide for unforeseen changes that may occur as a result of congressional actions at the federal level dealing with deficit reductions or economic changes.

Enterprises

Those activities which operate a commodity sales or production undertaking or provide services for a charge are recommended at $995 million in 1986-88.

The redistribution of money over the last four years has greatly changed the ranking among program areas. For example, elementary and secondary education, higher education, corrections, and economic development have moved up in the rankings and percent of funds. These redistributions are shown in the adjacent chart.

The 1986-88 total recommended operating budget is $18.1 billion. Of this, $9.2 billion will come from the general fund and $8.9 billion will come from nongeneral funds. The chart in the center compares the 1984-86 legislative appropriations with the 1986-88 biennium recommendations by major groupings of agencies.

State Employment

Over the past twenty years, government employment at all levels in Virginia (state, local, and federal) has expanded. Most of this growth has been a result of increased state and local services in health, corrections, transportation, recreation and housing, and increased regulation of the environment.

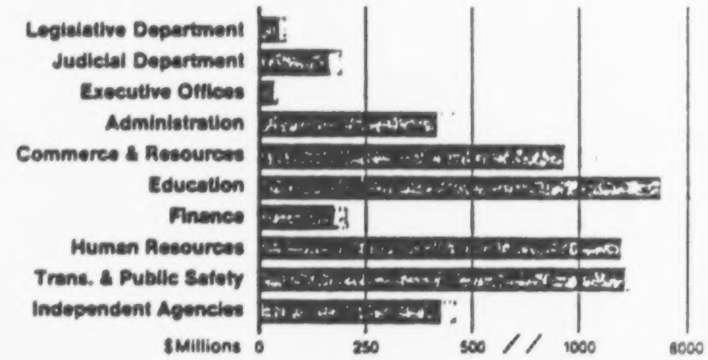
During the 1980s, the Governors and General Assembly wanted to slow the growth in state government employment. They set up employment controls which quickly leveled off employment during the 1980-82 biennium. In January 1982, Governor Robb froze hiring. This gave him time to study the best way to reduce state government employment, and to hold the employment level equal to or below the January 1982 level through 1985 despite substantial increases required in numerous agencies. In effect, management controls, such as executive agreements and budgeting procedures, caused agencies to operate below their authorized employment levels as shown on the adjacent chart.

While both the authorized and actual employment have dropped since 1982, the number of new services and facilities rose. Additional staff in

Figure A28 **Rankings Among Programs, 1986-88 Compared to 1980-82**

	1986-88		1980-82	
	Rank	% of Funds	Rank	% of Funds
Elementary & Secondary Education	1	22.0	3	17.1
Welfare & Social Services	2	18.1	1	19.9
Higher Education	3	15.1	4	14.4
Highway Maintenance & Const.	4	13.6	2	17.3
Health Services	5	9.8	5	9.0
Enterprise Operations	6	6.2	6	5.3
Corrections	7	3.7	8	3.2
General Services	8	2.9	7	3.9
Law Enforcement	9	2.2	10	1.5
Courts & Legal Services	10	1.3	12	1.0
Natural Resources	11	1.5	11	1.5
Employee Contributions & Benefits	12	.8	9	2.7
Economic Development	13	.8	14	.5
Consumer Protection	14	.7	13	.6
Museums & Libraries	15	.4	16	.3
Airports & Facilities	16	.2	17	.3
Legislative Services	17	.2	19	.2
Personnel, Fiscal & Planning	18	.2	15	.5
Port Facilities & Boating Safety	19	.2	18	.3
Preventive Health	20	.1	20	.2

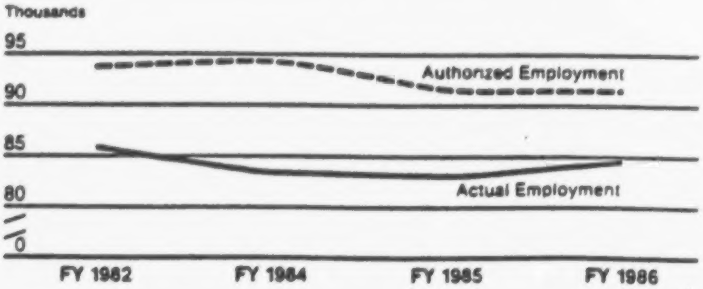
Figure A29 **Comparison of Operating Budgets, 1984-86 & 1986-88**



Note: Does not include Central items

■ 1984-86 1986-88 above 84-86

Figure A30 **State Government Employment Levels, 1982-86**



such areas as institutions of higher education and corrections were accommodated within existing levels. Along with these changes were proposals to increase the compensation package for state employees so that the state would remain reasonably competitive with private sector employers. The employee average salary during the period from 1982 to 1985 rose from $15,495 to $18,138.

In addition to salary increases, the following changes were also made to the employee compensation package: the state took on employees' contributions to the Virginia Supplemental Retirement System and Group Life Insurance; renegotiated health care insurance and gave employees options of joining other Blue Cross/Blue Shield or Health Maintenance Organization plans; began an employee suggestion program, which pays employees in time off or dollars for cost saving ideas; and developed a "pay for performance" plan for state employees.

The 1986-88 budget proposes a net decrease of 18 positions when comparing the second years of the current and next biennia. Even with this reduction, increases have been accommodated in corrections, state police, mental health, legal services, and regulation of corporations as shown in the chart below.

The chart reveals that employee productivity has grown and personnel resources have been redistributed among agencies. This has permitted the following inclusions for state employees in the 1986-88 budget.

a 4.56% salary increase for classified employees effective July 1, 1986;

salary increases of 8 to 13% for college teaching and research employees;

performance increases valued at 4.57% of annual pay for eligible employees, equivalent to 1.92% of payroll; and

a 9.7% increase in costs for BC/BS and HMO insurance premiums being borne by the state.

State Aid

All appropriations benefit the residents of the Commonwealth, either directly or indirectly. The extent of expenditures made locally, for local benefit originating from state government is significant. Direct cash payments from the state to cities, counties, towns, individuals, and nonstate entities constitute 39.2 percent of the 1986-88 budget. Such payments are proposed to increase by over one billion dollars in the forthcoming biennium.

Aid to Localities

During the past twenty years, most major new programs and significant increases to existing programs have been for state aid benefiting localities. For example, during the 1960s, special purpose transfers to planning districts and Chapter 10 Boards were begun; during the 1970s, state and federal transfer programs for medicaid, health service areas, drug abuse, Title XX, supplemental security income, meals on wheels, aging, and crime prevention were begun; and during the 1980s, aid to local constitutional officers, electoral boards, police departments, and school boards was greatly increased. Today direct aid is provided to cities, counties and towns for:

Salaries and expenses of local sheriffs, treasurers, revenue commissioners, health, and registrars offices;

Special purpose transfers for planning districts, Chapter 10 boards, health service areas, welfare boards, education, police departments, transportation, and water treatment; and

General purpose revenue sharing such as sales tax and ABC profits.

The 1986-88 budget continues emphasis on direct state aid to localities and includes $5.8 billion. This constitutes a $901 million increase over the current biennium. This does not include numerous state programs which are traditionally considered local, such as health clinics, traffic safety, highway construction and maintenance, as well as courts.

Aid to Individuals

In addition to aid to cities, counties and towns, the state provides payments to individuals. For example, payments are made for:

Income supplements for food, shelter, health care, and clothing;

Unemployed individuals, claims and settlements; and

Student loans, grants and fellowships.

Figure A31 **Position Levels for State Government, 1984-86 & 1986-88**

	FY 84-86	FY 86-88	Variance
Legislative	517	517	0
Judicial	1,781	1,789	8
Executive Office	363	367	4
Administrative	1,529	1,544	15
Commerce & Resources	4,148	4,128	-20
Education	39,465	39,428	-37
Finance	1,172	1,183	11
Human Resources	17,224	17,248	24
Transportation & Public Safety	24,858	24,817	-41
Independent Agencies	626	645	19
TOTAL	**91,682**	**91,666**	**-18**

Note: Transportation and Public Safety positions reflect proposed amendments to Chapter 619, 1985 acts of Assembly

The 1986-88 biennium includes $1.2 billion for payments to individuals. This amount increases such aid by $71 million above the current biennium.

Aid to Nonstate Entities

By statute and tradition, some entities which are not a part of state government receive state money each biennium. These are interstate organizations, national and regional associations, historical societies, and local agencies. The number and kinds of nonstate agencies getting funds vary widely from one biennium to the next, as do the amounts of money. The 1986-88 budget includes $207 million for payments to nonstate entities.

The chart below shows the monies allocated for state aid in the current and the next biennia.

Figure A32

State Aid, Current & Next Biennium

Payment in Millions	1984-86	1986-88	Variance
Aid to Localities	$4,922.2	$5,822.9	$ 900.7
Aid to Individuals	$1,116.7	$1,187.6	$ 70.9
Aid to Nonstate Entities*	$ 155.9	$ 206.9	$ 51.0
TOTAL	$6,194.8	$7,217.4	$1,022.6

* Includes Local Auxiliary Enterprises

Debt and Capital Expenses

The appropriation amounts and the ways of paying for capital projects have changed continually over the past twenty years. In the mid-1960s for every nongeneral fund dollar there were 10 general fund dollars. By the mid-1970s, this ratio had changed so that 56 percent of the capital budget came from nongeneral funds. By 1982-84, the general fund made up 64 percent of the capital budget. During this period, the capital budget never exceeded 6 percent. More often than not, the capital budget was less than 2 percent of the appropriations.

During this period, the state bought, repaired or improved many facilities. Periodically, bonds were used to supplement other monies to finance capital projects. The 1986-88 budget includes $171 million to repay principal and interest on such bonds.

The 1986-88 capital budget recommends $304.9 million for additional capital projects in higher education, mental health and mental retardation, corrections, and resource management agencies.

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NEWS LETTER

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September 1983

THE 1982-83 VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

by
Robert J. Austin

The author is a research associate in the Division of Legislative Services, General Assembly of Virginia. This article continues a News Letter custom of devoting an issue in every odd-numbered year to the highlights of the preceding two-year cycle of the General Assembly.

The Virginia General Assembly's regular schedule was disrupted somewhat in 1982-83 by the difficulties that the House of Delegates experienced in completing its redistricting after the 1980 census.[1] House members were required by federal court order to run for one-year terms in both 1981 and 1982. The 1981 election was permitted to go forward under a "traditional" House plan using multi-member districts, to avoid dividing political subdivisions, but the 1982 election was held under a new plan with all single-member districts.

Membership in the House thus changed in each of the last two years, with concomitant changes in committee membership and chairmen each year. Further, because of the special House election in 1982, the Assembly was unable to carry over bills from the 1982 to the 1983 session. As a result, the 1982 and 1983 sessions stand as more discrete episodes than usual, although many of the same issues were before each session.

MEMBERSHIP TURNOVER

House of Delegates. Twenty-three new House members were elected in 1981, and the 1982 special election resulted in twenty-one new members. While these turnover rates individually are consistent with those usually produced by Virginia's legislative elections, the combined 1981-82 membership change was significantly higher than that of past bienniums. Thirty-eight House members who served in 1983 had been newly elected since the end of the 1981 session, although a few had served at some time during the 1980s. (Six freshmen in the 1982 session were defeated in the 1982 special election.) House committees also were affected, as thirteen of the twenty House committees, including most major ones, had new chairmen by 1983; four have seen a different chairman in each of the last three years.

The Republican party gained nine House seats over the last two years, to reach a high water mark of thirty-four members in 1983. Sixty-five delegates were Democrats, and one member again was elected as an independent. Interestingly, despite the frequent supposition that the Republican party would benefit from a single-member electoral system in Virginia, almost all of the Republican gain occurred in 1981, after seats had been shifted from traditionally Democratic central cities and rural Southside to suburban areas as a result of the 1980 census. Republicans captured eight additional seats in the 1981 election, five of them in new "open" suburban seats; in contrast, a net gain of only one Republican delegate resulted from the single-member election of 1982.

Redistrictings did not immediately affect the number of black members of the House, which remained at four. Eleven women are now members of the House, as compared with eight in 1981 and nine in 1982.

The only leadership change occurring in the last two years was the selection of Vincent Callahan of Fairfax County as House minority leader. He replaced Jerry Geisler of Carroll, who lost his bid for re-election in 1981.

The Institute of Government is pleased to announce the following new publication:

VIRGINIA VOTES 1979-1982
By Larry Sabato

This volume, the fourth in a continuing series, provides an analysis of major Virginia elections during these years. A set of appendix tables includes official election results, by individual city and county, for five of these elections, as well as two special elections on constitutional referendums.

Copies of **Virginia Votes 1979-1982** are available for $7.50 each from the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903. (phone: 804/924-0943). Please make checks payable to the University of Virginia.

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[1] See John G. Schuiteman and John G. Seiph, "The 1981/1982 Reapportionment of the Virginia House of Delegates," *University of Virginia News Letter*, Vol. 59, No. 10 (June 1983).

NOTE: The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of his colleagues at the Division of Legislative Services, who made suggestions about legislative actions to be included in this article and reviewed parts of the manuscript.

Senate. Three special elections for Senate seats in the last two years led to a shift in the Senate Democrat-Republican distribution from 31-9 to 32-8. Democratic Delegate Robert Scott of Newport News captured the Senate seat previously held by Republican Senator Herbert Bateman, who resigned his seat upon his election to the U.S. House of Representatives. Scott also became the second black member of the Senate. Delegate Evelyn Hailey's election to a Norfolk Senate seat likewise brought the number of women in the Senate to two.

THE BUDGET AND TAXES

The last budget-making cycle was notable because of the legislature's search for revenue to ameliorate a rather gloomy prospect for the 1982-84 biennium, caused by reductions in federal aid, sluggish tax revenue growth, and the fallout from changes in federal tax law. The governor's fiscal advisors and budget experts expected revenue growth to be little above the 10 percent level. Recent past budgets, by comparison, had grown by about one-fourth each biennium. Overall, over 98 percent of the 1982-84 budget was projected to go to meet present service requirements, leaving little room to expand existing programs or create new ones.

The 1982 General Assembly was able to add almost a half billion dollars to the budget without an increase in individual income or sales taxes. The general fund was increased by $161 million. This was accomplished by a delay in rollbacks and deductions for certain scheduled public service corporation and corporate income taxes; an ABC tax increase from 15 to 20 percent; other increases in miscellaneous taxes and fees; fund transfers; and revised estimates. The nongeneral fund also was increased, by $329 million. Most of that money, for transportation, was provided by a new 3 percent excise tax on petroleum revenue to be paid by oil companies, increases in motor vehicle registration fees, and measures to generate increased federal highway funds.

Transportation needs were a priority in the General Assembly's funding efforts. In addition to increases for the various classes of road systems, extra funds were provided to the interstate system and for the paving of rural roads. Significantly, almost $39 million in additional funds were appropriated for mass transit. The largest share of the new money went to Northern Virginia's Metro system, to provide a "stable and reliable" funding source as required by federal law; however, each metropolitan area of the state also gained some mass transit aid.

A second major priority was elementary and secondary education. An additional $63 million over the governor's budget was appropriated for basic school aid and special and vocational education, and a remedial aid program was instituted. The Assemly set and funded its share of the educational Standards of Quality (SOQ) amounts at $1,320 per pupil for 1982-83 and $1,467 for 1983-84, compared to $1,185 for 1981-82. The 1982-84 budget also contains new language that "each locality shall endeavor to increase classroom teacher salaries by 10 percent each year of the biennium."

The human resources area was particularly hard hit by escalating program costs and cuts in federal aid, since it absorbed about 75 percent of the federal reductions. The crisis was particularly acute in Medicaid funding, where cuts of $122.6 million in programs initially were projected as necessary to meet available revenue sources. The Assembly restored $10.1 million of the governor's proposed cut, mainly to continue hospital services for children. It also set out fairly detailed directions to the governor and the State Board of Health for measures that would contain costs without totally demolishing any program. Other additional appropriations for maternal and child health, family planning, and crippled children brought the total amount the Assembly added to the human resources area to $22.5 million.

As might be expected, the 1982 Assembly made adjustments in the budgets of numerous other programs that cannot be detailed here. Of importance to all state employees was provision for a salary increase of 4 percent.

The 1983 General Assembly confronted a continuing lag in economic recovery that left the Commonwealth with a projected general fund deficit of $305 million, which was reduced to a net of $263 million by a surplus from the 1980-82 biennium. Governor Robb used his executive authority to begin meeting the crisis before the 1983 session, ordering 5 percent cuts in most state agency budgets and programs for 1982-83 and freezing capital outlay programs. He made several other recommendatons to the 1983 General Assembly to eliminate the projected deficit, including salary freezes and a 6 percent reduction in agency budgets for 1983-84, reductions of $22.7 million in basic school aid to localities, transfers of $53 million from the State Literary Fund for teacher retirement, and various other transfers and cuts. The governor also proposed program additions of $30 million.

The General Assembly generally endorsed the governor's approach, but it added $55.9 million to his proposed general fund appropriations through a combination of revenue estimate adjustments, additions of surplus funds, accelerated collection of taxes from those who pay income taxes on an estimated basis, and transfers from nongeneral funds. The Assembly also added almost $78 million in nongeneral fund appropriations, mainly based on revenue from the higher federal gasoline tax, to be used for highway construction. In addition, six new capital outlay projects were added.

The restorations to the general fund included almost $22 million for basic education aid. This enabled the Assembly to put the SOQ amount for 1983-84 at $1,464 per pupil, or only $3 less than the original target. The Assembly also restored about one-fifth of the governor's proposed 1983-84 cut of 6 percent in higher education, including all money for student financial aid.

Elsewhere, the General Assembly not only concurred with the governor's recommended increases to promote tourism and industrial development, but also added additional funds of its own to these areas. While other major functional areas were subject to the general reduction, certain key areas were exempted. These included, for example, prison security, direct patient services in local health departments, and community mental health retardation boards.

The General Assembly also formulated a plan to increase state employee compensation by providing $30 million to pick up the 5 percent employee share of retirement contributions as of October 1, 1983. The tax advantages of this approach to increasing compensation will result in a 6 to 8 percent increase in take-home pay.

The net result of the 1982 and 1983 budget efforts was a 1982-84 biennial budget totaling $13.56 billion, an increase of 13.3 percent over the 1980-82 budget's total of $11.96 billion. The actions in 1983 left the general fund at $6.49 billion, an increase of 14.3 percent over 1980-82. The nongeneral fund's total is $7.07 billion, and thus it remains slightly larger than the general fund. But its 12.4 percent growth marked the first time in recent bienniums that it grew at a slower rate than the general fund.

A final note of significance on the budget process is that the Senate Finance Committee for the first time in 1983 introduced its own budget bill. In the past the Senate has waited for the House to complete action on the appropriations bills.

As noted, a number of tax changes were made to raise revenues. The Assembly, however, decided not to alter either the basic individual income tax or the sales tax, even though several bills to do so were offered either in the name of tax "equity" or as revenue measures. The latter included proposals to increase the sales tax, to alter the income tax brackets, or to increase the maximum bracket to as much as 9 percent. Bills introduced as equity matters included those to index either the income tax brackets or the standard deduction and personal xemption amounts, in order to control for the effect of inflation-driven tax "increases" or to repeal sales taxes on food. Some bills had combined purposes, such as increasing the sales tax while also exempting food from the tax.

Two budget-related amendments to the state constitution passed for the first session in 1983 and, if approved by the new Assembly in 1984, will go to the voters in November of that year. One is a "balanced budget" amendment that would write into the constitution what has long been a Virginia custom; namely, that the governor shall ensure that no expenses be incurred that exceed anticipated revenues. The other proposed amendment would limit the growth of appropriations from total state tax revenues to the estimated rate of growth of the state economy. If revenues exceed the amounts necessary to meet the prescribed appropriation limit, the surplus could be used in later bienniums for debt reduction, tax refunds, or appropriations.

THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS

Improving legislative management and ontrol presently appears to be the General Assembly's foremost concern for its own branch of government. One issue is the sheer volume of legislation that must be considered—particularly for the odd-year session, which has never concluded within the prescribed thirty-day period. By setting deadlines for bill introduction and no doubt by some self-restraint, the General Assembly in the last few years has reduced the volume of legislation in even-year sessions from a high of 1,833 bills (excluding resolutions) in 1976 to the 1,411 bills introduced in 1982. A similar decline in odd-year volume, however, was reversed in 1983. The 1,234 bills introduced was second only to the high of 1,295 in 1977. If the Assembly had been able to carry over bills from 1982 to 1983, the total volume of legislation before the 1983 session probably would have approached or exceeded that of 1982. The General Assembly in 1982 passed for the second time a proposed constitutional amendment that would have allowed the legislature, by resolution, to set limits on the subject matter of bills that could be introduced at the odd-year session. The voters rejected that amendment in November 1982, however, by a margin of almost two to one.

Other legislative management concerns nclude the proliferation of subcommittees and the access of members and citizens to information about the flurry of legislative activity. A significant step was taken in 1983 when a joint subcommittee on legislative management was created and directed to report to the 1984 session on ways to improve the efficiency of the process. This will be the first such official evaluation since the mid-1970s.

A major accomplishment in 1983 was the rewriting of the Comprehensive Conflict of Interests Act. The Assembly has rejected past efforts to make extensive revisions, but it has modified the act from time to time. In 1982, for example, the Assembly required its members to disclose the names of state agencies before which they or their close financial associates represented a client and added a requirement that legislators must report honoraria of over $200 received for activities related to their official capacity.

The basic thrust of the new 1983 act was to improve the clarity of the rules rather than drastically to change the system (although changes, of course, were made). A noteworthy addition is the act's creation of separate House and Senate ethics advisory panels to investigate and make fact-finding reports on alleged violations of the act pertaining to members of the appropriate house. (The 1982 Senate had authorized a similar Senate panel under its own rules.) The panels are advisory only and do not have enforcement power.

A major structural innovation will result from the decision of the 1983 session to create a nine-member intermediate court of appeals, to become effective January 1, 1985. Virginia thus will join a majority of states who have an intermediate tier of appeals of courts. The 1982-83 sessions otherwise were comparatively quiet in the area of the governmental process. A few changes were made in executive branch organization, including the creation of a State Commission on Indians in 1983. The 1982 session did not react favorably to a proposal to eliminate the cabinet secretary system, but incoming Governor Robb did reduce the size of the secretarial staff.

PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Campaign finance and voter registration were two main areas in the electoral process that received recent legislative attention. A major change was made in 1983 to expand campaign finance reporting requirements under the Fair Elections Practices Act. Under the 1983 law, any election year contribution will trigger reporting requirements and, if contributions or expenditures are made in a year before the election year, a report must be filed by January 15 of the next calendar year. The previous law simply had required a candidate to file a finance report thirty days before a primary or general election or, as a result of 1982 General Assembly action, eight days before a nominating convention or mass meeting.

The other major change in the act is that candidates must continue to file annual post-election reports as long as contributions are being received or funds remain unexpended, and they must file a report showing the final disposition of all funds. The law previously required just one post-election report, with additional reports necessary only if outstanding obligations remained thereafter. The practical effect of the change is to disclose the uses to which campaign surpluses and post-election contributions are put.

The Assembly considered an extensive list of changes in voter registration laws but found merit only in some moderate adjustments to the present system, which for the most part goes back to reforms adopted in the early 1970s. A proposed constitutional amendment that would have opened the way to voter registration by mail died in committee both years. The 1982 session did allow persons with disabilities or long-term illnesses to be registered in their own homes, as well as allowing voters to request absentee ballots by mail for business or vacation absences.

The 1982 Assembly also approved a bill allowing the use of "volunteer" assistant registrars, who serve without pay. But in 1983, bills that in effect would have required automatic approval by the registrar of "volunteer" registration activity were unsuccessful, and the Assembly clarified the registrar's ultimate authority by requiring that such assistants be trained and supervised by the general registrar. To make it easier for those seeking to register, the 1983 Assembly did require that the registrar's telephone number be listed separately in telephone directories and that all registration sites be clearly marked.

In other registration legislation, the 1983 session agreed that a registrar should be allowed to go into an adjacent locality to conduct joint registration with the registrar of that locality. The Assembly was unwilling, however, to allow a registrar to accept a registration application from someone living outside of his or her jurisdiction, for transfer to the appropriate locality's registrar. The Assembly in 1982 approved for the second time, and the voters subsequently approved in November, a constitutional amendment deleting the requirement that a person applying to register give marital status and occupation, but requiring that an applicant give any prior legal name (as a means of better verifying voter rolls). A proposal to amend the constitution to permit government employees to serve as assistant registrars was not successful.

Several proposals for change in the operations of the office of voter registrar failed to clear committee in 1983. These included bills that would have required the registrar's office to be open at least five days a week in any locality in which less than 80 percent of the voting age population is registered; that would have required extra night and Saturday hours in the last month before the close of the registration books; and that would have reduced the registration cut-off date from thirty to twenty days before the election.

Two perennial proposals, one to permit party designations on ballots and the other to permit voluntary registration by party preference, again failed in committee. A modest boost to parties was provided by a 1982 decision that taxpayers may designate up to $2 of their income tax to a party's central committee. (Public financing of statewide elections was introduced but was unsuccessful.) The 1982 session also approved a bill overruling any local city charter provisions and guaranteeing city council and mayoral candidates the right to be nominated by a party, but the act was repealed in 1983. Also of note is a 1982 act requiring independents and primary candidates for statewide office to demonstrate a minimal amount of statewide support. Such candidates now must obtain at least 200 petition signatures from each congressional district, in addition to meeting the overall requirement of having petitions signed by one-half of 1 percent of the registered voters.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Municipal-county relationships continue to be a major local government issue. The 1983 session, expanding upon 1982 legislation, gave a broad grant of power to localities for the voluntary settlement of issues involving annexation, immunity, and transition. An agreement now may include a wide variety of provisions for revenue and economic growth sharing, joint exercise of powers, service-related provisions, and waiver of specific annexation or immunity rights. A related bill allows two or more localities voluntarily to change their common boundaries under much the same conditions. The 1983 Assembly also provided that when a county consolidates with all its towns, it may create special service tax districts in the newly created shires or boroughs, thus enabling the county to meet differential service demands.

On the other hand, the General Assembly refused to change the basic annexation procedure, with several bills to require either an advisory or a binding referendum prior to annexation never reaching the floor. The Assembly did agree in 1983 that either the Commission on Local Government may recommend or the court may award a greater or lesser area for immunity than a county has requested, thus paralleling annexation provisions. The annexation issue promises to be before future sessions of the General Assembly; a joint subcommittee was created in 1983 to study and evaluate the annexation laws.

Another joint study subcommittee that had been considering whether local land use control powers needed to be strengthened reported to the 1983 session. Its report stated that recent court decisions were consistent with the rules of interpretation giving a presumption of validity to local zoning actions. The subcommittee recommended only modest language changes to emphasize that all purposes of zoning relevant to the particular case should be considered in drawing and applying zoning ordinances; the General Assembly concurred with those recommendations.

Committees in each session defeated bills that would have allowed localities to require developers to pay a pro rata share of road construction cost occasioned by subdivision development, just as they now pay certain other costs such as sewers. Similarly unsuccessful in both sessions was a proposal that would have extended local zoning authority to state agencies, with provisions for an appeal reaching to the governor, who then could grant partial or total exemption.

An area that drew a fair share of attention was the conversion of rental residential property to condominiums. A 1982 bill, presented as a way to relieve pressure on owners to convert and providing that rental property should be assessed at rental value rather than conversion potential, was passed. Efforts to write that provision into the constitution failed, however, as did a proposed amendment with a somewhat different approach—namely, creating "multifamily rental dwelling" as a special land use category. A 1982 law did provide that localities cannot block condominiums by refusing to grant a variance, exception, or use permit if the applicant can show that the nonconformity will not be adversely affected by the conversion. The Assembly also took steps to ensure that more information will be provided to residents of proposed condominium conversion property, and it permitted some relocation expenses.

The basic structure and powers of local government largely remained unchanged in 1982-83, and a proposed study of Virginia's use of Dillon's Rule was rejected. Elected school boards, either as an option for all localities or only for certain Northern Virginia jursidictions, once again failed to muster sufficient support.

The General Assembly was reluctant to extend any new taxing powers to localities. Among the bills defeated in one or both years were those proposing that any lo be allowed to impose a transient occu (room) tax; that any county be allowed to impose a meals tax (a couple were given specific authority) or a cigarette tax; and that any locality be able to levy a local sales tax of 2 percent.

The Industrial Development and Revenue Bond Act was rewritten in 1983, primarily to make the purposes for which industrial revenue bonds may be issued conform with new federal provisions. Significantly, local governing bodies rather than industrial development authorities now will have the power and duty to give final approval to these revenue bond projects. The Urban Enterprise Act also was enacted in 1982. That act provides tax credits both to businesses investing in impoverished areas and to certain poor individuals employed by such businesses.

PUBLIC POLICY

Crime, corrections, and judicial procedure traditionally generate a large amount of legislative activity, and 1982-83 was no exception. Actions of the Assembly included increased penalties for the use of a firea connection with various felony offen ban on the use of teflon-coated bullets (passed in 1983 after being killed in 1982); a ban on the advertisement and sale of so-called "look-alike" drugs (1982); and a ban on advertising or selling drug paraphernalia. Under a 1982 act, those convicted a third time for murder, robbery, or rape will not be eligible for parole. A 1983 bill was passed allowing the disclosure of the contents of wire-taps and derivative evidence that relate to a felony offense.

Various proposals to change sentencing procedures were unsuccessful; these included bills that would have allowed judges rather than juries to set sentences in non-capital criminal cases or that would have bifurcated trials so that juries could be given more pre-sentencing information. The 1983 session did give first approval to a proposed constitutional amendment that will allow the Commonwealth to appeal certain preliminary or prejeopardy rulings in criminal cases. In 1982 the corrections laws underwent a general revision, which increased the powers of the Board of Corrections.

Several changes in civil and domestic law were favorable to the interests of women. Laws enacted in 1982 allow a court to g divorce award based on an equitabl sion of marital property; to provide for an equitable division of joint bank accounts in divorce; and to provide that the surviving spouse rather than the decedant's children will come first in inheriting property if the deceased died without a will and there are no rviving children of a previous marriage. e waiting period for a "no-fault" divorce was reduced from one year to six months if there are no minor children and if a separation agreement is in effect.

Perhaps no issue received more coverage in 1983 than that of the appropriate legal drinking age. A bill finally was adopted that raised the minimum age for on-premises consumption of beer and certain other beverages from eighteen to nineteen, thus making it the same as the off-premises age. (The House originally had insisted on an age of twenty-one for all alcoholic beverages.) Revocation of driver's licenses will be mandated for violators, and an alcoholic safety training program is required for those under the age of nineteen who apply for a driver's license. The 1982 session also increased the penalties for drunk driving and mandated minimum jail sentences for repeated offenses. In a somewhat related area, the 1982 session provided for annual rather than semiannual automobile inspections, while simultaneously making some of the standards stricter; it also generally required the use of automobile restraint devices for children under the age of four.

In education, the Standards of Quality again were revised in 1982. A related pro- osal that attracted attention but ultimately led was one to base promotion in grades 7 through 12 strictly on achievement. Another controversial action was the Assembly's vote to require a two-year probationary period for new teachers, a bill that the governor vetoed. Among the more emotionally charged issues was the right of parents to teach their children at home. No action was taken to change the law, but the issue will be studied further during 1983. Also of note in higher education was the creation in 1983 of two new financial aid programs, one a merit-based scholarship program and one a state supported work-study program. Controversial but unsuccessful were bills that would have denied entrance to higher education institutions to those students who have failed to register for the draft and that would have disallowed income tax deductions for contributions to schools with racially discriminatory policies.

In human services, the Assembly agreed to allow Medicaid funding for abortions where rape, incest, or certainty of a deformed fetus was involved, but it rejected general funding for abortion. Passage of the Natural Death Act of 1983 marked the culmination of a long effort to pass such a law. It will allow terminally ill adults, or rtain other individuals designated to make decision for them, to order that their ives not be prolonged by artificial means. Other laws that were adopted make it easier for foster parents to adopt a child for whom they are caring; require local welfare boards to provide protective and other in-home services to aged or infirmed persons; set uniform rate-setting procedures for placement facilities for children; and create an interagency fund for placement of handicapped children by social services or corrections agencies.

The natural resources area produced several highly debated issues. Uranium exploration and mining was one, as the 1982 session adopted provisions for licensing and regulation of such activity but placed a moratorium on issuing licenses until 1983. The 1983 session extended that moratorium and ordered a study of the costs and benefits of mining and milling specific sites in Pittsylvania County. A similar approach was taken on the issue of hazardous waste disposal. The 1982 Assembly by resolution placed a moratorium on both the issuance of permits for private off-site facilities and on the use of eminent domain by the state to acquire such sites until the Solid Waste Commission studies the siting issue.

Another proposal generating attention was a coal slurry pipeline bill, which would have allowed public service companies to use eminent domain to construct the pipeline. The Assembly's response was to allocate $200,000 to a study of the issue for 1984. Other actions included extension of the Wetlands Act to include non-vegetated coastal areas, regulation of small-size strip mining operations, and revision of the oil and gas statutes to encourage maximum recovery of these resources. The "bottle bill" failed both in 1982 and 1983. That bill, aimed at cleaning up roadside litter, would have required refundable containers for beer and soft drinks.

Among the Assembly's miscellaneous actions, the 18 percent limit on credit cards was removed; a new public procurement law was adopted; and twin trailers and longer and wider trucks will be permitted on interstate and certain other highways. Rejected both years was a "comparative fault" bill, which would have allowed a person with some contributory negligence still to collect damages in a personal injury suit. Also rejected was a proposal to make Martin Luther King's birthday, January 15, a state holiday.

CONCLUSION

Selecting the items to include in any summary of the actions of the Virginia General Assembly is a difficult task. Every action of the Assembly has its own constituency, and thus every item considered has some significance. In addition, those items that seem most newsworthy and receive the most press attention during the session ultimately may have less impact than other bills that the legislature passes with relatively little controversy. This News Letter has sought to identify the major themes that emerged during the 1982-83 sessions, and to note those actions that are of the most general interest.

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE, COURTS, AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Virginia Assembly on The Role of Adult Corrections within the Virginia Criminal Justice System (no named author). Vol. 59, no. 12 (August 1983).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Enterprise Zone Concept and Virginia's Urban Enterprise Zone Act, John C. Brown. Vol. 59, no. 7 (March 1983).

ELECTIONS—VOTING BEHAVIOR

The 1982 Election for U.S. Senator in Virginia, Larry Sabato. Vol. 59, no. 5 (January 1983).

The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982, Timothy G. O'Rourke. Vol. 59, no. 6 (February 1983).

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Hazardous Waste Management in Virginia, Richard C. Collins and Elizabeth B. Waters. Vol. 59, no. 4 (December 1982).

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The 1981/1982 Reapportionment of the Virginia House of Delegates, John G. Schuiteman and John G. Selph. Vol. 59, no. 10 (June 1983).

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WOMEN'S ISSUES

Family Composition in Virginia: Female-Headed Families, 1970-1980, Julia H. Martin and Donna J. Tolson. Vol. 59, no. 11 (July 1983).

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF JAMES CITY COUNTY

In 1984 James City County will celebrate its 350th anniversary as one of the eight original counties in the United States.

James City was founded in 1634, along with Accawmack, Charles City, Charles River, Elizabeth City, Henrico, Warrosquyoake, and Warwick River. During the county's anniversary year its local citizenry and citizens from across the state will engage in a discussion of the past, present, and future of those early counties, focusing particularly on James City.

The Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy is sponsoring nine community forums that will emphasize different aspects of the county's past and their relationship to the present. This grant from the Virginia Foundation will give county citizens, as well as all state residents, the opportunity to examine Virginia's proud past. The forums will begin in April 1984 and continue through August 1984. The areas to be discussed are history, religion, archeology, ethnic heritage, environmental studies, and the future.

Some of the scholars who have agreed to prepare papers and participate in the forum are Noel Hume, chief archeologist for Colonial Williamsburg; William Kelso, resident archeologist for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation; Parke Rouse, Jr., historian; David Holmes, professor of religion, College of William and Mary; and John Hutchison, Department of Urban and Environmental Planning, University of Virginia. The scholarly papers will be published at the end of 1984.

James City County also is planning other events to celebrate its anniversary. Some of the items planned are cultural events, essay contests, oral history reports, and a big birthday party. A broadly representative Citizen's Advisory Committee will begin formulating other ideas in addition to planning these events.

James City County is proud of the part it played in the beginning of local governments in the United States. By focusing on its heritage, local citizens can better understand the role local government has played in the development of the county.

Editor's note: Since 1987 will mark the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, the News Letter is carrying regularly in this space announcements of upcoming activities and publications on constitutional themes of interest to Virginians. Funding for this service has been provided in part by a grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy. For further information on the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution in Virginia, contact Timothy G. O'Rourke at the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903 or A. E. Dick Howard at the Office of the Governor, Richmond 23219.

Persons or institutions may be placed on the mailing list to receive copies of the News Letter by sending a written request to News Letter, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903. The complete mailing address should be printed or typed, and the Zip Code should be included.

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VIRGINIA STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN THE EIGHTIES

By John L. Knapp

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The 1980s represent a challenging period for Virginia's state and local governments. During the previous two decades state and local government was a "growth industry" as its employment rose by 5.6 percent annually, a faster rate than for any other major sector except services.[1] Federal aid mushroomed, and many new programs were undertaken. Currently, however, Virginia, along with other states, faces a "fiscal crunch." This News Letter reviews the causes of this problem, discusses factors that will affect Virginia's future financial condition, evaluates the major revenue options likely to be considered by state and local governments, and reviews some ways to increase productivity.

THE FISCAL CRUNCH

Six principal factors account for the fiscal crunch that the states and localities currently face. First, during the 1970s a reaction to the expansion of government occurred in many states. California's voters passed Proposition 13, and many states followed suit with taxation or expenditure restrictions. Although Virginia has yet to adopt such restrictions, the fact that the General Assembly has considered them reflects a stringent attitude toward government expansion.

Second, the national and state economies have been weakened by two recessions; the first occurred in 1980, while the second started in 1981 and is still in progress. When the economy is weak, state and local governments soon feel the effects as the growth of tax receipts decreases and voters exhibit a heightened reluctance to approve higher taxes. The current recession has been particularly hard on governmental finances because it has included a rapid fall in the inflation rate. Lower inflation, paradoxically, is a problem for governments since it may result in less tax revenue than anticipated. This occurs because most tax bases are denominated in current dollars, which grow at a slower rate when the inflation rate declines. Moreover, certain revenue sources that benefit from high inflation—such as the state individual income tax, which is characterized by a "bracket creep" that pushes taxpayers into higher brackets even when their real incomes have not grown—produce lower revenues when the inflation rate falls.

Third, federal aid to state and local governments has been reduced significantly, a fact that will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Fourth, state and local government borrowing has become more difficult. High interest rates have increased the cost of borrowing. In addition, the near bankruptcy of New York City, changes in federal tax law, and a large expansion in municipal bond offerings to cover home mortgages and commercial developments have diminished the relative advantage, and therefore the attractiveness, of tax-free state and local government bonds.

Fifth, the Federal Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) has caused reduced revenues in those states like Virginia that closely tie the state individual income tax, corporate income tax, and estate tax to federal tax bases. Even though the General Assembly enacted legislation in 1982 to counteract the federal tax act's effect in Virginia, the Virginia Department of Taxation estimates that the revenue shortfall in the state as a result of ERTA will be $70.6 million in the 1982-84 biennium. The federal tax increase enacted in 1982, the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act, will restore only a small portion of the previous cut.

Sixth, in recent years there has been a growing public awareness that the nation's infrastructure is in a condition of decay. Infrastructure is a term used to describe public capital structures, such as buildings, roads, bridges, and sewer systems. Faced by tight budgets, governments often have adjusted those budgets by reducing capital outlays, which typically have been the target for budget paring since they lack the strong political constituencies that argue against cuts in current outlays. Capital spending also has been discouraged by high interest rates, reduced federal funding, and, in the case of highways, slow growth of tax revenue. While the full dimensions of the plight of state and local governments in Virginia are not known, conditions do appear to be better than in those states with large, old industrial

In 1987 Virginia and the nation will mark the **200th anniversary of the United States Constitution**, which was drafted at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. Because of the substantial contribution of Virginia to the writing and subsequent development of the Constitution, the commemoration holds special significance for citizens of the Commonwealth.

Over the next several years—during the decade of the Constitution—the commemoration of the constitutional founding will provide occasion for a variety of programs to promote a wider understanding of the history and principles of American democracy. In order to facilitate the exchange of information about upcoming activities related to the constitutional commemoration, the Institute, beginning with the January 1983 News Letter, will issue a monthly supplement that will list Constitution-related projects and publications of interest to Virginians.

If you have information to be included in this supplement, or questions about the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, please contact Timothy O'Rourke at the Institute of Government (804/924-3396).

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[1] Derived from data supplied by the Virginia Department of Labor and Industry.

Author's note: Unless otherwise noted, the statistics in this News Letter are from various publications of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, including *Governmental Finances* (selected editions); *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 796 (March 1979), using the series II B projection; and *State Government Finances in 1980*.

areas. Nevertheless, aggregate data on Virginia state and local government capital outlays show that they have been falling as a percentage of direct general expenditures. In 1970-71, capital outlays accounted for 23.0 percent of total outlays; by 1975-76 their share had fallen to 19.3 percent, and in 1980-81 it was down to 15.4 percent.

In general, state and local governments have responded to the current fiscal crunch by cutting back on services, emphasizing methods to increase productivity, and searching for new sources of revenue.

FUTURE FINANCIAL CONDITIONS

In order to determine what revenue changes are likely in Virginia, it is necessary to consider the impact of federal aid, demographic changes, and the economy on the Commonwealth's future financial situation.

Federal Aid. The Reagan Administration, under its version of "New Federalism," has made significant reductions in federal aid to state and local governments. To understand the impact of these budget cuts, a review of the development of the federal grant-in-aid system is helpful.

Beginning with President Johnson's Great Society programs in the mid-1960s, a large increase occurred in both the number and dollar amount of federal grant programs. As the size and complexity of federal aid programs grew, there were calls for simplification. President Nixon inaugurated a "New Federalism" that favored block grants and instituted general revenue sharing. State and local governments received more money with fewer strings.

Meanwhile, federal aid programs continued to proliferate, and many of them were criticized for ineffectiveness and waste. By 1977-78 federal aid accounted for 23 cents out of every dollar received by Virginia's state and local governments, versus 16 cents in 1962-63. At the state level, much of the federal aid was for education and welfare; the states also were beneficiaries of general revenue sharing. A significant portion of the federal funds received by the states represented "pass-through aid"—funds that ultimately were distributed in the form of state aid to local governments. Local governments also received large injections of federal aid directly, such as dollars for community development and sewerage systems, anti-recession aid, and general revenue sharing.

In its last years the Carter Administration slowed the growth of grants by reducing those connected with anti-recession policy and by exercising overall budget restraint. As a consequence, by 1980-81 the federal aid received by Virginia's state and local governments had dropped slightly, to 22 cents out of each dollar.

Now the Reagan Administration has eliminated general revenue sharing for the states and reduced funding for many programs. The Reagan plan seeks to give states and local governments more control over a reduced amount of total aid. On a philosophical level, aid is reduced because of a preference for leaving taxing and spending decisions to lower levels of government. On a more pragmatic level, aid is reduced because the Reagan Administration has assigned higher priorities to defense and to transfer programs such as Social Security. The proposed cuts are quite large—the current budget forecasts not only that federal grants-in-aid will decline in dollar amount, but also that state and local government aid as a percentage of domestic outlays will drop from 19.5 percent in 1980-81 to an estimated 14.8 percent in 1984-85.[2]

As part of his "New Federalism" President Reagan proposed in his 1982 State-of-the-Union address that the federal government take over full funding of the health program for the poor (Medicaid) in exchange for a state takeover of food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In addition, the president has called for giving the states control of forty federal grant programs over a ten-year period, to be paid for by a federal trust fund. Under this proposal, the trust fund would be phased out by 1991, and the states then would become responsible for the financing of the programs. These proposals have made little political headway because many states have concluded they would be net losers. However, the Congress eventually could pass some type of program that would impose additional burdens on the states. In view of these developments, it is not surprising that most observers of state and local government finances agree with the statement that "... at the very least, the future of federal support for state and local services looks bleak."[3]

Mitigating this somber outlook is evidence that Virginia does not receive a net benefit from federal aid. According to estimates by the Tax Foundation (published in the May 1982 issue of its *Monthly Tax Features*), Virginia was one of twenty-two states that in 1980-81 paid more in federal taxes to fund federal grants-in-aid than it received under such programs. Virginia residents paid $2.1 billion in federal taxes for grants, while their state and local governments received $1.9 billion in aid. Thus, for every $1.00 received, Virginia paid $1.13. Assuming that the aid that has been cut would have been financed with higher taxes (rather than with cuts in other federal programs), then each $1.00 of additional federal aid for Virginia would have required $1.13 more in taxes from Virginia. This analysis, while somewhat theoretical and based on crude data, does underline the fact that federal aid must be financed; therefore, when aid is reduced, the financing burden also is reduced.

Demographic Changes. Although Virginia's overall population growth in the 1980s is forecast to be close to the 15 percent experienced in the 1970s, the age composition is expected to change dramatically.

A relatively small number of births in recent years, combined with expected low fertility in the future, will cause a drop in the share of population represented by persons under twenty-five. In 1980 that group's share was 42 percent; by 1990, its share is forecast to be only 37 percent. Reflecting those changes, the State Department of Education forecasts that public school enrollment will decline every school year until 1989-90. In addition, the State Council of High Education foresees only modest increases in enrollment at four-year institutions of higher education and community colleges.

Reductions in school enrollment and a slow growth in college enrollment may remove some of the fiscal pressure on state and local governments, since education is their most costly single function, absorbing thirty-nine cents out of every dollar of their direct general expenditures. As one observer has noted, "The demographics are working against the federal budget, yet are working for the states in their principal expenditure area—education."[4] Whether or not the lower enrollments actually will bring about a reduction in outlays, however, depends upon how governments manage their resources. A reluctance to close school facilities and to lay off staff will result in higher costs per pupil and nullify much of the saving from lower enrollment.

The Economy. In large part, the future financial strength of Virginia's state and local governments will depend on the strength of the state's economy. The 1980s have not begun auspiciously and, given the current recession, optimism is now a scarce commodity. Nevertheless, if a slow-paced expansion occurs fairly soon, if federal deficits are brought under control, and if monetary policy does not become inflationary, then the prospects for long-term economic growth are fairly good. According to one series of regional projections, however, the Virginia economy, as measured by constant dollar personal income, will grow at a slower average annual rate (4.0 percent) from 1978 to 1990 than it did from 1969 to 1978 (4.6 percent).[5] Based on this fragmentary evidence, it appears prudent to assume that Virginia's state and local governments will be operating in a favorable, but not buoyant, economic environment. If additional revenue is desired because of reductions in federal aid or for other reasons, that revenue probably will not be forthcoming merely because of economic growth. Therefore, new taxes or higher tax rates may have to be considered.

MAJOR REVENUE OPTIONS

Before examining possible revenue options, a brief discussion of Virginia's current tax burden is desirable.

Tax Burden. When Virginia's tax effort is measured by the most common standards of measurement—taxes per capita and taxes per $1,000 of personal income—the results show that the state has a relatively low tax burden. In 1980-81, per capita state and loc taxes were $946, a figure that was 88 percent of the national average. Measured in relation to personal income, taxes in Virginia amounted to $100 per $1,000 of income, or 88 percent of the U.S. average.

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[2] U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *Federal Aid to State and Local Governments, Special Analysis H, The Budget of the United States Government, 1983* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 17.

[3] Norman Walzer and David L. Chicoine, eds., *Financing State and Local Governments in the 1980s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Publishers, Inc., 1981), p. xxv.

[4] Donald Harder, "Balancing the Federal Budget: The Intergovernmental Casualty and Opportunity," in Walzer and Chicoine, eds., *Financing State and Local Governments*, p. 218.

[5] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *1980 OBER BEA Regional Projections*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), p. 144.

Some fiscal analysts criticize the preceding measures of burden because they do not adjust for interstate variation in tax bases and the ability to shift taxes to nonresidents through so-called "tax exporting." In response to these criticisms the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has developed a tax effort index. Tax effort is defined as the ratio of tax collections to tax capacity. Tax capacity is derived by multiplying the relevant tax base by the national average rate—the "representative" rate. Virginia's state and local tax effort index in 1980 was 88 percent of the national average, the same result as provided by the traditional measures of burden.[6] The Commonwealth's tax effort was below the national average mainly because of Virginia's relatively low property and consumption taxes. Among adjoining states, Maryland, with a tax effort at 109 percent of the national average, exceeded Virginia's effort by a large margin; North Carolina, at 97 percent, was also higher. The tax effort by Kentucky was similar to that of Virginia, while the effort indexes for Tennessee and West Virginia were lower.

Major State Government Revenue Options. The Commonwealth's most likely source of additional tax revenue is the individual income tax. That tax now raises over $1.2 billion per year and is the state's most important single tax. The simplest way to increase its yield would be either a percentage surtax on top of present tax liability or the creation of new, higher rate brackets in place of the current maximum rate of 5.75 percent on taxable income over $12,000. Neither approach, however, would correct some fundamental problems that have developed because inflation has distorted the tax brackets, exemptions, and maximum standard deduction since they were last changed ten years ago.

A preferred approach would be to restructure the tax at the same time that any changes were made to increase the revenues produced. The aim of any restructuring should be to remove persons with poverty incomes from the tax base and to immunize the income tax from the distorting effects of inflation. Moreover, if a progressive income tax is retained, consideration should be given to making the brackets more consistent with the current distribution of income. As tax brackets are now structured, the average taxpayer is subject to the highest rate on part of his taxable income.[7]

Another possible source of revenue is the sales tax. The current rate for the state portion of the sales tax is 3 percent. If that rate were increased by one percentage point, the yield would increase by roughly one-third. Virginia's combined state-local rate then would become 5 percent, a rate equal to or less than that in the District of Columbia and in all adjoining states except North Carolina. An alternative would be to expand the base to include selected services such as auto repair and haircuts—an action that would increase revenue by about 10 percent. The present exclusion of selected services seems illogical. For instance, a person who has his car repaired wants it to run properly, and the nontaxed labor services contribute to that goal just as do any taxed parts that are installed. Consequently, the entire bill, rather than just a portion, should be subject to the sales tax. The state's recent adoption of a 3 percent wholesale sales tax on motor fuel and an increase in license and registration fees on autos and trucks probably precludes a major tax increase in motor vehicle taxes, at least for a few years.

Changes in the corporate income tax often are considered in conjunction with the individual income tax, and a major increase in the state's individual income tax probably would create pressure to increase the corporate tax. However, the analogy between corporate incomes and individual incomes is a forced one since the size of a corporation's income discloses nothing about the income of its individual stockholders, many of whom may have only moderate incomes. Furthermore, taxation of corporate income, to the extent that those taxes are borne by the owners, constitutes double taxation of individual income.

On a more pragmatic level the Commonwealth must be careful to keep its tax burden competitive with those nearby states with which it vies for industrial development. Although studies of those factors that influence industrial location generally exclude taxes as a major factor, nevertheless taxes are highly visible and often are considered to be a barometer of community attitudes toward business. One recent study indicates that Virginia's state and local tax bill for a hypothetical corporation is 3 percent lower than the combined average for the states in Virginia's competitive region (which includes, in addition to Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee).[8] If Virginia raised its corporate rate from 6 percent to 7 percent, this advantage would be converted to a handicap. Furthermore, Virginia then would have a higher corporate tax rate than all of the other states in the region except Maryland.[9]

Another significant source of revenue for the state government is user charges—mainly from college tuition and fees and hospital charges. During the 1980s, major increases will occur in tuition; in the 1982-84 biennium, state four-year institutions and community colleges are being required to increase tuitions so that they will cover a larger proportion of current educational costs. Such actions may be precursors of more increases. Although other types of user charges pale in comparison to earnings from colleges and hospitals, they are large in absolute amount. For example, in 1980-81 state highway toll facilities raised $29.8 million and state parks collected $1.9 million. It is quite likely that all types of user charges will receive increased emphasis in the 1980s, not only because of their revenue potential, but also because charges tend to reduce demand.

Major Local Government Revenue Options. The real property tax will continue to be the major source of revenue for Virginia's local governments in the 1980s. However, its share is likely to fall as other taxes and user charges grow faster.

Growth in property tax revenue is likely to be sluggish for several reasons. First of all, the residential speculative boom appears to be over. In addition, farm real estate values, under pressure due to weak agricultural markets, are unlikely to match their recent increases. From 1970 to 1981, the average value per acre of Virginia's farm land and buildings rose every year, and the average annual growth rate was 12.8 percent. In 1982, in contrast, the price dropped 3.7 percent.[10] These changes affecting residential and farm values will slow the growth in assessed values and may require explicit tax increases to achieve desired revenue gains. This would be in sharp contrast to the 1970s, when effective tax rates declined. (In 1971 the average city-county tax rate per $100 of true value was $1.06; by 1980, it was only $0.81.)[11]

The existence of use-value taxation, an option that has been adopted by the majority of counties and some cities, also may slow the growth of property tax revenue. Use-value taxation shifts tax burdens to the owners of noneligible property. Since many taxpayers are not eligible for the tax relief that this option provides, the existence of use-value taxation may serve as a damper on voters' acceptance of general tax increases. Finally, sluggish demand for utility services may slow the growth of the public service corporation property tax base.

Local revenue from the personal property tax also is unlikely to grow rapidly. A major component of this tax base is motor vehicles. Because of high purchase prices and fuel costs, consumers are electing to keep cars longer and to buy fewer, less elaborate vehicles—trends that have restrained the growth of the personal property tax base.

The local option sales tax of 1 percent already has been adopted by all cities and counties; and without state legislation, localities cannot increase their revenue from that source. The General Assembly could empower the localities to raise the local tax another percentage point—a step that effectively would preclude a higher state sales tax. If the state sales tax were expanded to include selected services, as previously mentioned, local governments also would benefit because their 1 percent local option tax would apply to a broader base. How much each locality might gain would depend upon the relative importance of repairs and other selected services in the locality.

Consumer utility taxes could be an important source of additional local revenue if the General Assembly rescinded the current fixed dollar limits on the amount of tax per month. Permission to tax at a lower rate, but without a maximum tax, would allow this revenue to grow at the same pace as utility receipts.

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[6] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Tax Capacity of the Fifty States Supplement: 1980 Estimates* (June 1982), p. 19.

[7] Based on unpublished data from the Virginia Department of Taxation for tax year 1980, the most recent year for which data are available.

[8] Peggy M. Ware, "Taxes on Manufacturers: Virginia and Competitive States" (thesis submitted to the American Economic Development Council, 1981), p. 19.

[9] Virginia Division of Industrial Development, "How the Virginia Economy Compares" (September 1981), p. 30.

[10] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Farm Real Estate Market Developments*, CD-87 (July 1982), p. 14.

[11] Virginia Department of Taxation, *Virginia Assessment/Sales Ratio Study* (1971 and 1980 editions).

A major new source of revenue would be a local "piggy-back" individual income tax. In Maryland, where such a tax has been employed, the local tax is a percentage of the taxpayer's state income tax. The tax is collected by the state department of taxation and is returned to the resident county of each taxpayer. A piggy-back income tax in Virginia would represent a major change in state-local finance since the income tax traditionally has been reserved for state use.

In 1982-83 Fairfax County anticipates revenues of some $110,000 from Pac-Man and other video games located in some of its public facilities.[12] This illustrates the diversity of sources that constitute local service or user charges. In 1980-81 Virginia's local governments earned a total of $447 million from these service charges; the most important sources of this revenue include public works, education, public transportation, hospitals, and parks and recreation. In the 1980s local governments are likely to make heavier use of service charges, in terms of both higher charges for services now being priced and new charges for some services that now are provided free. Publicly owned bus systems, for example, will be forced to use the fare box for a larger proportion of their operating expenses. In the 1970s, the ratio of revenue to cost for bus systems in Virginia dropped sharply; the median ratio fell from 80 percent in 1973-74 to 41 percent in 1979-80.[13] As federal aid is phased out and local governments face stringent budgets, the proportion of costs covered by fares will have to increase.

RAISING PRODUCTIVITY

State and local governments, like the private sector, are being forced to emphasize increases in productivity as one way to counter the effects of the current recession. Gains in productivity come from a myriad of small decisions and policies and therefore cannot be capsuled into one program. Nevertheless, six approaches are recommended: (1) increase employee motivation; (2) redesign or modify operational procedures; (3) restructure organizational arrangements; (4) develop new or adapt existing technology; (5) upgrade general management skills; and (6) improve measurement of services.[14] To bring about such changes, everyone involved in the political process—voters, elected officials, administrators, and public employees—will have to exhibit flexibility in adapting to new procedures.

SUMMARY

Virginia state and local governments are involved in a fiscal crunch that is likely to continue for many years as federal aid is reduced and voters resist tax increases. On the bright side, a good possibility exists that the national and state economies will show strong, though not spectacular, real growth later in the eighties. Also, because of changes in the age structure of the population, there will be fewer students to educate.

Although many of the federal aid cuts w not be replaced entirely by state and local government spending, there will be pressure for at least partial assumption. By national standards, the tax effort in Virginia is not high; therefore, if the electorate is willing, selected tax increases would be possible. Any proposed tax increases should be carefully considered, however, in order to avoid destroying Virginia's current favorable competitive position in regard to business taxes.

The most likely additional sources of revenue at the state level are the individual income tax and the sales tax. At the local level, real property taxes could be increased, or the localities could obtain statutory authority to impose either a higher sales tax or a piggy-back income tax. Both state and local levels of government will make greater use of service charges. Equity is unlikely to be a central concern of tax policy. When finances are tight, equity considerations generally take a back seat. Nevertheless, if the individual income tax is increased, it also will be possible simultaneously to make it more equitable through such measures as indexing and the adjustment of exemptions, deductions, and rate brackets to conform with the present-day distribution of income.

State and local government is no longer "growth industry." Governmental financi conditions in the eighties will require that th Commonwealth and its localities use their resources carefully and place a renewed emphasis on increasing productivity, to gain the maximum benefits from those resources.

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[12] *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 16, 1982.

[13] Virginia Department of Transportation and Highways, *Virginia Statewide Transit Statistical Data* (April 1977), p. 17; and *Public Transportation in Virginia* (November 1981), p. 21.

[14] This list was taken from an undated recent publication by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, titled "Productivity Improvement and State and Local Government."

Errata: The September 1982 News Letter incorrectly indicated (page 1) that during the 1983 fiscal year the Commonwealth would contribute general revenue funds to Metro for operating costs. In fact, state funds can be used by Metro only for capital acquisition and administrative costs (not operating costs); all funds provided by the Commonwealth are deposited in a separate trust fund, from which appropriations have been made to Metro over the last decade. Also in the same issue, the periodical cited in footnote 2 should have been correctly titled Northern Virginia Heritage. —The Editors

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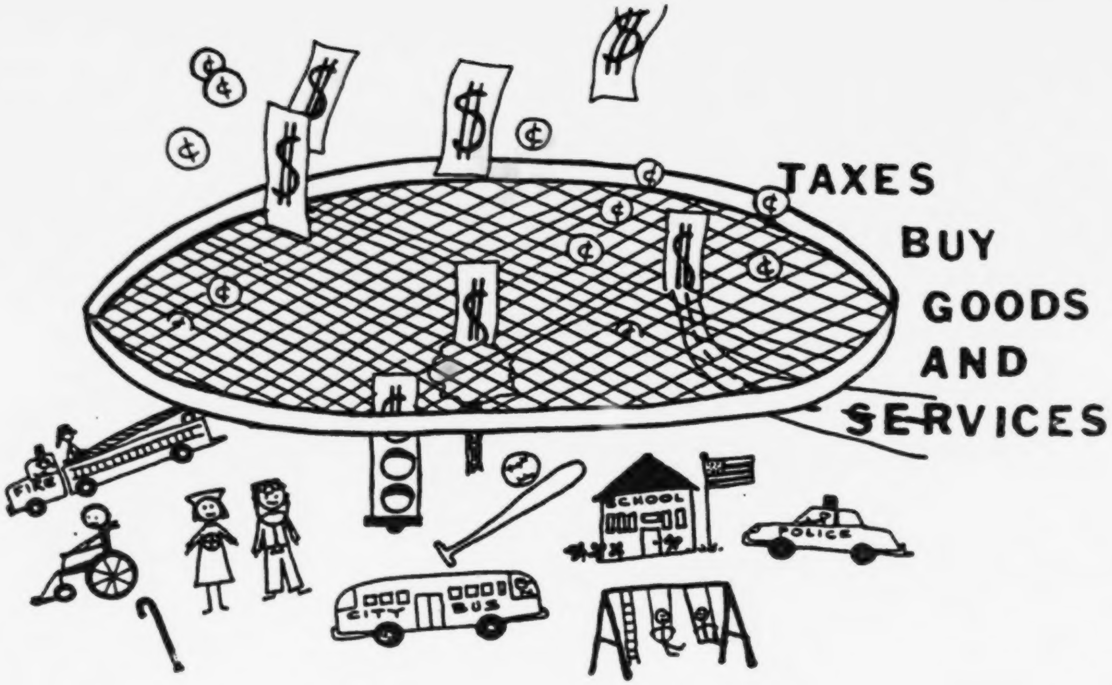

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USING SECTION F - PLANS & IDEAS

Note: The News Letter included in Section E: "Virginia State & Local Finances in the Eighties," is particularly useful as background for this section as well. It is the source for "The Revenue Crunch of the 1980s."

Teachers may make their greatest contributions to responsible citizenship attitudes for their students through creative and dispassionate management of the study of taxes. Emotional responses are easy to generate around Federal Income Tax time (April 15th), but the real trick is to use that emotional energy for a rational look at the whole subject of taxes.

High taxes are a favorite topic of conversation, and talk about services that "they" (the government) ought to provide is almost as common. One of the great challenges of the government course is to put these glib generalizations together in cost-benefit and/or cause-and-effect relationships. Local government, the state, and the nation cannot provide services without paying for them -- and the paying must come from taxes on wealth, income or consumption, now or (by borrowing) in the future.

Economists and politicians disagree on the interpretation of economic data. Newspapers and magazines print charts and information, sometimes limited or assembled to support their ideological bias. A resourceful teacher will be on the lookout for opposing data to demonstrate that credible-looking statistics can be generated to prove almost any idea. (In 1984, IRS data on incomes and taxes was being used to prove that the Reagan-Kemp-Roth-Laffer "supply- side" economic policy had been correct, and to prove that it had been incorrect. The numbers can be explained different ways, and lead to different conclusions.) Many, perhaps most, students can learn valuable questioning skills by comparing what politicians do with the numbers.

Most "Why don't they...." ideas result in political or budget problems. The classic example of opening the gym for extra hours each evening might cost taxpayers for supervision (the insurance company may require that an employee be in charge, not a volunteer), extra insurance, maintenance, and janitorial service, lights, heat during cold months, and perhaps police protection for those around the building after dark. Of course, the neighbors may also organize against the traffic and noise. Significant elements of reality can be introduced into most discussions by including community values (i.e., healthful recreation for young people), political support and opposition, and financial cost data.

National, state, and local governments are covered by the Freedom of Information Act which requires them to provide detailed budgets and program descriptions that would help questioning students learn more about the items that interest them. Encourage their research, and broaden their awareness to the politics of decision-making. Assign students to investigate both the "pro" and "con" positions. Find local mentors such as service groups, legislators, interested parents, or other citizens, who will help students word the questions and direct them to officials who could respond. (Some school divisions may require clearance by the principal before outside assistance is invited. Check before you proceed.)

Since about 20% of our citizens work for government (local, state, or national) in the services that are paid for from taxes, there also may be some career choices that come to light in the course of the study.

These materials on taxes may be used

- separately or together
- in conjunction with the textbook, "By the Good People of Virginia.." by Cline and Fleming
- as part of a unit on economics - relating specific Virginia state and local materials to the national economy
- as a cornerstone for units on state and local government
- in current events study of budgets and services
- as changes are discussed in Virginia's income tax and sales tax, or
- in conjunction with many items in Section B. What parts of Virginia would be affected by which taxes?
- in conjunction with Section D and E. Which campaigns, which legislators, and which bills would be of interest or be opposed by which parts of the state?
- Also, some segments are self-contained and could be handy for 1 to 3-day fill-ins.

Also included in this resource unit is comparative information on taxes in other states, since any significant differences between our taxes and our neighbors' will have an impact on the state's business, and since this information is needed to answer citizen questions about how we rank.

Section F includes worksheets designed to stimulate student research, thought, and class discussion. Worksheets should be given out a week, or most of a week, in advance and input from parents, friends, and acquaintances should be encouraged. Grade on the quality, complexity and discrimination of concepts, and range of ideas on the worksheet or contributed to class discussion. If you think your students need some ideas for starters, discuss the questions briefly before you give out the sheets. (Encourage careful listening!)

The theme, "Taxes are Politics," emphasizes that taxes and tax rates only make sense in the context of their political constituencies. Worksheet F 7-10, "What Services Should Government Provide?" amplifies the questions from Citizen Power (C 7). (If your students have kept those papers, they can be used as starters.) Remember the videotape "Get Involved in State Government," available through the Department of Education, that shows Virginia government services (See A 17 for details) -- it will be very useful to remind students of the variety of services provided by the state. The next set of blanks calls for decisions on which level of government should provide each service. Encourage students to define a logic of local, state, or national funding, rather than merely re-stating the current level. Use questions that point out the arbitrary nature of political boundary lines or their irrelevance to the service or problem (i.e., water quality and pollution are better tackled by river basins or regions). Note: This is a general tax worksheet -- include national, state, and local taxes and services. Most of a class period should be reserved for the discussion, and students might keep the list handy for additions as the course progresses. Advanced classes or students who are particularly astute may enjoy the exercise on the following page, Establishing the Threshold of Government Action on these same issues

Population Change and Virginia's Future. Since populations age and change their demands on government, services and budgets will need to be adjusted in the coming decades. Four full-size pyramid charts are included -- to make transparencies. Teachers will find the charts simpler to explain if they keep reasonably close to the descriptions on the worksheets OR rewrite them to suit their own choice of words. Emphasize that the charts are based on percentages of the total population in each census. The growth of over a half a million people in each decade might not be obvious and might lead students to think that certain age groups are actually shrinking in number in a given decade. Use these charts to develop student discussion and speculations about changes (mainly growth) in services and budgets. These projections are an extension into the future for the population study in Sections B & D of this notebook. They also might be useful in the discussion of special interest groups and legislation in Section E.

The case study materials on "Family Composition in Virginia: Female-Headed Families, 1970-80." will lend a new dimension to class discussion. Use the student worksheet, along with transparencies of the maps, particularly if your area is one that is experiencing a high rate of increase in female-headed families, if the problem is in the news, or if you think your students should be acquainted with the facts of budgetary life in other areas. You might also use the News Letter for a student report, or share additional information some other way with the class. More ideas: see the yellow teacher ideas page.

"DEDUCTIONS? LOOPHOLES? WHO PAYS HOW MUCH?" injects public policy into tax questions by asking what activities or values should be encouraged or subsidized by deductions? No extra preparation should be necessary for most students and classes. The following page contains OMB data on federal tax subsidies, but since Virginia forms use the federal "Taxable Income" figure, most of the tax benefits apply to the Virginia system as well.

The material on "Changes Proposed in Virginia's Income Tax" includes data on some of the "flat tax" proposals suggested which eliminate deductions and loop-holes. If there is interest in the "flat tax" issue in your community, you might want to invite an advocate to discuss the idea in your classes.

The page, "Virginia's Fiscal Crunch of the 1980s," includes data and discussion questions from the News Letter by John Knapp, "Virginia State & Local Government Finances in the 1980s." This News Letter is in section E.

"Criteria to Evaluate Taxes" includes a chart for students to fill in. Discuss the types of taxes and tax impacts summarized on the front of the sheet. Some classes may be economically sophisticated enough to tackle this chart without class discussion -- most may require a preparatory discussion to sort out the vocabulary and concepts. These are standard terms available in other texts and materials. Also see Vocabulary, F 63-64.

Make extra copies of the charts and suggest that students help each other to read the figures correctly. If there are parts of this material that are not clear to you, ask for help from local tax officials -- before the activity is assigned. You might find officials willing to visit the class and answer questions. Many of them enjoy describing the materials they produce and work with in their jobs. This would be particularly useful after students have done some work on taxes, so the questions can be more specific.

Additional Materials and Resources

Virginia is part of a consortium using materials prepared for the Joint Council for Economic Education, and you should have in your school an orange paperback titled Analyzing Tax Policy: A Resource Guide. The 1979 edition has many materials you will find useful. Some are focused on California's Proposition 13, and would be most helpful if a tax/expenditure limit should be under consideration again in Virginia.

Several University of Virginia News Letters are included in this section for teacher background or for student class reports. Additional copies of any News Letters may be ordered from:

Teacher Resources (804-924-0942)
Institute of Government
Minor Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Other Virginia tax information sources:

Virginia Department of Taxation, P.O. Box 6-L, Richmond, VA 23282
- Annual Report of the Department Legislative Digest
- Local Tax Rates (annual)
- Taxable Sales in Virginia Counties and Cities based on Retail Sales Tax Revenues (quarterly and anually)
- Virginia Tax Facts (annual)
- Virginia Real Estate Assessment/Sales Ratio Study (annual)

The Department of Education has videotapes and a fine Teacher Guide on twelve 15-minute personal economics programs entitled "Give & Take," produced by the Agency for Instructional Television, for use in grades 8, 9, and 10. Send a blank tape and $2 to the Instructional Media & Technology Development & Dissemination Service -- but check your own school division A-V library first. Many school systems have these programs in their files. They may have been used in other classes that have an economics component.

The Joint Council on Economic Education and the Agency for Instructional Television also produced six 15-minute videoprograms on "The Economics of Taxation," which are available from the Department of Education, Instructional Media & Technology Development & Dissemination Service. Send $2 and your videotape.

If you have not used the Internal Revenue Service materials on the Federal Income Tax, you should at least see what you are missing. Call the Richmond office (804-424-1040) and order free tax workbooks for each student, a teacher guide, enlarged demonstration forms, and information about films.

TAXES ARE POLITICS What services should government provide?

These are thought questions. Use the space after each paragraph for other views, examples, questions, or answers to add to class discussion.

People who do not go to school pay school taxes, and people who do not drive pay highway taxes. We all pay these general taxes and we all benefit, because they suppport the framework of our society and our economy, the decisions and actions that make the community work for all of us:

. Food considered safe to eat is available in local stores.
. People have the opportunity to be literate and informed.
. Streets are lighted, and trash is collected in urban areas.
. Police, sheriffs, and fire departments are on duty 24 hours a day.
. Our natural resources, agriculture, water, and parklands are protected.
. Our borders are defended.
. Our rights are guaranteed.
. The less-fortunate among us are helped to have the essentials of life.
.
.

Tax-supported services assure us the kind of community, state, and nation we want for ourselves and for coming generations. We help decide -- if we exercise our rights to vote, to organize, and to speak out on public issues.

WITH TAXES, WE BUY GOODS AND SERVICES

In some nations of the world, citizens pay more than 50% of their income in taxes, and receive free medical and dental care, housing, utilities, transportation, and other services. What would these services be worth to the average family? Find out about the taxes and services in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, England, France, West Germany, Israel, or another nation of your choice and be ready to share the information with the class.

Taxes have risen in the past two decades, not only because of inflation, but because we expect government to do more -- providing, supporting, investigating, and regulating. Here are some examples of problems complicated by technology, social change, by population growth and concentration. Can you add to the list? Do these problems call for individual or government action?

- Children who are abused, neglected, or not educated to be responsible citizens, result in loss of life, property, and sometimes years of care in public institutions and prisons. Why is this problem so much in the news today? Should government have any responsibility for helping?

- The lack of affordable day-care centers has kept many one-parent families on welfare, and the number of one-parent families grew more than 40% in most parts of Virginia from 1970 to 1980. Who are the losers What costs of divorce and desertion have been passed on to taxpayers? What is the role of government in dealing with families in trouble?

- Defective and unsafe products, polluting industries, and substance abusers may be threatening our lives, health and future generations. How can we protect ourselves? What is the role of government?

- The cost of medical care has skyrocketed and many people (particularly the elderly and the disabled) cannot pay the bills or the insurance What can an individual do? What is the role of government?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Who should pay for constructing, providing, or regulating the following? Tell who or which level of government should pay for the services listed in the first column: U = user of service, L = local, S = state, and N = national government. If the costs should be shared between levels or between government and users or other categories, tell the percentages you favor for each. If you favor cutting the service, who would lose? Be ready to discuss the politics of support and opposition for these services, and any others you add to the list.

Service	Who Should Pay What Percentage?	If Cut. Who Loses?
Roads - construction		
Traffic Control		
Police		
Fire Protection		
Emergency Services		
Schools		
Community Colleges		
Universities		
Support prices for Agriculture		
Safe workplaces for Miners,Minors,others		
Hospitals		
Health Care for the Indigent		
Food & Drug Regulation and Inspection		
Psychiatric Care for the Indigent		
Prisons & Jails		
Legal Defense for the Indigent		
Social Security and Other Retirement		
Affordable Day Care		
Safety of Planes, Trains, Cars, Buses		
Military Defense of Our Nation		
Military Aid for Other Nations		
Non-military Aid for Other Nations		

What Do You Think (cont'd)

	Who Should Pay What Percentage?	If Cut, Who Loses?
Answer Citizen Questions/Requests		
Provide Information on Government		
Publish Consumer Information		
$ for Food and Care of Needy Children		
Planning for Future Land-Use/Buildings		
Air Pollution Control		
Water Pollution Control		
Safe Dumps		
Control/Disposal of Toxic Wastes		
Collect Taxes, Care of Public Funds		
Administer Public Funds/Programs		
Safe, Clean Housing for the Poor		

People differ on where to draw the line between necessary and defensible services of government, and those they consider not cost effective, or "none of the government's business." Some writers have stated that the government should provide the essential services that people are not able to provide for themselves. Write a statement that summarizes your views on the categories of essential services that government should provide from general tax revenue. Add a description and examples of services you think should be shared (and with whom), and a statement on the things you think people should do for themselves.

Virginia has a long tradition of economical and honest government. While people may not agree with some decisions made through the years, there are few cases of blatant waste, graft, or maladministration in our history. Many of our sister-states are not so fortunate. In Virginia, if we tighten budgets, or if we do not expand them to meet inflation or changing populations, it will usually mean some cuts in services. What state or local services do you think might be cut? Are there any you would like to find out more about?

Look at the Virginia State Government Organization Chart. Choose two departments or agencies that interest you or that you know nothing about. Look them up. Write here a brief description of what they do, how they are financed, and who benefits from their services. If you were a member of a budget review or appropriations committee, what questions would you ask?

THRESHOLDS OF GOVERNMENT ACTION

A FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY PARTICULARLY USEFUL FOR ADVANCED CLASSES OR STUDENTS CONSIDERED DISCERNING ENOUGH TO MAKE THE DISTINCTIONS. IF THE PRECEDING ACTIVITY GENERATED DISCUSSION, THIS WILL INTRODUCE EVEN MORE USEFUL CONCEPTS.

Teacher reads this definition: "A threshold is the level or point above which action will take place, and below which action will NOT take place."

"We are now going to try to determine what the threshold of action should be for the various activities of government. What should it take to get government involved in a problem? at which level -- local, state, or national? "

- - Should government be PROACTIVE ? Should it anticipate and plan, and be ready with programs? Who establishes the priorities? What is the citizen's role? How are the limits set on government involvement in citizens' lives? Should broad-based taxes pay the bills for the planners and regulators?

  "Go back to your lists of government activities and mark with a big Ⓟ the things that each level should anticipate and be ready to deal with."

- - Should government be REACTIVE ? Should government address specific problems only in response to public pressure? How much outcry should it take? By whom? Would the absence of a government policy/program on a subject make the response more likely to favor the position that gathers the biggest crowd ? controls the greatest number of votes? or the solution that costs the least? Are there matters on which TIME may be a crucial factor and delay for government studies and decision could be catastrophic? (toxic spills?) OR is delay useful, providing a cooling-off period, preventing over-reaction?

  "Go back to your lists of government activities and mark with a big Ⓡ the things that each level should address only in response to public pressure."

- - Should government be INACTIVE or passive? Should government adhere to the belief that little or no government is the best government? Are there minimum standards that people have a right to expect? Are there products and services necessary for that minimum standard that people can not (or can no longer) provide for themselves? Has our society any obligation to protect the health, safety, and rights of children? the aged? the sick? the incompetent? How little can government be? Who will make the decisions? At what level?

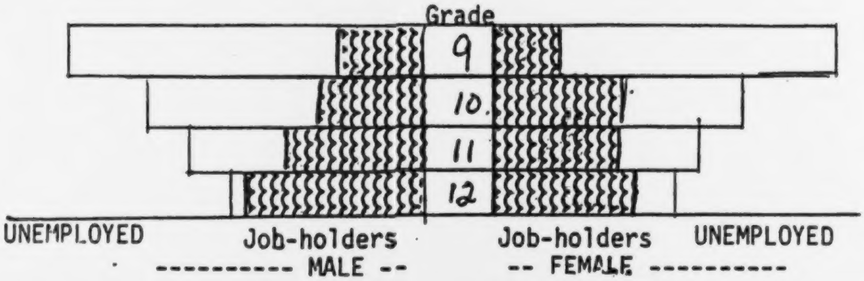
  "Go back to your lists of government activities. What did you cross off? What did you decide that government should NOT do? Is there a minimum standard of any kind that you would want to guarantee for people who cannot take care of themselves? Write a list of the minimum standards and add it to the notebook pages in #6 above.

  Now add to the minimum lists the problems government should be ready to react to (7 - b, above), and the problems government should anticipate and plan in a proactive way (7 - a, above) keeping local, state, and national separate.

EACH STUDENT SHOULD HAVE AN ESSAY OUTLINE THAT DESCRIBES HIS/HER ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT SERVICES AND REGULATION. THIS EXERCISE FORMS THE BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION OF BUDGETS AT THE LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL LEVELS. The comprehensiveness of each student's statements will be a direct reflection of the diversity of services discussed in class. If streetlights were never mentioned at all, they might not appear on any student's list.

ABOUT PYRAMID CHARTS...
The following pages contain data in a form not previously shown in this notebook. Pyramid charts are graphic ways to show several different kinds of related information. They would be useful to students and useful in the course, (i.e., recording voting or straw ballot information). After students are comfortable with the following exercise, consider asking them to make pyramid charts of their own research data.

Example: Graphing the number of students who have after-school jobs of at least 8 hours a week. Obviously, the data would have to be broken down by age or grade, and sex. The job-holders could be shown in actual numbers or in percentages of the total class, by job classification.



The pyramid charts on the following pages project the population data from Section B into the future, and they also might be used with information in that section, in the consideration of voting population in Section D, or the General Assembly concerns of Section E.

The questions on the back of the student worksheet test their understanding of the graphs, as well as their understanding of Virginia population change. Some of the answers can be guessed, but the discussion could include the following information:

1 - This statement is false, because these charts contain only one real number each: the total population, printed at the right of each. The other representations are all percentages. There is no data that tells us the population at the beginning of the year, therefore we cannot tell how much it grew, nor can we tell how much of the growth might have been due to birthrate. Consequently, there is no way that the chart can show in-migration in a given year.

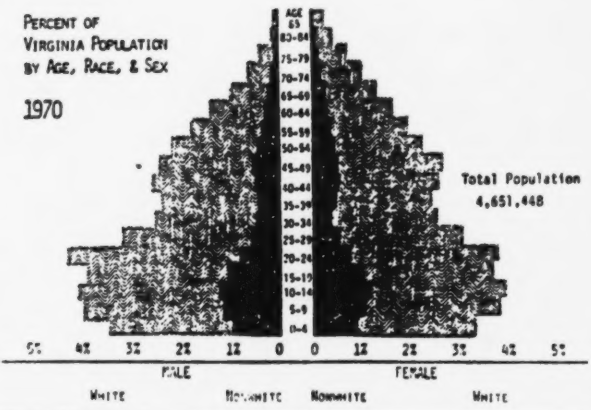
2 - Women outlive men, so the upper age groups on each pyramid show a higher percentage of women than men in both white and nonwhite groups. Some other age groups also appear to show an imbalance.

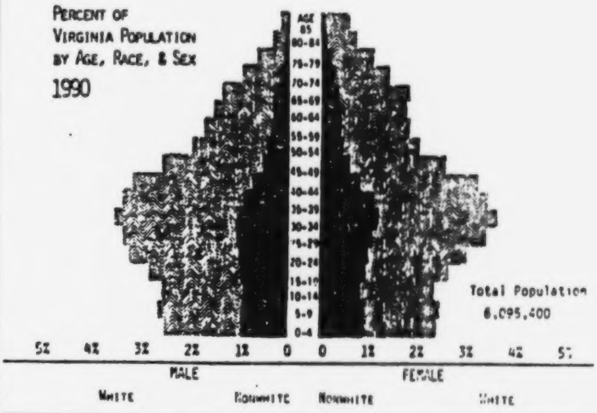
3 - Virginia has large military establishments in an arc from the D. C. suburbs to the Norfolk-Virginia Beach area. Young soldiers and sailors include more men than women. In addition, college students in Virginia have traditionally been more male than female. In recent years, the armed forces and many colleges have become coeducational, and racially integrated. This difference is decreasing.

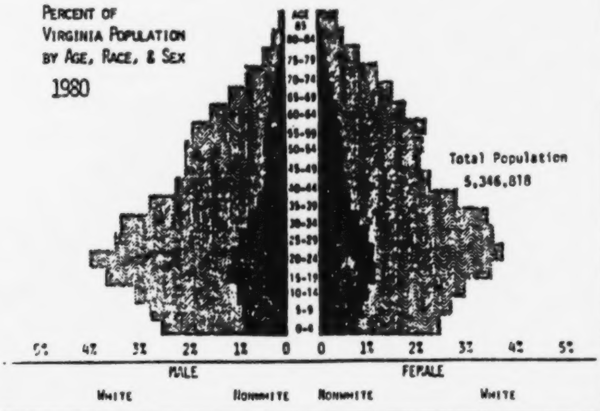
4 - Families are smaller. Costs of raising children have risen dramatically, and birth control options have given families a choice.

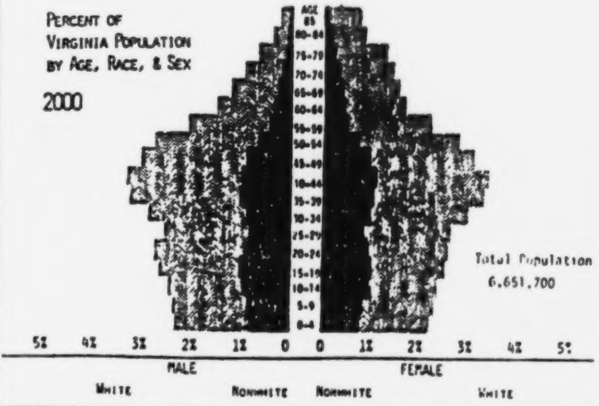
POPULATION CHANGE & VIRGINIA'S FUTURE

PYRAMID CHARTS CAN SHOW MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF DATA AT THE SAME TIME. Read the title first: "Percent of Virginia Population by Age, Race & Sex," for 1970, 1980, and predictions for 1990 and 2000. Data is shown on both sides of a center column, allowing much more information than on a single bar chart. Your eye can compare data for age groups, race, and sex. (The numbers across the bottom are percents of population. Data on the left side of the chart is for males, and data on the right is for females. The darker portion of each age bar shows the percent nonwhite, which includes oriental, American Indian, and Latin American as well as black people.) The total population, at the right of each chart, increases more than a half million each decade, because there are more births than deaths, and more people move into Virginia than move out. Follow one group of people through the graphs: the 10-14 year old males and females in 1970, become the bulge of 20-24 year olds in 1980, 30-34 year olds (with an accompanying bulge of 0 - 9 year olds) in 1990, and 40-44 year olds in 2000.









Population Change and Virginia's Future (cont'd)

1 - Describe why the following statement is TRUE, or FALSE: From the pyramid charts, you can tell exactly how many people moved into Virginia during 1980.

2 - The pyramid charts show several years when there may be more women than men in certain age groups in Virginia. Write some examples here:

3 - Why do you think 20-24 year old males are a large group on each pyramid?

4 - The postwar "boom" babies (born 1950 - 65) are now of child-bearing age. Why do the charts show only a slight increase in the 0 - 10 year-old groups?

The pyramid charts show percents of total population in each age group. Since the actual Virginia population increases more than a half million people in each decade, ALMOST ALL THE AGE CATEGORIES INCREASE IN ACTUAL NUMBERS.

Example: 3.8% of the 1970 population (4,651,448) = 176,755 people.
3.5% of the 1980 population (5,346,818) = 187,138 people.

When there is an increase in the percentage of the population, as well as an increase in the total population, the new actual number will be considerably higher. It could be described as a bigger piece of a bigger pie.

Look again at the charts. Are there any Virginia government programs that you think will NOT be serving increased numbers of people in the coming years? Are there any that you would think will NOT require additional funds?

What has been the population growth pattern in this area of the state?

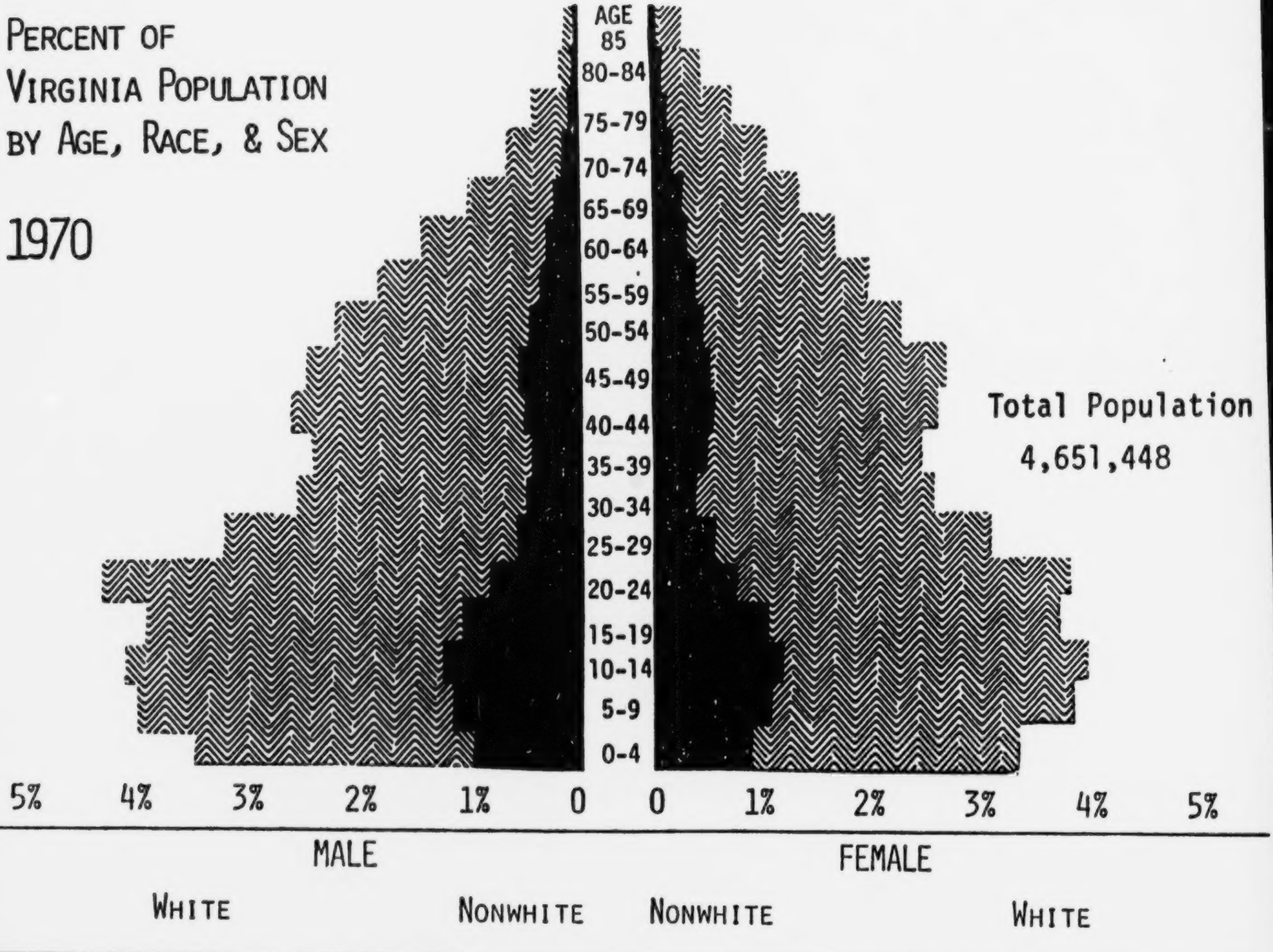
Name some of the programs in this community that are designed and managed for people of different ages? sexes? or racial backgrounds?

---schools: number, location, types of programs,
---public health: particular needs of children, women, elderly,
---recreation:

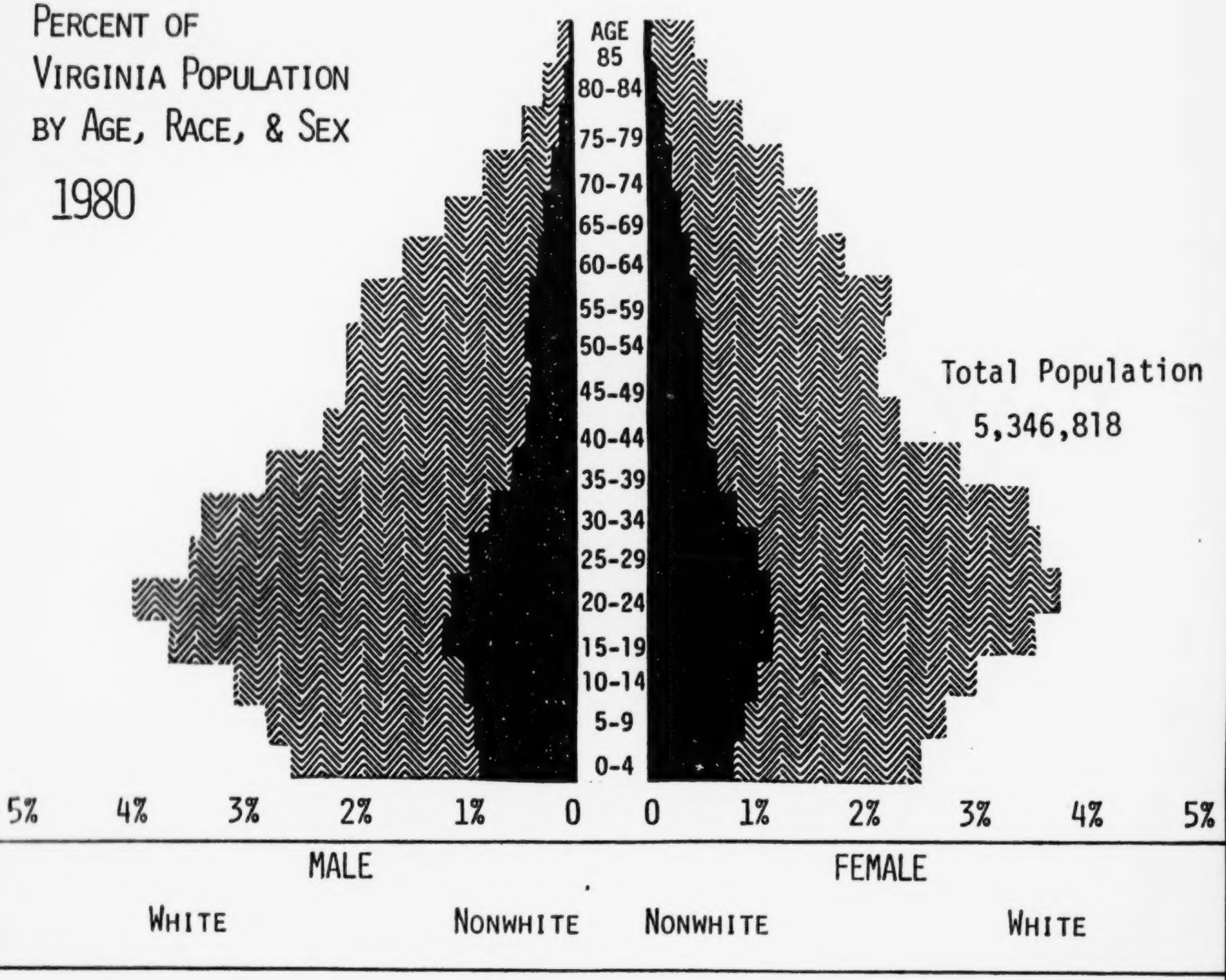
Can you think of social, medical, or other events/phenomena that might upset the population predictions for the year 2000?

PERCENT OF VIRGINIA POPULATION BY AGE, RACE, & SEX

1970



Total Population
4,651,448



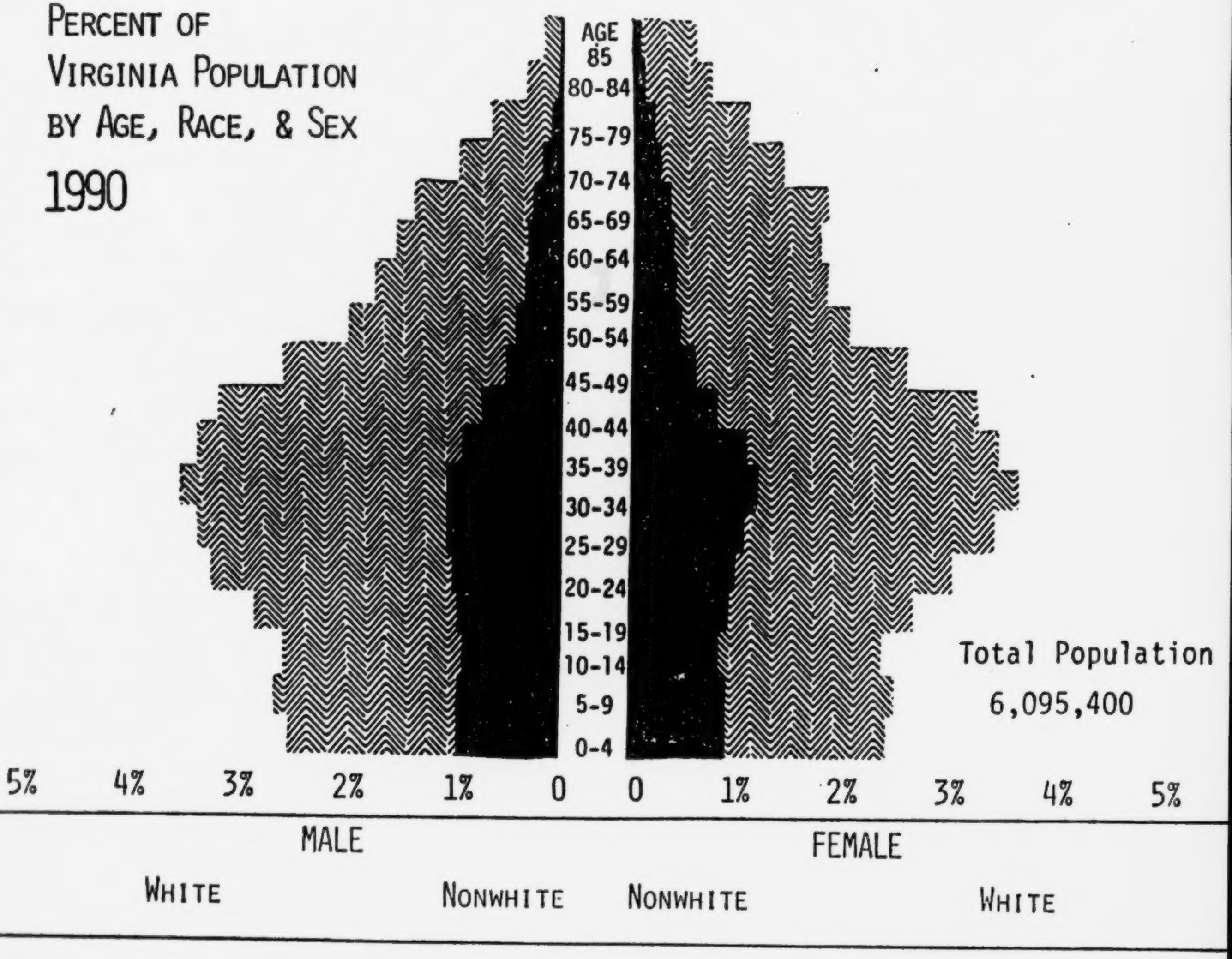
PERCENT OF
VIRGINIA POPULATION
BY AGE, RACE, & SEX

1980

Total Population
5,346,818

PERCENT OF VIRGINIA POPULATION BY AGE, RACE, & SEX

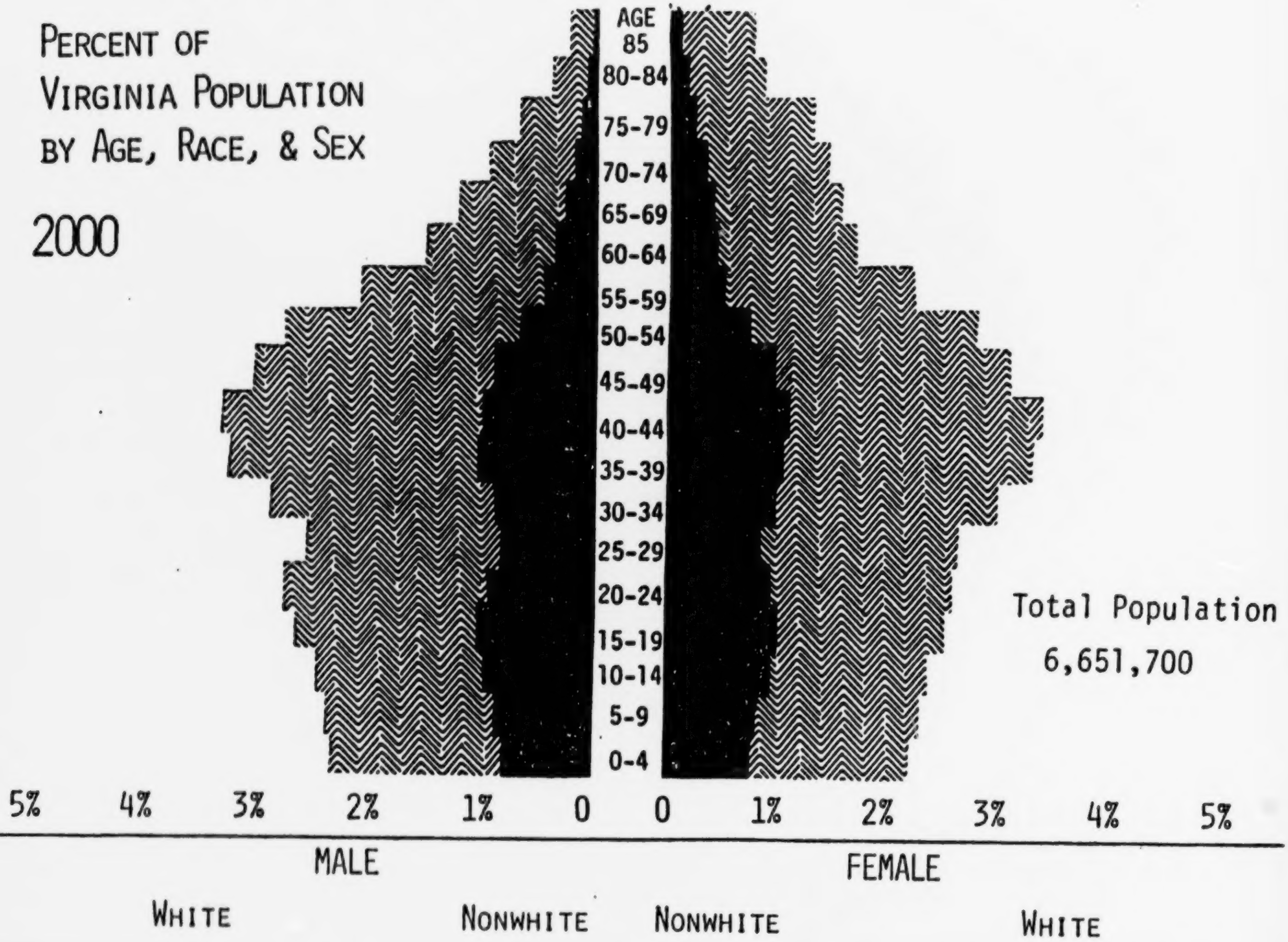
1990



Total Population
6,095,400

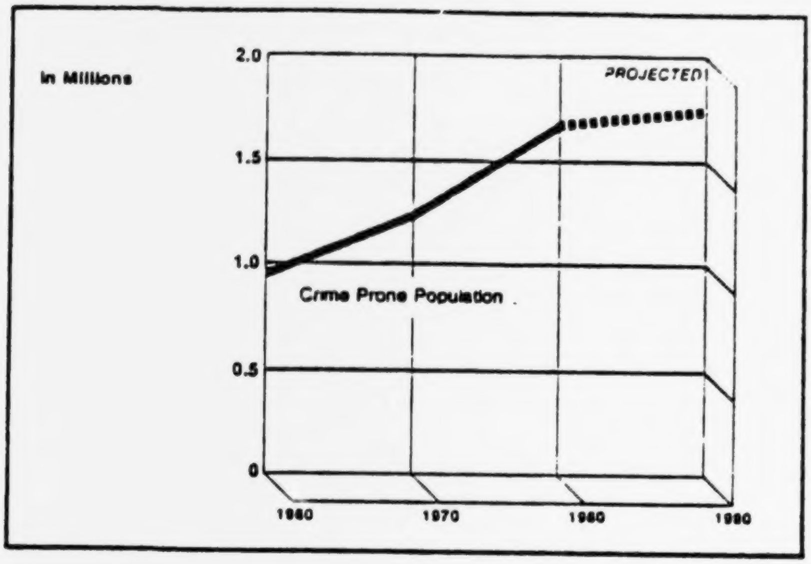
PERCENT OF VIRGINIA POPULATION BY AGE, RACE, & SEX

2000

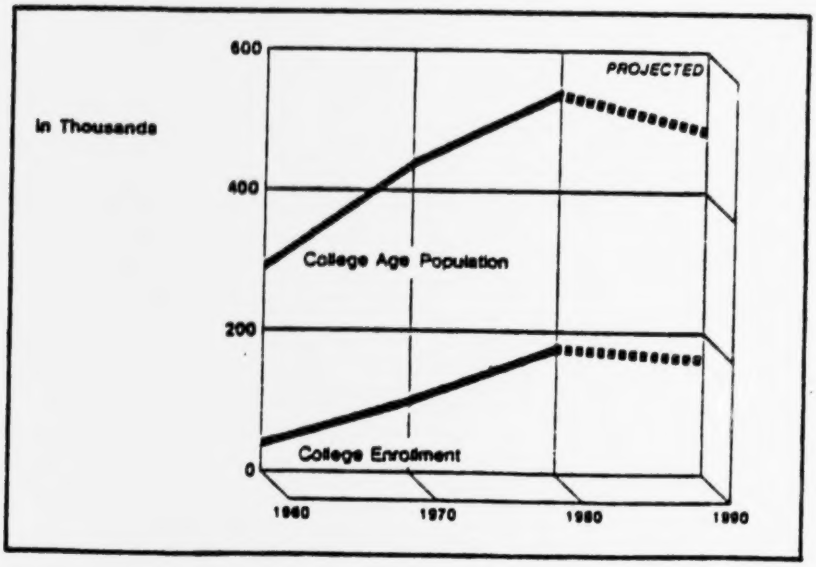


Total Population
6,651,700

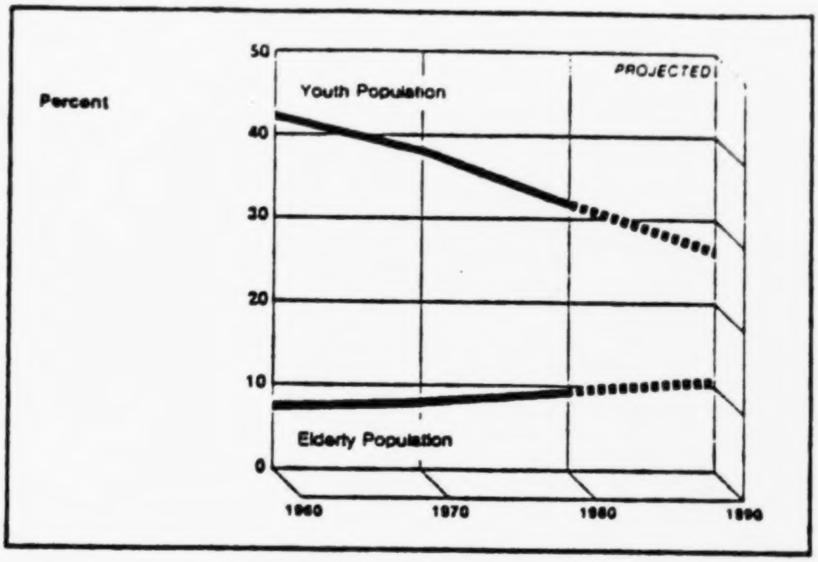
Stable Crime Prone Population Age Group



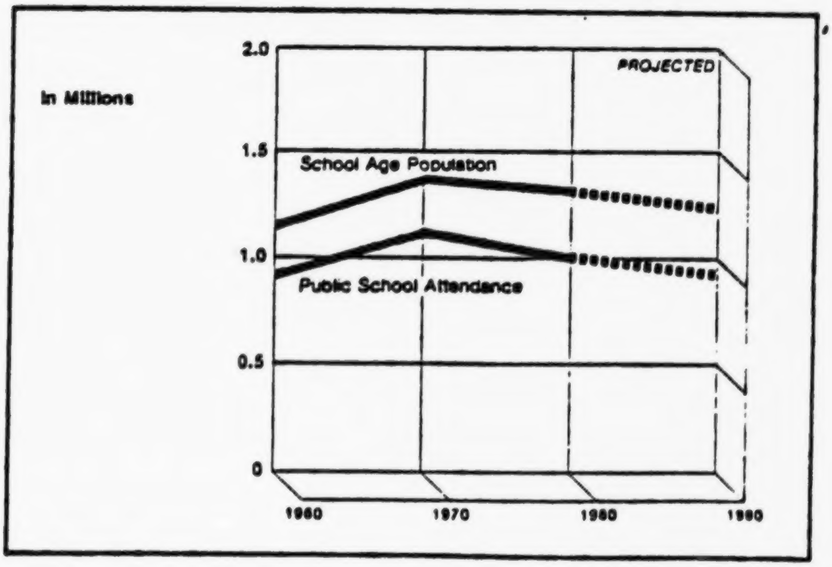
Declines in College Age Population and Stabilization in College Enrollment



Decline in Youth Population and Increases in Elderly Population



Declines in School Age Population and Public School Attendance



TEACHER RESOURCES ON FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

This section includes

-- a News Letter that is important for teacher information. It might also be used for a student assignment. (Order additional copies from the Institute of Government.)
-- a student worksheet composed of 16 questions that invite guessing and would make good family discussion.
-- 2 maps from the News Letter, suitable for duplication, and full-page copies of the maps, suitable for transparencies.

This data leads very naturally to value-laden discussion. Allow enough time for students to deal with the information. Some, perhaps many, of your students may be walking case histories, or they may be contemplating activity or commitments that will add to the statistics of future years. If you have guidance counselors or social workers in (or available to) your school who might sieze the opportunity to discuss tha data, and particularly the plight of the young, divorced, deserted, or unmarried mother, invite them in. It is too good an opportunity to miss. (The counselor might end the class by naming another time and place to continue the discussion.)

BUT THE POINT OF THE ACTIVITY......AND THE REASON FOR INCLUDING IT IN THE GOVERNMENT COURSE IS TO STIMULATE STUDENT CONSIDERATION OF THE KINDS OF SERVICES THAT GOVERNMENT OFFERS -- AT ALL LEVELS -- TO HELP STUDENTS UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL REALITIES OF THE BUDGET AND TAXES.

If there is a chance that your students are too affluent to relate to the problems of the poor, a social service or welfare worker might contribute or bring some case histories to challenge their concern. Students might also be motivated to volunteer some time and attention to social service organizations to gain a better understanding of the people needs that government addresses, and the realities of which services might be handled by the private sector.

SHOULD FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES BE LEFT TO WORK OUT THEIR PROBLEMS FOR THEMSELVES? OR ARE THERE OTHER NON-GOVERNMENT ANSWERS? OR IS THERE A ROLE THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD PLAY? AT WHICH LEVEL? HOW SHOULD IT BE MANAGED? HOW SHOULD IT BE FINANCED?

Additional Social Studies research: What is the family responsibility law in other nations? Who takes care of deserted families and children? Our society gives tax deductions for children in the family. Some governments of the world have limited families by increasing taxes and decreasing benefits (health care, schooling) for more than 2 children. A student might report on the social planning of another nation, and offer an opinion on whether this kind of control would be politically possible in our society.

Another topic worthy of consideration: The increased numbers of working women in our society has brought about a sharp change in volunteer activities in our communities. PTAs, Scouts, fund drives, and church work formerly found family members with time and energy to plan and carry out activities that were important to schools and to young people. Many areas are struggling without such volunteer support today. Has the change affected this community?

ANSWERS & TEACHING IDEAS ON FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

BEFORE YOU BEGIN TO DISCUSS THE FOLLOWING ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS ON F 29. Make transparencies of the maps on F 27 - 28 or make a classroom set for students to look at, particularly in connection with question #3.

1 - 15% - For every 100 married couple families in Virginia in 1970, there were 115 in 1980.

2 - 51% - For every 100 female-headed families in 1970, there were 151 in 1980.

3 - 80% or more - The greatest increases were in 6 of the 9 major metropolitan areas and their suburbs. Pick them out on the map: Northern Virginia, Charlottesville, Roanoke, Richmond, Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell, Norfolk-Portsmouth-Virginia Beach.

4 - 116% - For every 100 female-headed families in Fairfax County in 1970, there were 216 in 1980.

5 - TRUE - An increasing number of them awarded no alimony.

6 - TRUE - An increasing number of the fathers pay NO child support. This is a major cause of the poverty of female-headed families.

7 - TRUE - A high percentage were teenagers with no job skills, incomplete education and no support from the father of the child. (Discussion here might focus on whether the mother--often living with her mother and others--is ready to offer the child adult emotional support. How adult should you be to be a capable parent?)

8 - 43% of Virginia families fit the definition (57% do not), and more wives work outside the home because two salaries are needed to support the family. (Discussion here might include mention of PTA, Scouts, and a wide assortment of volunteer activities that helped schools and young people, that are in decline because of the decrease in time for volunteering. Also discuss LATCHKEY CHILDREN. Are after-school programs provided in your area

9 - TRUE - Widowed women are likely to be older and face age discrimination in employment, though they may need jobs to support themselves. Divorced women are every age and circumstance. Half of all American women who in 1979 lived alone or were the heads of families,lived in rental housing, in contrast to a fourth of all families. High prices and high interest rates keep female-headed households, with their lower incomes, at an even greater disadvantage in the housing market. They are most likely to live in crowded situations, and are least likely to be able to take advantage of the financial benefits of home ownership.

10 - TRUE - Almost two-thirds (61.3%) of white female-headed families lived in rural of suburban counties. More than two-thirds (68.0%) of black female-headed families lived in cities. Almost a third of all black families in Virginia were headed by a woman with no spouse present in the household.

11 - 59¢ - Women traditionally have been employed in jobs considered (usually by men) to be "women's work" (teachers, nurses, store/office clerks, house workers) Since women were not expected to support families, the pay for these jobs was always lower, even though many of the women were supporting families. Though many women have had job responsibility equal to a man's, few of them were ever given pay equal to a man's. Court cases demanding "equal pay for equal work" may change the statistic over time, but 59¢ is still true today as the women's wage, for every $1.00 earned by men.

12 - TRUE - Poor nutrition and health care (before and after birth) is known to stunt physical growth, contribute to retardation, learning and behavic problems, which cost heartbreak and state expense over the years.

13 - TRUE - For many, the only hope of breaking the poverty cycle was the day care center, subsidized to provide sliding scale charges based on income. Funds were cut for many centers, and mothers are back on welfare.

14 - TRUE - The Census Bureau says that of all mothers who are owed child support, 28% receive nothing, and half receive less than the court stipulated. 14% of the population at-large is below the poverty line; but 35% of single mothers caring for children are below the poverty line!

15 - ALL THOSE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CUT. Women's rights groups point out that the cuts were made by legislators who are mostly men and relatively wealthy. Legal assistance that had helped the poor fight the cuts also was axed.

16 - FALSE - Divorce and desertion usually leave the women with the children to raise. Men remarry more often and more quickly than women do, and some men never do help support their children. In addition, women live longer than men. Most Virginia and U. S. women will spend significant parts of their lives alone or in female-headed households. An alarming percentage of them will not have the financial resources or the job skills to break out of a poverty cycle.

YOUNG WOMEN NEED AS MUCH EDUCATION AND JOB SKILL TRAINING AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THEY START HAVING CHILDREN.

CLASS ACTIVITY IDEAS

- How would you make the point immediately above, and make it convincingly, to a teenage daughter? Try a role play: ask students to role play a head-of-household mother trying to tell a determined young lady that she should finish her education before she and her boyfriend start a family.
- Ask for a team of volunteers to visit the local Social Services or Welfare Department for information on local caseload statistics, including data such as costs for housing, food, medical and other bills in this area.
- Invite your local Welfare or Social Services Director or a caseworker to visit your classes. You will have an interesting day, and the visitor will also learn about the school, teachers, and students. Discuss in advance how the visitor can tie in with your course plan, and what information would be most important for your students in their own life decisions.

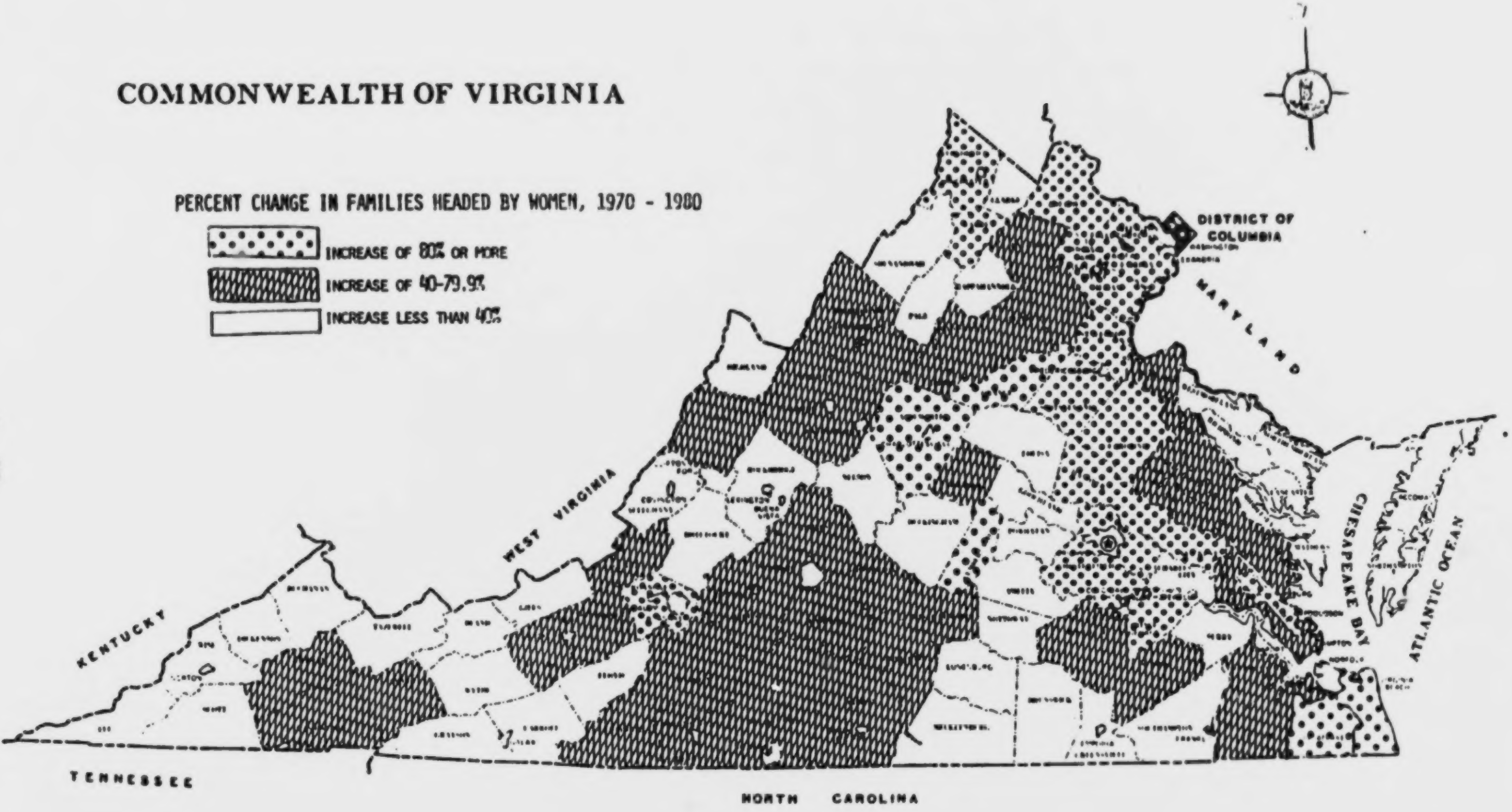
CONCLUDING DISCUSSION - Give students a few minutes to write notes on the following questions, then share their answers:

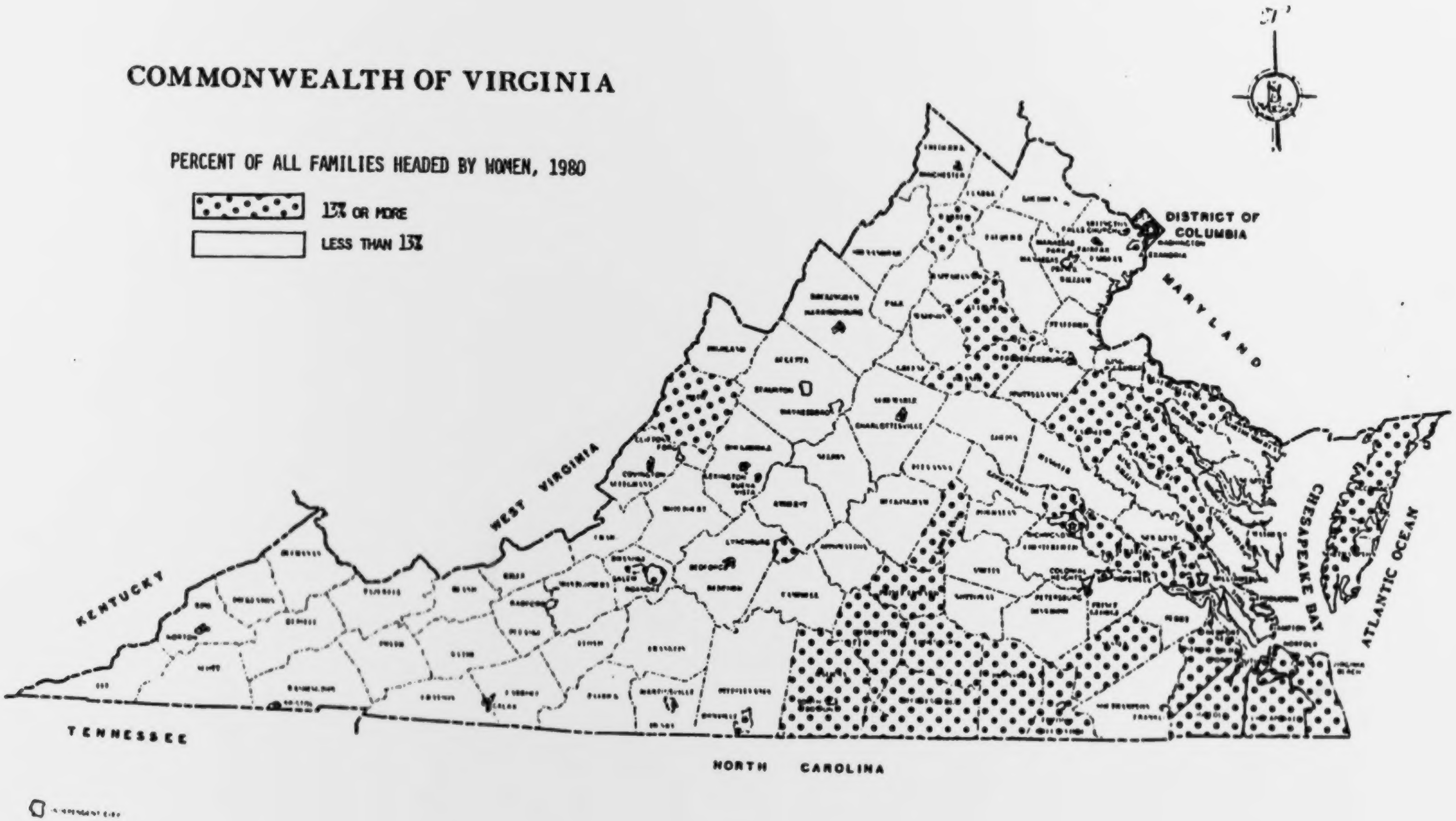
- Which of these problems should people solve for themselves? What help is available for them in the community?
- If you think local, state, or national government should help, describe the programs you would favor, and how they would be funded and managed.

After each program is described, students might role play legislators, in support or opposition to the recommendation.

Issue a final challenge to students to keep their eyes and ears open for these issues in the news. If they develop good proposals or strong feelings about funding or cutting programs, urge them to write to legislators, or bring in a legislator to the class to discuss the political realities of the proposal.

F 27


COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
PERCENT CHANGE IN FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN, 1970 - 1980
INCREASE OF 80% OR MORE
INCREASE OF 40-79.9%
INCREASE LESS THAN 40%
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN


COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN, 1980

13% OR MORE
LESS THAN 13%
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDEPENDENT CITY

FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES: CHANGING NEEDS FOR SERVICES?

It is common knowledge that there are more and more single and single-again women who are heads of families in our nation. Some are professionally equipped to earn a good living. Some are independently wealthy, with inherited money or divorce settlements. An increasing number are in serious financial difficulty. What effect does this have on the numbers of women and children living in poverty in Virginia?

The following statements all concern Virginia and most are taken from the census data of 1970 and 1980. Circle what you think is the best or most likely choice to complete each statement, or T for True, F for false.

1 - The number of married couple families grew (5%, 15%, 25%) in the decade.

2 - The number of female-headed families grew (20%, 34%, 51%).

3 - 24 counties and cities led in the growth of female-headed families, with an increase of (61%, 75%, 80% or more)

4 - Fairfax County population grew 31%, with family units increased 40%, and female-headed families increased (64%, 92%, 116%).

5 - The divorce rate increased from 23 to 39 for every 100 marriages. (T - F)

6 - 14,000 of the 23,600 divorces in 1980 involved minor children. (T - F)

7 - In 1980, 19% of all live births were to unmarried women. (T - F)

8 - In 1980, (43%, 53%, 63%) of all Virginia families fit most people's image of a "family": husband, wife, and one or more children living as a unit.

9 - A divorced or widowed woman who heads a family frequently must support more than half the former family on less than half the former income. (T - F)

10 - Most white female-headed households live in counties, and most black female-headed households live in cities. (T - F)

11 - For each $1.00 earned by men, women of comparable education and experience earn about (59¢, 69¢, 79¢).

12 - Nutrition and health care during pregnancy and childhood affect the mental and physical health, and future success of the child. (T - F)

13 - Many women are on welfare because they cannot afford to pay child care to attend job training programs, and they cannot earn enough on unskilled jobs to pay child care and support the family. (T - F)

14 - Female householders (with or without families, minority or not) are the fastest-growing group of destitute (very poor) people in Virginia and the nation (T - F)

15 - Funding cuts have resulted in female householders being dropped from aid in (job training, child care, food stamps, nutrition and health) programs.

16 - Bumper sticker: "Cure poverty - Get a Job"
Advice to young girls: "Catch a man to support you - live happily ever after."
Both of these are as true today as in Grandma's day. (T - F)

On the back of this paper, identify the problems mentioned above that you think people should solve for themselves. If you think local, state, or national government should help, briefly describe the programs you would favor and the level of government most appropriate for the funding and management. Be ready to discuss your ideas in class.

DEDUCTIONS? LOOPHOLES? WHO PAYS HOW MUCH?

Worksheet

Local, state, and national legislators elected by the people decide who pays how much. Legislators' votes are based on a complex pattern of pressures -- some very practical and directly related to their desire to be reelected. Others are rooted in their personal economic and political views on such matters as ability-to-pay, independent responsibility for one's own life and problems, a moral concern for fellow human beings. Democrats, Republicans, and independents have railed against government budgets and taxes, but when they are in positions to cut budgets and taxes, they have rarely been able to do it as drastically as their campaign rhetoric would suggest. Several writers have pointed out that American voters like to elect people who say they'll "get government off our backs," and cut taxes, but what they actually mean is "Cut my taxes and cut other people's services" or "Cut out those loopholes that other people use in the tax laws, but don't touch my deductions." The constituencies for each benefit, subsidy, and service make sure their views are known at decision time.

Many economists have stated that tax policy should encourage, give preference to, or subsidize activities that promote community and economic goals. What deductions do you think should be allowed on federal, state, and local taxes?

List activity that tax policy should encourage	Why?	Who benefits from this deduction?
1 Home ownership	stabilize communities	payers of interest on mortgages
2. Competent child care for working parents	raise living standards to benefit children	young families
3.		
4.		
5.		

EVERY LOOPHOLE, EVERY DEDUCTION RAISES TAXES FOR ALL WHO CANNOT CLAIM THAT SUBSIDY. You know about deductions for contributions to charities, interest on loans, business lunches and other entertaining. Write here any you can recall that you think should not be allowed and be ready to discuss your reasons.

Why do you think these deductions are allowed now?

Several proposals for changes in state and national income taxes favor eliminating all deductions and taxing everyone the same percentage of income. What kinds of arguments might be made for such a plan?

Should a basic minimum income be exempt from taxation? If you think so, how much should it be? Why?

LOOPHOLES WILL COST THE U.S. GOVERNMENT $353 BILLION IN 1985

WHAT WILL THEY COST VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT? WHAT WILL THEY COST YOU?

Ask almost any citizen on the street "Who receives the most in financial benefits from the federal government?" and the answer will usually be "poor people," or "people who do not work." But deductions and loopholes allowed some taxpayers are also benefits (they increase the taxes for everyone else) and they total much more money -- an estimated $353 BILLION in 1985 alone.

Taxes may increase or decrease, but once a subsidy is written into the law, lobby pressure tends to keep it there.
(Two examples--#1: Housing subsidies help poor people pay rent, but an even greater amount of money each year ($25 BILLION in 1985) is deducted as a mortgage interest subsidy from the taxable income of more affluent people. President Reagan's mention of a possible reexamination of the mortgage interest subsidy sent shockwaves through the nation's real estate and building organizations. He was quick to withdraw the suggestion. Ex. #2: Congress passed a law that tax should be withheld (not increased, just collected sooner) from dividend payments. Banks all over the nation mailed out protest cards in statements to their depositors that caused a deluge in Washington, and the plan to collect the tax through withholding was rescinded.)

All taxpayers receive some of these benefits in deductions from their taxable income. Many of the deductions have wide public support -- others have influential lobbies.

Government revenue losses through these loopholes were estimated by the Office or Management and Budget, Joint Committee on Taxation. They are printed below. (You will also find them in a feature story on the economy in U. S. News & World Report, March 12, 1984.)

TAX BENEFITS TO INDIVIDUALS - $226.9 BILLION INCLUDING

Personal deductions and credits	ESTIMATED TAX LOSS
Mortgage interest, owner-occupied homes	$25,130 million
State, local income, sales, personal property taxes	21,634 million
Charitable contributions	13,485 million
Interest on consumer credit	10,845 million
Property tax, owner-occupied homes	9,640 million
Deduction for 2-earner married couples	6,635 million
Medical expenses	3,410 million
Exemptions for people age 65 and over	2,675 million
Child/dependent care credits	1,905 million
Parent exemption for students over age 19	1,020 million
Residential energy credits	775 million
Welfare benefits	510 million
Casualty losses	415 million
Political contributions	295 million
Earned-income credit	285 million
Tax credit for the elderly	210 million

Income that would not be taxed	ESTIMATED TAX LOSS
Company contributions to pension funds, plus earnings of plan investments	56,340 million
Company-paid medical/life insurance, other nonwage benefits	22,740 million
Social Security benefits	17,845 million
Retirement contributions - IRAs, Keogh Plans	11,370 million
Interest on life insurance savings	5,180 million
Veterans' benefits	2,310 million
Workers' Compensation benefits	2,215 million
Military benefits, allowances	2,155 million
Deferral of capital gains on home sales	1,800 million
Unemployment insurance benefits	1,800 million
Income earned abroad by U. S. citizens	1,405 million
Capital gains on home sales by those 55 or older	805 million
Meals and lodging furnished workers by employers	795 million
Exclusion of interest on U. S. savings bonds	771 million
Railroad Retirement System benefits	450 million

LOOPHOLES... (CONT'D)

TO INVESTORS, BUSINESS OWNERS, FARMERS - $37.5 BILLION INCLUDING	ESTIMATED TAX LOSS
Special treatment on long-term capital gains	$16,040 million
Interest exemption on state, local bonds, debt	5,435 million
No tax on capital gains at death	4,355 million
Investment tax credit	3,605 million
Accelerated depreciation deduction	2,520 million
Deduction for energy exploration/development	1,135 million
Net interest income exclusion of 15%	920 million
Excess energy depletion allowance	820 million
Accelerated depreciation for rental housing	720 million
Deduction for some capital outlays in farming	575 million
Capital gains treatment for farming investments	510 million
Dividend exclusion	460 million
Tax-deferred reinvestment of utility dividends	450 million

TO CORPORATIONS - $86.4 BILLION INCLUDING	ESTIMATED TAX LOSS
Investment tax credit	26,845 million
Accelerated depreciation deduction	24,034 million
Interest exemption on state, local bonds, debt	14,125 million
Reduced rate on first $100,000 corporate income	5,905 million
Special treatment of capital gains	2,640 million
Sales of leases	2,340 million
Tax credit for employee stock-ownership plans	1,875 million
Special treatment for corporations in world trade	1,620 million
Research, development deductions and credits	1,365 million
Deduction for charitable contributions	1,180 million
Credits for firms doing business in U.S. possessions	1,135 million
Deduction for energy development costs	1,110 million
Excess bad debt reserves of financial institutions	810 million
Targeted jobs credit	650 million
Excess energy depletion allowance	620 million
Credits for energy conservation, new technology	195 million

ONE THOUSAND MILLION = ONE BILLION

TAX LOSSES FROM THESE SUBSIDIES

1974	$ 82 billion
1979	149.8 billion
1984 (estimated)	320.5 billion
1985 (estimated)	353.0 billion

Virginia's individual and business income taxes are based on the federal form calculation of "taxable income," therefore, the loopholes on the list above are also cutting Virginia tax revenues -- except on those items that specific Virginia legislation added back to the Virginia tax base. See the list on F 38. The corporate and individual income tax raises of 1972 and 1982 were "add-backs" of amounts allowed as deductions on federal taxes, but not allowed on the Virginia calculations.

Everyone who cannot claim these subsidies must pay more taxes to make up for the amounts not paid by persons and businesses that claim the subsidy.

A real "flat tax" would remove all these subsidies. Do you think Congress ever will approve a "flat tax"?

VIRGINIA STATE & LOCAL TAXES - 1984

(Source: Virginia Department of Taxation)

STATE - GENERAL FUND TAXES

Income Taxes:

Corporation Income Tax - 6% of taxable income
Fiduciary Income Tax - taxed as other income, 2% - 5.75%
Individual Income Tax - Individuals with taxable income over $3000 from Virginia sources may be taxed 2% - 5.75%.

Inheritance Taxes and Charges for Recording Legal Papers:

Estate Tax - tax on transfer of property at death
Probate Tax - tax on the probate and administration of wills
Recordation Tax - on deeds, mortgages, leases and contracts -
Writ Tax - $3 to $25 on different types of law suits and writs

Sales & Use Taxes:

Aircraft Sales & Use - 2% on aircraft for nonscheduled use
Motor Vehicle Fuel Sales Tax - 2% on dealer sales each month and ______on consumer gasoline taxes
Retail Sales Tax - 3% state, plus 1% local - paid by buyers, and sent monthly by sellers - 2% returned for local schools
Use Tax - 4% of value of property sold, stored, or used in Virginia by out-of-state dealers
Vending Machine Sales Tax - 4% state, plus 1% local - paid monthly by dealers who operate machines in Virginia
Watercraft Sales & Use - 2% on sale or registration of title

Miscellaneous Taxes:

Bank Franchise Tax - $1 per $100 of taxable value @ year
Corn Tax - 1/4¢ per bushel - $ used to promote corn products
Egg Promotion Tax - 5¢ per standard case of 30 dozen
Forest Products Tax - rates vary, $ used for conservation
Intangible Personal Property Tax - 30¢ per $100 value of stock, bonds, notes, money, accounts receivable - collected locally
Litter Tax - $10 from each manufacturer, wholesaler, distributor or retailer of food, drink, tobacco, newspapers or magazines, auto parts, nondrug sundries, or trash containers
Malt Beverage Tax - excise tax on all beer, rate based on size of bottle, can, or barrel
Peanut Excise Tax - processor pays 10¢ per 100 pounds (7/1/84)
Slaughter Hog & Feeder Pig Excise Tax - 10¢ per hog, 5¢ per feeder pig (under 140 lbs) $ used for hog education/research
Soft Drink Excise Tax - Wholesalers or distributors taxed on annual gross receipts
Soybean Tax - 1¢ per bushel to to enhance production/marketing
Tobacco Products Tax - 2 1/2 ¢ per pack, 25¢ per carton state tax. City and town charters may allow additional amount

STATE - SPECIAL FUND TAXES

State Corporation Commission taxes and fees on public service corporations (telephone, telegraph, water, heat, light and power companies) 1-4% of gross receipts. Also collect charter fees, insurance premium tax, railroad rolling stock tax, motor vehicle carriers, and Virginia Pilots Association

State - Special Fund Taxes (cont'd)

Alcoholic Beverage Commission taxes wine (40¢ per liter plus 4% of purchase price if sold to consumer) and alcoholic beverages (20% on other beverages sold in the ABC stores) Beverages sold to be served as mixed drinks are taxed an extra 50¢ per quart. Beer and malt beverages are taxed at $7.95 per barrel. 22% of the funds collected are returned to the communities by population.

Motor Fuel & Special Fuels Tax (11¢ per gallon) is collected on motor fuels sold, delivered, or used in Virginia EXCEPT government, agricultural equipment, emergency vehicles, and bus and transit vehicles. Aviation fuels is taxed at 4¢ for the first 100,000 gallons, then 1/4¢ per gallon. Also an oil company franchise tax, and the motor vehicles sales and use tax paid on the gross sales price of all motor vehicles (2%, 3% on rental cars and mobile homes. Collected by Division of Motor Vehicles.

LOCAL TAXES

Real Property Tax - Rate set by city, town and/or county. Assessed value should be 100% of "fair market value" (what a buyer would pay a willing seller for the property).

Personal Property Tax - Items taxed include motor vehicles, boats, business property. aircraft, machinery and tools, farm animals and household goods and personal effects. There is great latitude in how a locality taxes classes of items, but it must tax each class of items uniformly.

Merchants' Capital Tax - tax on inventory, excess of accounts receivable over accounts payable, and on rental automobiles. Collectable in cities, towns, or counties that do not have a business license tax. Counties may collect this on the merchants of a town within their borders.

Business, Profession and Occupational License Tax (BPOL) May be a "gross receipts tax" or a flat fee, or both. Greatest impact on businesses with a high inventory turnover (grocery stores) Town businesses do not pay a county BPOL, if they have a town BPOL. Several specific exemptions have been approved that cover branch offices, contractors, media, manufacturing, agricultural management, and natural resources. Rates and fees are limited.

Severance Tax - Tax on coal and gases. May be levied on property owner or on gross receipts from sale of coal or gas.

Consumer Utility Tax - Local-option sales tax on water, gas, phone or electricity. Collected as part of consumer's bill. Special tax, not deductible from federal income tax. Counties may not collect in towns that provide certain services.

Probate & Recordation Taxes- Same as state, but amount limited to 1/3 the state tax. Towns may not collect.

Taxes Authorized by Charter or Special Act, and not prohibited by any other law. Examples: Transient Occupancy Tax, Admissions Tax, Cigarette Tax: most cities -(no rate limit), Arlington & Fairfax counties (with restrictions), Restaurant meals tax.

SHARED TAXES - STATE & LOCAL: General Sales Tax - 1/3 of net from state's 3% (based on school age population). Additional 1% local option also collected by state and returned to community. Bank franchise tax. Local Motor Vehicle tag fee. ABC license and mixed beverage tax. Northern Virginia Transportation District Sales Tax on gasoline (to fund Metro).

TAX LEGISLATION, 1970 - 1983 (Source: Senate Finance Committee Staff)

Contrary to popular belief, ONCE A TAX IS PASSED, IT DOES NOT ALWAYS GO ON FOREVER -- TAXES ARE ALSO CUT! Since 1970, Virginia General Fund taxes on individuals have been CUT more than they have been increased.

Look at changes affecting the income tax:

In 1971, Virginia's tax forms were simplified so taxpayers could use the Adjusted Gross Income figure from their Federal tax forms. However, the AGI was based on calculations that included more deductions than Virginia's law. Income taxes and Virginia revenues were cut.

In 1972, a new bracket was added and revenues increased, to restore less than half of the revenues lost in 1971.

In 1973, taxes were decreased for taxpayers over 65.

In 1977, taxes were decreased when childcare deductions were restored for working parents.

In 1978, taxes were decreased, when the lowest-income taxpayers were dropped. Those earning less than $3000 no longer file returns.

In 1982, Federal taxes were cut. Again, the lowered AGI reduced Virginia taxes and revenues. The Tax Recovery Act added back about a fifth of the Individual Income Tax loss.

In 1983, legislation resulted in an earlier collection of estimated taxes. There was no increase in rate: it just brought in the money sooner.

From the information on the chart on the next page, fill in the amounts of the change in the General Fund in the 1982-84 biennium resulting from each of these General Assembly actions affecting the Individual Income Tax in Virginia:

1971 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1972 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1973 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1977 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1978 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1982 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

1983 Amount Increased: __________ Amount Decreased: __________

Totals: __________ __________

Subtract Total Increase --__________

Net Decrease __________

If those tax-decreasing actions had not been taken, the 1982-84 Individual Income Tax bills of Virginia residents would have been that much higher, with increased burden for very low income people, the elderly, and working parents. When taxes go down, taxpayers cheer and legislators are reelected. But taxes may need to be raised nearer national averages to pay for essential services and meet the expectations Virginians have for their government.

VIRGINIA TAX LEGISLATION

IMPACT IN MILLIONS ON 1982-84 GENERAL FUND*

The following chart shows bills passed by the General Assembly that increased or decreased the money that would have come into the state of Virginia General Fund during the 1982-84 biennium. The revenue cuts made since 1970, that were not made up by increases in other taxes, are partly responsible for the fiscal crunch of the 1980s. Increases that bring Virginia state and local taxes up to national averages may have to be enacted by legislators during this decade.

Year	Measure Enacted	MILLIONS Increases	(Decreases)
1970	Raised Gallon Tax on Wines	4.0	
	Raised Tax on Alcoholic Beverages	23.6	
1971	Conformity of Corporation Income Tax to Federal Laws		(70.0)
	Conformity of Individual Income Tax to Federal Laws		(285.0)
	Abolish Capitation, "poll," Tax		(6.2)
1972	Income Tax on Savings Institutions	4.5	
	Corporate Income Tax Rate Raised	62.3	
	Individual Income Tax Rate Raised	128.7	
1973	Raised Exemption for Taxpayers over 65		(16.0)
1974	Doubled Corporation Franchise and Charter Fees	7.4	
	Uniform Retirement Benefits		(5.5)
1975	No Major Changes		
1976	Raised State Tax on Alcoholic Beverages	5.9	
	Made DISC Dividends Taxable,	13.9	
	Excise Tax on Beer -- To take effect in 1978		
	Equalized Public Service Franchise Tax		(162.3)
1977	Raised Local Share of Bank Stock Tax		(5.0)
	Restored Income Tax Deduction for childcare		(18.5)
1978	Retain Beer Tax Rates Imposed in 1976	18.3	
	No Income Tax Return If Income is below $3000		(2.5)
	Abolish Inheritance and Gift Tax		(31.4)
1979	No Major Changes		
1980	Exempted Home Heating Fuels from Sales Tax		(27.5)
	Alternate Sales Tax on Vending Machines		(3.5)
1981	Repealed Tax on Liquor for Resale by the Drink		(4.3)
1982	Conformity of Individual Income Tax to Federal Laws		(181.2)
	Individual Income Tax Add-Back - Tax Recovery Act	35.0	
	Conformity of Corporate Income Tax to Federal Laws		(75.6)
	Corporate Income Tax Add-Back - Tax Recovery Act	75.6	
	Public Service Corporations	34.0	
	Business License Tax and Capital Tax		(15.2)
	Increased State Tax on Alcoholic Beverage	23.5	
1983	Accelerated Collections (not an increase)	16.4	

Net Revenue Impact, 1970 - 1982 (13 years)	$(216.3)
Net Revenue Impact, 1973 - 1982 (10 years)	$(73.1)

Since "who pays how much?" is a political decision, what groups of citizens do you think supported and opposed each of these measures?

*Source: Senate Finance Committee Staff

VIRGINIA'S FISCAL CRUNCH OF THE 1980s

Worksheet

All over the nation, in 1980 and again in 1981-83, recessions lowered individual income, as well as sales and business receipts. All kinds of people and business suffered, and since their income was down, they paid lower taxes to local, state, and national government. There also was less "bracket-creep," which happens when inflation and cost-of-living increases put employees into the next tax bracket, meaning that they pay a higher percentage on their earnings.

This period also saw "tax revolts," primarily against rapidly increasing property taxes on inflated real estate prices. In California (Proposition 13), and Massachusetts (Proposition 2 1/2), local property taxes were limited or rolled back. These revolts were characterized as voters striking back against a generalized feeling that government had gotten too big and too expensive. Congressional, state, and local elections were affected by the campaigns, and office-holders were likely to be turned-out by the voters if they increased a tax rate, or, in some places, if they did not cut taxes. Cuts in local services (including schools, police, and fire protection) were necessary after state and local reserves were used up. The popularity of these proposals has been modified by the reality that, beyond a certain point, cuts in taxes mean cuts in services.

What actually happened in Virginia?

1 - Sales rax receipts dropped due to unemployment, less overtime, and consumer reluctance to spend.

2 - Income tax revenues dropped due to unemployment and less "bracket creep."

3 - Gas tax receipts were down. The Mideast oil crisis doubled the per-gallon price and smaller and more efficient cars became popular. The state received less money, since the tax was based on the number of gallons sold, not on the dollars spent. Less money was available to repair the roads and bridges -- and heavier, more gas-efficient trucks were tearing them up faster.

4 - Federal Aid to states for many programs was decreased. Virginia was one of 22 states that paid more than it received in grants in aid. While the amount Virginians paid in federal taxes was reduced during this period, the aid was also cut. Those who were employed, earned more and paid less. Those who needed the benefits, received less.

5 - State and local borrowing became more difficult and much more expensive, since interest rates were high AND various new ways were introduced for investors to shelter their income. Before this, municipal bonds had been choice investments, since purchasers did not have to pay taxes on the interest they earned. Tax-deferred annuities, IRAs, and other shelters cut into the municipal bond market, and forced interest rates higher.

6 - The Federal Economic Recovery Tax Act 1981 (ERTA) cut federal taxes and also cut state taxes that were calculated on the federal tax base. Figures on Virginia tax forms are based on the Adjusted Gross Income number from the federal tax form, and that number was reduced by federal legislation. The 1982 revisions in the Virginia tax law added back part of the loss, but

Virginia's Fiscal Crunch (cont'd)

Virginia tax receipts for the 1982-84 biennium alone are estimated to be lower by $70.6 million than they would have been before ERTA. Taxpayers were happy, but government services had to be cut.

7 - Construction and maintenance expenditures for roads, buildings, bridges, sewers and other facilities were eliminated from the budget. When finances are tight, these items (that often do not have lobbies) are cut. Facilities that should have been built for areas of rapid population growth were put off.

1970-71	Virginia capital outlays were 23.0% of total state budget
1980-81	Virginia capital outlays were 15.4% of total state budget

The drop in investment is not because the expenditures are not needed. Delay of repair and maintenance also is becoming very costly for the state and local governments. A 1983 survey revealed that 4,000 of Virginia's 12,000 bridges were "deficient" -- some date from the 1800s. Officials estimate that it will cost $500 million to repair or replace the ones on the priority list, and all are decaying faster than the work can be done.

If you were a member of the Virginia General Assembly, would you vote to increase the $100 million budgeted for three years of bridge repairs and replacement?

Would you and your constituents feel differently if a defective bridge in your district had given way and caused the deaths of a carful of people?

How much would you be willing to pay to cross a bridge?
twice a month? twice a week?
twice a day or more?

Should the cost of bridges and highways be paid by the people who use them? regardless of ability to pay? Or is that a part of "civilization" that should be paid from general taxes?

How much would you pay for a day at the beach? Should beaches and other recreation areas be publicly or privately operated? Are they resources that should be available to all the public? What services would you expect to have available for your use? Who should pay for the facilities and maintenance?

Do you know of an area project that the General Assembly has not yet funded?

Would user fees be a part of the financing?

You are running for election to the House of Delegates this year. You have been asked your opinions on state services and taxes. 1)Outline the major points you would include. 2)List some issues you probably would want to duck.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT VIRGINIA'S TOBACCO TAX?

Worksheet

Only North Carolina has a lower tobacco tax than Virginia -- all other states are higher. People in the tobacco growing and processing business say that a higher tax in Virginia would encourage smokers to buy their cigarettes elsewhere -- North Carolina, for example. They fear that any increase in taxes may result in decreased sales over-all. They also see that reduction or removal of the federal subsidy programs will throw tens of thousands of people who now grow and process tobacco out of work, worsening the economic troubles in Southside Virginia and and other tobacco areas.

People who do not smoke and who wish to discourage smoking, think that the tax should be raised higher and all government subsidy programs eliminated. They say that American taxpayers should not be supporting an industry that produces items identified by government and independent testing programs as a major source of the health problems that cost our nation and our economy billions more in lost workdays and health care payments.

Virginia has taxed tobacco for many years. If the tax is raised, the state will be more dependent on the revenue generated by the tax. If the tobacco industry is hindered, the state will receive less revenue from the tax.

The demand for tobacco is relatively inelastic: sales do not vary widely with economic conditions. Regardless of taxes, inflation, or recession, smokers smoke until they cannot plunk down the coins to pay for the next pack.

Most tobacco companies have diversified (broadened their product lines to include non-tobacco items), but the farmers and workers in the processing plants are still dependent on tobacco.

Hundreds of articles have been written about this controversy. (Locate them by using the Readers' Guide in your library.) Find one that supports your point of view, and write here some quotes and notes to share with the class, particularly on dollar and human costs (unemployment, as well as health).

If you were a Virginia legislator, how would you vote on tobacco taxes?

If you were in Congress, how would you vote on the subsidy programs?

Think of a longterm solution to this problem. Be as creative and as specific as you can. Take into account the fact that foreign-grown tobacco is now cutting into the whole tobacco market.

CIGARETTE TAX STATISTICS

The following chart shows the tax collected on each pack of twenty cigarettes in the 50 states and the District of Columbia, as of July 1984.

State	Rate	State	Rate	State	Rate
Alabama	16¢	Kentucky	3¢	North Dakota	18¢
Alaska	8¢	Louisiana	11¢	Ohio	14¢
Arizona	15¢	Maine	20¢	Oklahoma	18¢
Arkansas	21¢	Maryland	13¢	Oregon	19¢
California	10¢	Massachusetts	26¢	Pennsylvania	18¢
Colorado	15¢	Michigan	21¢	Rhode Island	23¢
Connecticut	26¢	Minnesota	18¢	South Carolina	7¢
Delaware	14¢	Mississippi	11¢	South Dakota	15¢
District of Columbia	13¢	Missouri	13¢	Tennessee	13¢
Florida	21¢	Montana	16¢	Texas	18.5¢
Georgia	12¢	Nebraska	18¢	Utah	12¢
Hawaii	40% of cost	Nevada	15¢	Vermont	17¢
Idaho	9.1¢	New Hampshire	17¢	Virginia	2.5¢
Illinois	12¢	New Jersey	25¢	Washington	23¢
Indiana	10.5¢	New Mexico	12¢	West Virginia	17¢
Iowa	18¢	New York	21¢	Wisconsin	25¢
Kansas	16¢	North Carolina	2¢	Wyoming	8¢

CRITERIA TO EVALUATE TAXES

Worksheet

Here are 8 questions to ask in evaluating taxes:

1 - What is taxed?

Income - earnings This is not always a good measure of ability to pay.
Give an example of a person who makes above average salary, who would have trouble paying above average taxes: ____________________
Give an example of a person who makes less than average salary, but who could pay average taxes: ____________________________

Consumption - what you buy, what you use. This is not always a good measure of ability to pay.
Describe a person who would have to spend (and pay sales tax on) most of what he/she earned: ______________________________________
Describe a person who would not have to spend (and pay sales tax on) most of what he/she earned: _____________________________________

Assets - real property (land and buildings), tangible property (car, furniture, stereo), and intangible property (money, stocks, bonds)
Describe a person who might have assets of some sort, but not have cash to pay taxes on their value: ___________________________
Describe a person who might not have any assets, but who should be asked to pay taxes: ______________________________________

2 - How is it taxed?

Proportional Tax - a percent of the value, regardless of amount.
A flat rate tax is proportional. Can you name another? _________

Progressive Tax - as the amount grows, so does the percentage of the tax (i.e., low-income people pay 2%, middle-income people pay 5%, and high income people pay 10%). Progressive taxes are based on ability to pay, though very high income people often use deductions and "shelters" to pay less. Progressive taxes are considered by some people to justify progressive benefits (i.e., middle income people deduct more mortgage interest payments, and make more use of public college opportunities).

Regressive Tax - a tax that ends up taxing more heavily the lower income people. A sales tax on food is a regressive tax, because low income people spend a greater percentage of their income on food and other essentials that are taxed. Regressive taxes are considered by some people to offset benefit programs for low-income people. Regressive taxes also worsen the problems of low-income people.

3 - How politically acceptable is it?

Social Security was not controversial until the rates went high enough to make some people pay more for their FICA tax than their income tax. Property tax is a local tax, usually paid in lump sums, once or twice a year, and it tends to be less politically acceptable than a tax that is withheld, or one that is paid in small increments (i.e., a sales tax). Local governments must depend on the less-popular property tax. State and federal income taxes are withheld to ease the pain and speed the collection.

4 - Is the tax equitable?

Is it designed so it can be administered fairly? Can it be enforced? Are people in comparable situations taxed comparable amounts?

Criteria to Evaluate Taxes (cont'd)

5 - Is the tax neutral (not interfering with the economy)? Is it consistent with the goals of society?

Confiscatory taxes, so high they force the sale of an asset to pay the taxes on it, would interfere with the economy.

A tax on alcoholic beverages and cigarettes would be accepted, while a tax on medicine would not.

Deducting contributions to charitable organizations would be acceptable.

6 - Does the tax produce adequate revenue to keep government functioning?

User taxes provide money for services when the services are requested, but they may not maintain the staff to answer the need.

A tax that produces little or less revenue in hard times, when government expenses such as unemployment benefits increase, would have to be balanced with others less elastic.

7 - Can the tax by administered efficiently and economically?

Taxes that require multiple offices, forms, and inspectors may consume the revenue they produce, and be a great nuisance to the taxpayers.

8 - Does the tax fit into a reasonable pattern with other taxes?

Multiple taxes on one asset or population group would not be equitable. or politically wise. A variety of taxes and taxpayers is needed to produce revenue for government services in varied economic conditions.

TAXES SHOULD PRODUCE THE REVENUE NECESSARY TO PAY THE COSTS OF GOVERNMENT IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD, & DO IT IN A WAY THAT FURTHERS THE GOALS OF SOCIETY.

	INCOME TAX		SALES TAX	PROPERTY TAX	EXCISE TAX		SOCIAL SECURITY
	Federal	State			Liquor	Tobacco	
WHAT IS TAXED? Income? Consumption? Assets?							
HOW IS IT TAXED Proportional? Progressive? Regressive?							
HOW POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE ?							
IS THE TAX EQUITABLE?							
IS IT NEUTRAL OR CONSISTENT WITH SOCIETY GOALS?							
DOES IT PRODUCE ADEQUATE INCOME ...OR							
FIT IN WITH OTHER TAXES?							
CAN IT BE ADMINISTERED EFFICIENTLY?							

VIRGINIA'S INCOME TAX & PROPOSED CHANGES

Information
& Assignment

Virginia has had an income tax since 1843, though it was neither a major source of revenue, nor effectively administered until Governor Harry F. Byrd created the Department of Taxation, with a fulltime Tax Commissioner, in 1926. In 1948, Governor Tuck increased rates on the 3 original brackets. In 1962, withholding was begun. In 1972 a 4th bracket was added, the top one which taxes all income over $12,000 at 5.75%. Since 1972, there has been no change in brackets or rates, though bills to adjust rates and brackets are presented in almost every session of the General Assembly. Population growth, inflation, and "bracket creep" have increased revenues and made it possible to put off decisions on revising the income tax structure

Given a chance, almost any person will complain about taxes, but...how do Virginia's state and local taxes actually compare with other states?
Virginia ranks 39th out of 50 states in total state and local taxes paid per $1,000 of personal income. Only 11 states in the nation have lower tax rates The total that Virginians pay at these two levels is below the national average. In fact, when various statistical measures are applied to Virginia's total state and local taxes, Virginia is considered to be paying only 90% of our tax capacity in state and local levies. Tax capacity is a measure of the value of assets and ability to pay.

What percentage of Virginia's tax money is collected in the income tax?
51.7% of Virginia revenues were raised by the individual income tax -- on a scale that dates back to 1926, with one additional bracket added in 1972. Exemptions and standard deductions have not been altered since that date, in spite of many changes in the economy, the federal tax regulations, and Virginians' ability to pay.

Is Virginia's income tax fair?
What is fair? It all depends on the definition. Political forces decide that a certain amount of money must be raised to support programs of the government, and a considerable share of the total will be raised through income taxes. Individual income taxes in the United States and most other nations are considered equitable (fair) if the tax burden is distributed in accordance with ability to pay: those with greater ability are taxed more than those with less ability, and those with equal ability to pay are taxed equally.

Are changes needed in the Virginia Income Tax?
The federal income tax formula was changed to lower or eliminate taxes for the poor and near-poor, and to collect more of the revenue from higher-income people, but Virginia's exemptions and standard deductions have not been altered to recognize that inflation has long-since caught up with the old tax scale. People living in poverty are now paying the percentage of their income that had originally been designated for the more affluent. (In earlier decades, an income of $7,000 may have justified a tax bracket near the top, but many people feel that a family of 4 earning $7,000 today (below the "poverty-level", and exempt from federal taxes), should not be paying Virginia taxes at all. The General Assembly has not dealt with the realignment of rates, or the raising of other taxes to make up for what would be lost if the rates were made more equitable. A higher percentage of Virginia income tax money comes from low and moderate income people than is the case in other states. Those who defend the current system against change say that low

income people should not be left out, that they should be allowed to pay a share of the cost of government, that their stake in the Commonwealth and their feeling of citizenship are thus enhanced. What do you think?

The Virginia government budgets have benefitted mightily from major increases in state population, accompanied by inflation and bracket-creep. Without adjusting tax rates, more money has come in almost every year. In the next decades, the rate of population increase will drop off. We will still have increased population, but not the BIG percentage increases that have allowed our budgets to cover most immediate needs. What kind of budget-wizardry will be needed to fund ordinary expenses AND catch up with the problems of "decayed infrastructure" (bridges, roads and public facilities that have not been maintained)? And what of the changing needs of our population?

Taxes are politics, and it's not just the total amounts and the averages that are important, it's how the tax bill appears to the citizen. It is easy to convince voters that they should be paying less...the test of a skillful politician is the ability to convince the voting public to support higher taxes. Note: taxes paid over a period of time (such as the sales tax), or withheld and never seen by the payer, are more easily tolerated by the public.

What is a "flat tax"? Several proposals for change in state and national taxes favor eliminating all deductions, and taxing everyone a small percentage (less than the current rate) of income. Bookkeeping and tax forms could be simplified Depending on the basic income exempted from tax, some of the proposals would result in low income people paying less and middle income people paying more. Higher income people would lose their tax shelters, but they would pay this lower percentage, which might be comparable to their present tax, though less subject to manipulations for tax shelters and tax-exempt investments. Deductions have come about to offset particular expenses such as child care for working parents and business lunches, or to encourage such things as home ownership and contributions to charities. Do you think they should be preserved? Should they be redefined? Or do you think there is an advantage to having all people pay the same percentage of their income?

Supporters also have claimed that the flat tax would discourage the "underground economy," people who do not report their cash income, and those who swap services rather than pay money. Skeptics cannot see that either of these groups would be convinced (or scared enough) to pay their fair share.

Some features of a flat tax are included in some of the proposals for revision of the Virginia income tax. Can you think of arguments that might be used to promote a flat tax? Can you think of arguments that might be used against a flat tax? Who might support it? oppose it?

Indexing also has been proposed. Indexing means increasing income brackets by the inflation rate, so that cost-of-living increases would not put taxpayers in higher brackets, increasing the amount they must pay on all their income. (Bracket creep has helped governments pay increased costs of services during inflationary periods.) Indexing has been legislated for 1985 federal taxes, though there are proposals to delay it until the future, because it will cut receipts and add to the national debt.

Virginia's Income Tax & Proposed Changes (cont'd)

Legislation has been introduced in the General Assembly to add brackets, switch to a flat rate with various modifications, or index the structure to offset the effects of inflation and bracket-creep. These proposals and more will be repeated in coming sessions. Which ones would be most equitable?

ASSIGNMENT: Look over the proposals on the following page and decide which you would vote for, or what you would support if you were a Delegate or Senator in the Virginia General Assembly.

TABLE 2. INCREASE OR DECREASE IN TAX LIABILITY BETWEEN EACH OPTION AND EXISTING SYSTEM, BY CLASSES OF ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME

AGI Class	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	Option 4	Option 5	Joannou Proposal
Overall	0.37%	0.52%	0.14%	0.14%	0.56%	1.60%
$0-$9,999	4.79	-7.60	-0.62	-29.52	-40.10	-16.03
$10,000-$14,999	8.07	-4.93	9.13	-9.56	-7.93	6.50
$15,000-$19,999	3.75	-6.32	6.04	-5.39	-1.16	3.33
$20,000-$24,999	0.57	-5.63	2.35	-4.08	0.72	1.59
$25,000-$29,999	2.15	-3.51	2.63	-1.70	2.76	3.05
$30,000-$34,999	0.67	-1.78	1.18	0.01	3.61	2.44
$35,000-$39,999	-0.50	-0.68	0.18	1.78	4.21	1.91
$40,000-$44,999	-0.72	2.29	-1.19	3.20	4.63	2.65
$45,000-$49,999	-1.38	3.64	-2.61	3.67	4.22	2.81
$50,000-$59,999	-2.75	4.73	-3.60	5.68	4.46	1.54
$60,000-$69,999	-1.92	8.29	-4.71	7.00	4.32	2.93
$70,000-$79,999	-3.44	8.41	-5.48	8.55	4.35	1.70
$80,000-$89,999	-2.21	12.44	-6.49	9.77	4.37	3.49
$90,000-$99,999	-7.96	8.76	-7.99	10.71	4.04	-1.91
$100,000 and over	-7.01	13.78	-9.36	13.87	3.93	-0.39

SOURCE: Virginia Department of Taxation, Research Division, 1981 Virginia Individual Income Tax Computer Simulation Model.

ALTERNATIVE TAX OPTIONS

The proposed tax options listed in Table 1 are described below. As under the existing system, all taxes are non-negative; that is, if a credit exceeds tax liability, the taxpayer is not entitled to the difference.

Option 1. Option 1 is a flat rate tax applied over an exempted amount with no standard, itemized, or child care deductions. The rate is 4.4 percent, and the option allows an exemption of $3,200 per taxpayer and spouse and $1,500 per dependent.

Option 2. Option 2 is similar to option 1 except for the use of graduated rates. Again, there are no deductions. Credits replace exemptions to equalize tax relief. The taxpayer and spouse credit is set at $83—calculated as $3,200 times the rate of the lowest bracket (2.6 percent). The brackets are set to approximate the quartile distribution of taxable income, using the quartile distribution of AGI by return. The rates increase by the same absolute increment (1 percentage point).

Option 3. This option has a flat rate but, in contrast to option 1, allows deductions. Because the tax base is reduced by deductions, the rate (5.1 percent) needs to be higher than in option 1 to raise the same amount of revenue. Provisions for low-income relief are divided between the standard deduction and the personal and dependent exemptions. The standard deduction is based on the level of federal ZBAs. The per person exemption equals $1,500.

Option 4. This option is similar to option 3 except that it has graduated rates. Also, the per person exemption is replaced by a credit of $56, calculated as $1,500 times the rate of the lowest bracket (3.7 percent). The standard deductions are the same as in option 3. The brackets are based on an approximation of the quartile distribution of taxable income. They use the quartile distribution of AGI by return minus $2,000, which is an approximation of the minimum deduction rounded to the nearest thousand. The rates increase by the same absolute increment (1 percentage point).

Option 5. This option is a modification of the current Virginia income tax. The existing brackets are used, but the existing rates are increased by 0.2 percentage points. Standard, itemized, and child care deductions are allowed. Poverty-level tax relief is provided through increased standard deductions and credits. The standard deductions are equal to federal ZBA amounts. Credits are used instead of exemptions to equalize tax savings. The per person credit is $33, computed as $1,500 times the rate of the lowest bracket (2.2 percent).

Joannou Proposal. This proposal was sponsored by Delegate Johnny S. Joannou in 1981 Virginia House Bill No. 1638. It starts with the existing definition of AGI and applies a flat rate of 4.75 percent. The taxpayer and spouse are each allowed a $4,500 exemption (or deduction, as it is called in the bill). There are no exemptions for dependents, age, or blindness. There also are no standard, itemized, or child care deductions. The proposal is similar to option 1 except for the exemptions.

TABLE 1. EXISTING TAX AND ALTERNATIVE TAX STRUCTURES

Tax Structure	Exemption/credit	Adjusted Gross Income	Standard Deduction	Deductions: Itemized	Deductions: Child Care	Deductions: Age Credit	Brackets and Rates: Taxable Income	Brackets and Rates: Rate
Existing tax	$600 personal, dependent, age, and blindness exemption.	Includes $400 age deduction	15% of federal AGI or $1,300 but no more than $2,000 for single taxpayers and married filing jointly or combined; 15% of federal AGI or $650 but no more than $1,000 for married filing separately.	Yes	Yes	Yes	$0 to $2,999 $3,000 to $4,999 $5,000 to 11,999 $12,000 and over	2% 3% 5% 5.75%
Option 1	$3,200 taxpayer and spouse exemption and $1,500 dependent exemption. No age or blindness exemption.	No $400 extra age deduction	None	No	No	Yes	All taxable income	4.4%
Option 2	$83 credit per taxpayer and spouse (credit=$3,200 times rate of lowest bracket). $39 credit per dependent (credit=$1,500 times rate of lowest bracket). No age or blindness credit.	No $400 extra age deduction	None	No	No	Yes	$0 to $6,999 $7,000 to $13,999 $14,000 to $25,999 $26,000 and over	2.6% 3.6% 4.6% 5.6%
Option 3	$1,500 personal and dependent exemption. No age or blindness exemption.	No $400 extra age deduction	$2,300 for single taxpayers; $1,700 for married filing separately; and $3,400 for married joint or combined.	Yes	Yes	Yes	All taxable income	5.1%
Option 4	$56 credit per person (credit=$1,500 times rate of lowest bracket). No age or blindness credit.	No $400 extra age deduction	$2,300 for single; $1,700 for married separate; $3,400 for married joint or combined.	Yes	Yes	Yes	$0 to $4,999 $5,000 to $11,999 $12,000 to $23,999 $24,000 and over	3.7% 4.7% 5.7% 6.7%
Option 5	$33 credit per person (credit=$1,500 times rate of lowest bracket). No age or blindness credit.	No $400 extra age deduction	$2,300 for single; $1,700 for married separate; $3,400 for married joint or combined.	Yes	Yes	Yes	$0 to $2,999 $3,000 to $4,999 $5,000 to $11,999 $12,000 and over	2.2% 3.2% 5.2% 5.95%
Joannou proposal	$4,500 exemption per taxpayer and spouse. No dependent exemption. No age or blindness exemption.	Includes $400 age deduction[a]	None	No	No	No	All taxable income	4.75%

[a] The Joannou proposal calls for eliminating this deduction, but the provision was not removed during computer simulation of the proposal.

THE GENERAL SALES TAX

How Does Virginia's Sales Tax Compare?

There is great variety among the states on what is taxed at which stage in the commercial process. All but five states have an identified general sales tax. All have special excise taxes, such as on tobacco, alcoholic beverages, fuels, amusements, public utilities, insurance, or such activities as parimutuel betting. Some have occupation taxes or gross receipts taxes that produce revenue based on sales though the amounts are not collected from consumers as "sales tax."

The following chart shows the percentages collected as general sales tax for state government purposes.

GENERAL SALES TAX

+ = Additional tax allowed for local government
-F = Food purchases exempt from tax
-P = Prescription drug purchases exempt from tax

NO "SALES TAX"
Alaska
Delaware
Montana
New Hampshire
Oregon

3% STATE SALES TAX			
Colorado	+	-F	-P
Georgia	+		
Kansas	+		-P
North Carolina	+		-P
Oklahoma	+		-P
Virginia	+		-P
Wyoming	+		-P

3 1/2% STATE SALES TAX			
Nebraska	+	-F	-P

3 3/4% STATE SALES TAX			
New Mexico	+		

4% STATE SALES TAX			
Alabama	+		-P
Arkansas	+		-P
Hawaii			
Idaho			-P
Iowa		-F	-P
Louisiana	+	-F	-P
Michigan		-F	-P
New York	+	-F	-P
North Dakota		-F	-P
South Carolina			-P
South Dakota	+	-F	-P
Texas	+	-F	-P
Vermont		-F	-P

4 1/8% STATE SALES TAX			
Missouri	+		-P

4 3/4% STATE SALES TAX			
California	+	-F	-P

4 5/8% STATE SALES TAX			
Utah	+		-P

5% STATE SALES TAX			
Arizona	+	-F	-P
Florida	+	-F	-P
Illinois	+	-F	-P
Indiana		-F	-P
Kentucky	+	-F	-P
Maine		-F	-P
Maryland		-F	-P
Massachusetts		-F	-P
Ohio	+	-F	-P
West Virginia		-F	-P
Wisconsin	+	-F	-P

5 1/2% STATE SALES TAX			
Tennessee	+		-P
Mississippi			-P

5 3/4% STATE SALES TAX			
Nevada	+	-F	-P

6% STATE SALES TAX			
District of Columbia		-F	-P
Minnesota	+	-F	-P
New Jersey		-F	-P
Pennsylvania	+	-F	-P
Rhode Island		-F	-P

6 1/2% STATE SALES TAX			
Washington (except 4 counties)	+	-F	-P

7 1/2% STATE SALES TAX			
Connecticut		-F	-P

Across the nation, the sales tax is the most important source of state government revenue. It provides about half the tax revenue, with the rest coming from a variety of taxes, licenses, and fees.

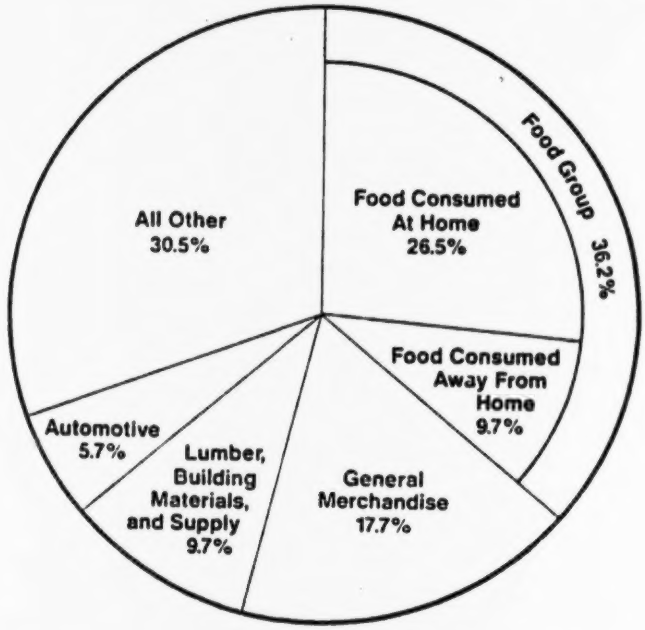
During the depression days of the 1930s, many states instituted the sales tax as a way to fund vital programs. Virginia did not begin to use this source of revenue until 1966, by which time 41 other states had a sales tax, including all of Virginia's neighbors, and a dozen Virginia localities had enacted a local sales tax, with General Assembly approval. The local sales taxes were such good revenue raisers, that the state realized it would have to start collecting this tax for state purposes, or it would be difficult ever to do it.

At the time the state adopted the sales tax, several legislators assumed that a way would be found to reduce the burden on the poor, the elderly, and large families. No such legislation has been passed, though several measures have been proposed in past sessions to eliminate the tax on food. The exemptions that have passed -- more than 50 of them -- have been minor exemptions. Recent efforts to offset an exemption for food by adding a tax on services have not received sufficiently enthusiastic support, thus far.

Why not tax services? When you have a car or an appliance repaired, you pay a tax on the parts, but not on the labor. It would be an easy source of state income to add the tax on both sections of the bill. Some services that do not have taxable materials involved would have to set up a system to collect the tax. Additional material will be available on this question each year during the General Assembly sessions -- look for it.

The following chart shows the distribution (1980 - a typical year) of items contributing to the sales tax receipts in Virginia. It should be remembered that the categories are not easily identified under our current collection method -- a major supermarket chain reports all sales as Food, though its stores sell great quantities of non-edible merchandise, and department store sales are recorded as General Merchandise, though many sell food, automotive, and furniture items.

COMPOSITION OF VIRGINIA SALES TAX BASE, 1980



Source: Virginia Department of Taxation, Taxable Sales in Virginia's Counties and Cities Based on Retail Sales Tax Revenues, Annual Report, 1980. (Richmond: Virginia Department of Taxation, 1981), pp. 2-4.

Chart: Tayloe Murphy, Virginia Issues: The Retail Sales Tax, by John L. Knapp and Bruce K. Johnson

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1/ "Food consumed at home" was derived from Department of Taxation statistics by adding taxable sales of bakery products, candy and confections; dairy products; purchases from fruit stands; vegetable stands, roadside markets, and rolling markets; sales of groceries, meats, and seafood in chain and non-chain establishments; and what the Department calls "other food." Food consumed away from home is comprised of sales at private membership clubs, restaurants, cafeterias, delicatessens, grills, cafes, snack bars, drive-ins, catering, taverns, beer parlors, dance halls, etc.

TAX OR EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS - WOULD THEY BE USEFUL IN VIRGINIA?

Between 1978 and 1981 there was a widespread feeling in the United States that government -- all government -- was growing too big, too fast, and too expensive. "Taxpayer revolts" organized in areas where speculation had ballooned real estate values, multiplying property taxes and angering property- owners and tenants. After California's Proposition 13 imposed a limit on the property tax, groups began to organize in other parts of the country to put such provisions on their ballots. The limitations proposed (some were approved) set a percentage of the wealth, income, or product of the state or locality, beyond which taxes or expenditures could not be increased without a 2/3 vote of the legislature, approval of the voters, or some other mechanism.

A constitutional amendment has been proposed in each of the last several sessions of the Virginia General Assembly to limit state taxes to a fixed percentage of the state's economy. What are the facts? What happened in California after Proposition 13? What questions should be asked and answered about the effects of such limits, and about Virginia's particular situation?

Proposition 13

The following page contains a summary of the background and provisions of Proposition 13 in California, reprinted from the Joint Council on Economic Education, Analyzing Tax Policy: A Resource Guide, pp 16-7. See also Forbes Magazine, February 27, 1984, and other articles listed in the Reader's Guide for the after-effects of Proposition 13. Research opportunity: What were the long-term effects of Proposition 2 1/2 in Massachusetts?

The JCEE Guide points out that the California citizens were upset because they were being taxed heavily at the local level, while the state amassed a $7 billion surplus. Proposition 13 cut local revenues and forced the state to share its surplus with the communities. The decreased local business and property taxes made real estate speculation even more attractive, and prices advanced again. (Most landlords did not pass on their tax savings to tenants until they were forced to do so by rent freezes and legislative mandates.) Communities cut services -- schools, parks, trash collections, library hours, and other activities -- and instituted new taxes, extra charges and user fees. The state surplus "bailed them out," until the $7 billion was exhausted. Subsequent data shows that state and local financial relationships were altered by Proposition 13 -- the state funds had brought an increase of state control over local government. In 1984, proposals were being discussed to permit local piggy-back sales taxes, modifications of Proposition 13 allowing tax increases on business property, and other moves to make local government more self-sufficient, and less dependent on state revenue sharing. Aside from some temporary distortion caused by CETA federal grants, the growth of local government was only slightly slowed. The interrelationship between levels of government had passed along the effect of the tax limitation, shifting more power to the state.

TAXES ARE POLITICS. The perceptions of the people, the voters, are often more of a determinant than bushels of statistics and reasoned arguments, and voters influence the words and actions of elected representatives. It is likely that Proposition 13 will be quoted again in the Virginia General Assembly. Watch for further information, proposals, and opinions.

What are the facts about Virginia Taxes?
-- Virginia operates on a balanced budget, with no big surplusses, and no big debt. Revenues and expenditures are below national averages.

-- Virginia local and state tax rates together rank 39th from the top in the nation -- 11 states collect less per $1,000 of income than Virginia. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations rates state-local taxes by comparing what each is now collecting (tax effort) to what it could receive (tax capacity) if its tax rates were identical (100%) to other states on 26 commonly used taxes. Virginia's overall rating is 89%, suggesting that some tax rates could be raised, given the state's resources and ability to pay.

-- Through most of the 1970s, state and local governments grew with increased programs and employees, many of which were mandated (but only partly funded) by the federal government. Virginia governments provided more services, and for a booming population. Areas of the state where farmers had recycled their trash now became communities that had to collect garbage, manage landfills, and provide myriad urban services. In spite of the changes required by the population growth, Virginia's budget growth did not exceed national averages. Figured in constant dollars, without inflation, the budget growth tapered off in the 1970s, and has almost levelled since 1980. Tax politics and the threat of tax/expenditure limitations is credited by many with slowing the growth.

-- Most Virginia leaders favor more adequate funding for education. Many legislators and taxpayers also say that fiscal conservatism requires proper maintenance of state facilities (our infrastructure), and that taxes should be raised closer to national averages to accomplish both of these aims.

-- Opponents of a tax limitation say: 1) There is no need for such a "straitjacket," -- Virginia's heritage of fiscal responsibility would not permit runaway growth. 2) Such limits might have prevented the building of the community college system, and..3) Constitutional conservatives argue against unnecessary provisions cluttering up that document.

-- Advocates of the tax limitation say: "Let's continue fair taxes for Virginians, restore balance between growth of government and growth of the private sector, require government to set priorities" for personnel and budget.

-- Would a state tax limit undercut efforts to locate and fund programs at the most appropriate levels of government? Since most programs and services are funded with a mix of federal, state, and local money (i.e., federal grants for highways require matching funds), would Virginia simply lose out? Would a state limit create an unfair burden on local resources? Could user fees fund state services? What programs/personnel could be cut?

--The Tax Limitation Amendment provided procedures for emergency adjustment, by a 2/3 vote of both houses of the General Assembly. (Should 14 Senators or 34 Delegates be able to block the will of a majority of elected representatives?) It also allowed legitimate new needs by a vote of the people. (Do we elect representatives to make these complex decisions? Can a sufficient number of voters be informed to choose wisely on tax increases?)

What do you think? What additional information would you need to form an opinion about this or any future proposal?

More Information on Proposition 13...

A reprint (with a slight amendment) from the Joint Council on Economic Education, Analyzing Tax Policy: A Resource Guide, pp. 16-17.

The Origins and Effects of Proposition 13

In June 1978 the voters of California endorsed Proposition 13, which lowered and limited property taxes, and weakened the ability of the state and its localities to increase or levy new taxes. Several factors lay behind this endorsement.

Proposition 13's main thrust, understandably, was against property taxes. Real estate values in California had undergone a tremendous boom. From the middle of 1975 to the middle of 1977, the median price of existing one-family houses shot up from $43,000 to $70,000. Naturally, this gain in the value of property was, at first sight, pleasing. But local property taxes averaged 2.7 percent of current market value. Consequently taxes on the average house rose by $730—from $1,160 to $1,890— an increase of 63 percent!

The rise in the property tax was large, but the ability to pay it had not risen accordingly. The average family's income by no means rose 63 percent in two years. In fact, the income of the average homeowner probably did not even keep up with the pace of inflation, especially after taxes. By 1978, the position of homeowners may well have worsened. A steep increase in social security taxes went into effect in that year, while property taxes continued to rise. Consequently, the average family no doubt found it even harder than before to pay the swelling taxes on their home.

California voters also knew that localities had been forced to resort heavily to the property tax in part because the state had built up a surplus approaching $7 billion from its own tax collections. The voters wanted the state to use the accumulated funds to relieve local tax burdens. Had the state done so before Proposition 13 became an issue, the proposition might not have passed.

An important background factor, it seems likely, was a more or less nationwide feeling that the twin burdens of inflation and taxes were getting much too heavy. Americans may also have had a sense that government mismanagement was rampant—from Washington to state capitals to city halls. And undoubtedly many felt that government spending had in general become too prodigal and the national budget deficit too large. These factors must have affected the vote in California and caused the repercussions of that vote to make taxes a virtually nationwide issue in the congressional, state, and local elections of 1978.

What happened in California after Proposition 13 went into effect? It had been feared that the first result would be a drastic cut in local services—from police protection to welfare. Cuts there were, but not as deep or as many as anticipated. The effect was partly limited because the state began to distribute its large surplus.

The total tax reduction effected by Proposition 13 was estimated to be $7 billion. About $2.4 billion, or only one-third of the total, went to individual homeowners. Business property taxes were lowered the most—$4 billion, or nearly 60 percent of the total cut. What would business do with the savings: pocket the money, reduce prices, invest more heavily and thus provide more jobs in California—or some combination of the three? How would corporations with a branch in California but whose headquarters were located in other states act? The outcome, of course, will take some years to be definitely assessed.

Landlords gained about $0.6 billion from the tax reduction, and there was much pressure on them to reduce rents accordingly. The majority of landlords apparently did not do so. Accordingly, within six months after Proposition 13 passed, at least six California cities enacted some sort of temporary freeze on rents—in some cases combined with a mandatory pass-through to tenants of 80 percent of the tax savings bestowed by the proposition. And there is a possibility that statewide rent control or tenant rights bills may be passed by the California legislature.

By the passage of Proposition 13, present owners of property have also been put into a position to receive capital gain "windfalls." The reduction in property taxes tends to allow sellers to "capitalize" most of the benefits of the tax cut, that is, they may raise real estate prices by about as much as they think the long-term value of the tax reduction will be worth when they sell the house" ...This means that federal taxes on the profit may wipe out some of the seller's advantage. The higher price the buyer will pay will offset a large part of future property tax savings....

*Proposition 13 won't be all gravy to the payers of property taxes in California. If the voters of the state want to keep receiving anything near the current level of services from government, they must sooner or later face higher local or state taxes. Once that big state surplus is spent, funds on the needed scale can probably only be supplied with the help of increased state taxes. (The political by-product would be some shift of political power from localities to the state.) And if the attitude toward property taxes expressed by Proposition 13 effectively spreads across the nation, it may take higher federal income taxes to maintain local services in many parts of the country unless an equivalent amount can be cut out of federal expenditures.

Some additional taxes on income will, in any case, come from California taxpayers as a result of Proposition 13. The income tax payments to both the state and national governments of many homeowners in California are likely to increase. Since California homeowners are now paying lower property taxes, their personal deductions for state and federal income tax purposes will be lower. The smaller the deductions, the higher their federal personal income taxes will be.

There is still a larger question than any yet raised in this account. The passage of Proposition 13 and the reactions elsewhere in the country caused many to think that Proposition 13 was the precursor of attempts to reduce the size of "big government" in the United States, perhaps the beginning of a taxpayer's revolt. Will that actually prove to be the case? Special situations—the extraordinary boom in real estate values and the unusually large state surplus—provided great impetus to the events in California. It will take some time before we learn whether the impact will actually be long-term, nationwide, and major, as was so widely prophesized.

HOW TO MAKE A PIE CHART OF YOUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE SOURCES

1 - Assemble all ingredients. You'll need the numbers for each major source of revenue, and the total. Be sure they are accurate...and add up!

2 - For each piece of the pie, you need to know the percentage that source is of the whole.

General Property Taxes collected
Example: --- divided by --- = percent of total
Total of all local government income

Do the calculations for each major source of income. Do they add up to 100%? If they do, proceed. If they don't, try again or get help.

3 - A circle is 360°. So, the total revenue will equal a whole 360° pie. Each segment of the pie will be the percent of the total that you calculated in #2 above multiplied by 360.

Example: Property tax: .55 x 360° = 198°

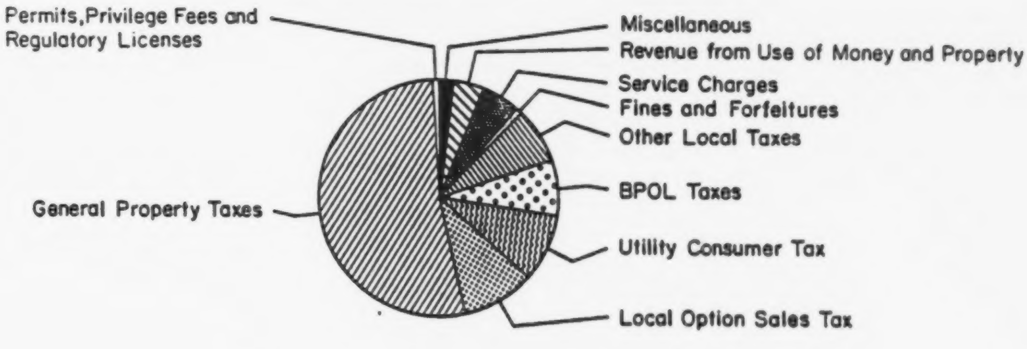
Therefore, the property tax will be a 198° piece of pie.

Do all your pieces of pie add up to 360°? If they do, proceed. If they don't, try again or get help.

4 - Use a protractor and mark off the size of each pie slice on a circle.
Make a finished drawing connecting all your marks on the circle.
Label each segment with its title and percent.
Label the drawing with the name of your government, the year of the data and a heading such as on the pie chart below.

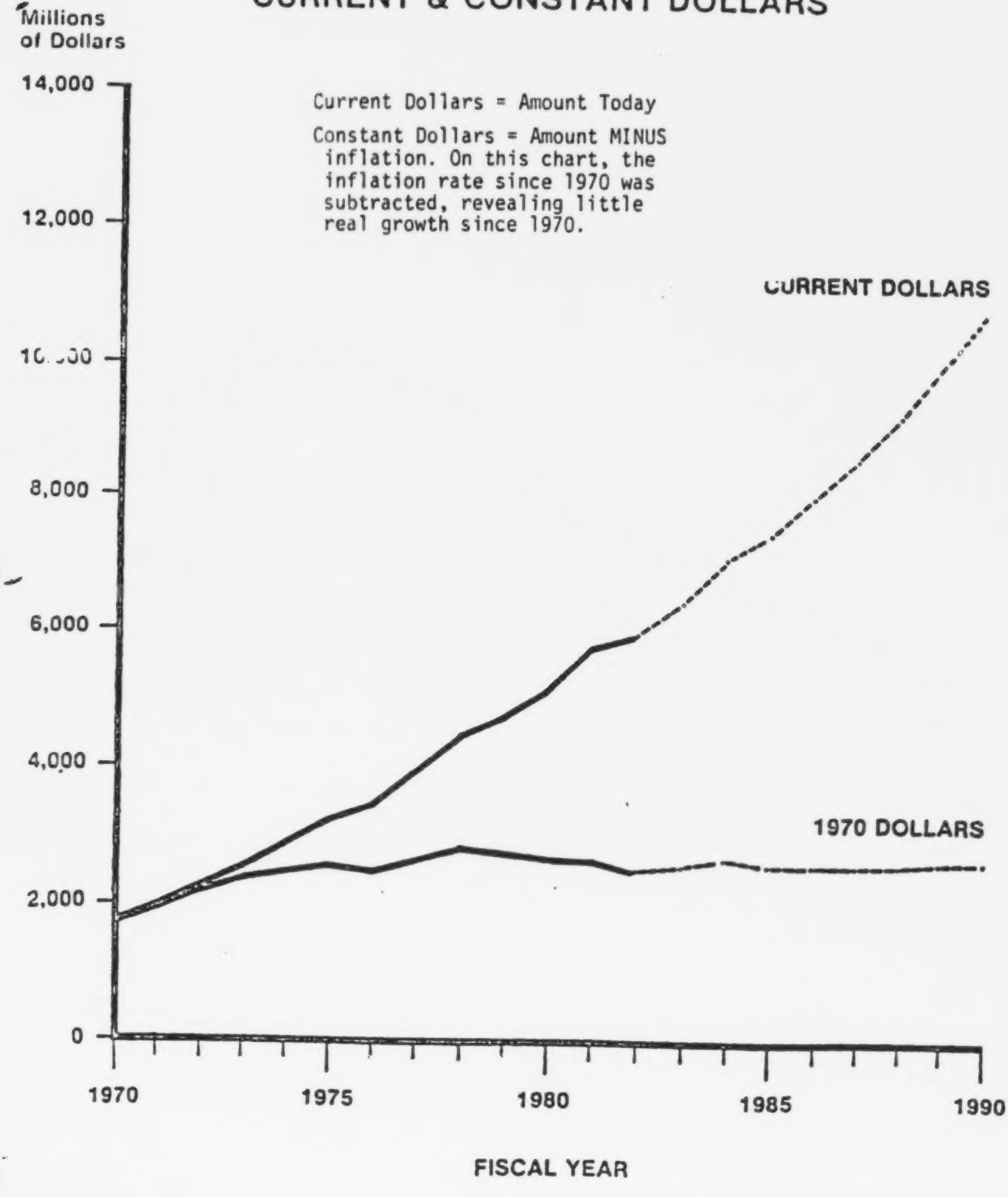
5 - Try another on expenditures, or one on the proposed budget and one on the approved or actual budget. Any way you slice it, it's taxpayer money!

Figure VI-2: LOCAL SOURCES OF REVENUE
ALL VIRGINIA CITIES, FISCAL YEARS



SOURCE: Derived from Commonwealth of Virginia, Auditor of Public Accounts, *Comparative Report of Local Government: Revenues and Expenditures*, Year Ended June 30, 1982. Exhibit B. (Richmond, 1983).

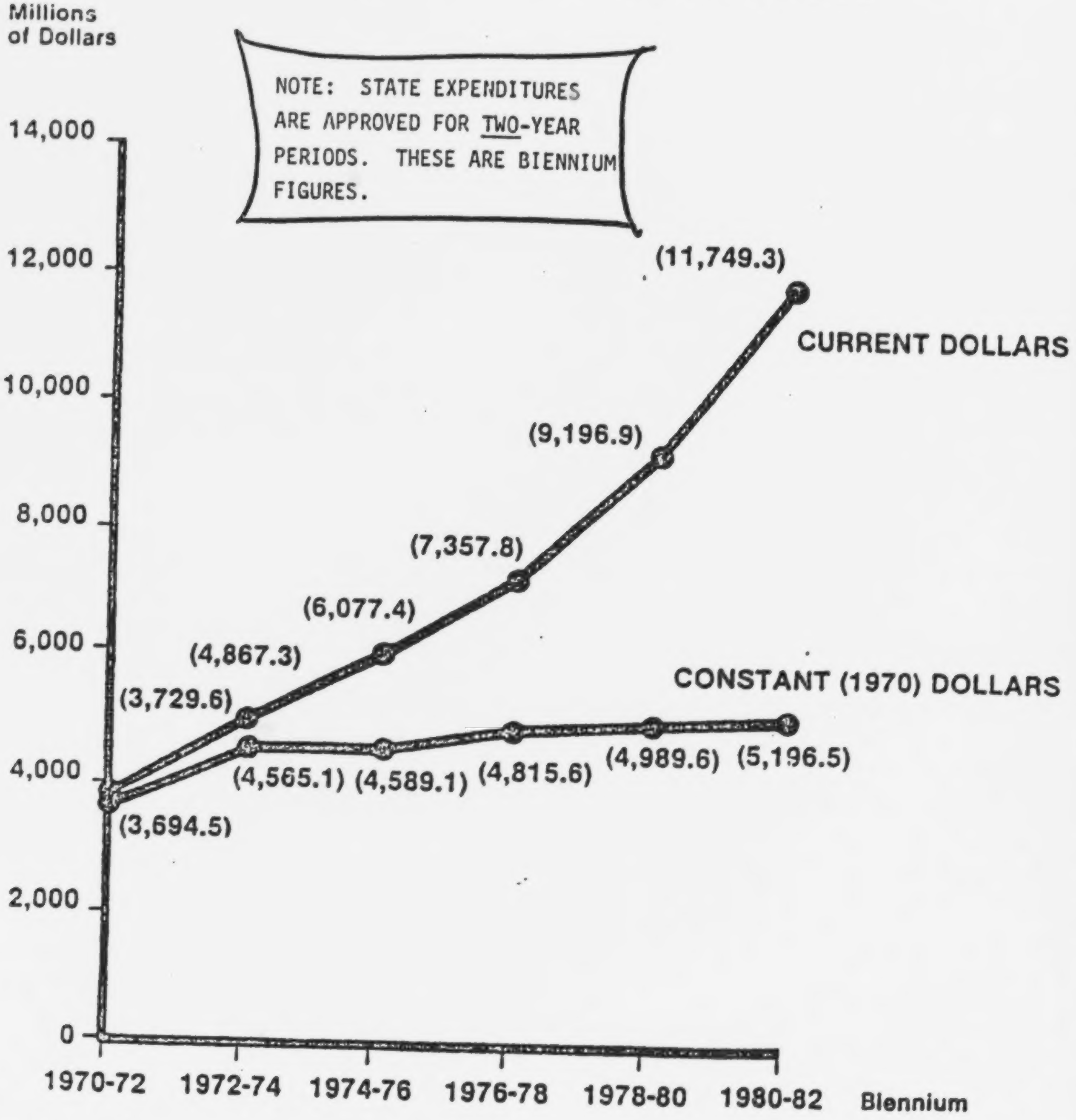
TOTAL REVENUES IN VIRGINIA
CURRENT & CONSTANT DOLLARS



Current Dollars = Amount Today

Constant Dollars = Amount MINUS inflation. On this chart, the inflation rate since 1970 was subtracted, revealing little real growth since 1970.

TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSE APPROPRIATIONS IN VIRGINIA - 1970-72 TO 1980-82


NOTE: STATE EXPENDITURES ARE APPROVED FOR TWO-YEAR PERIODS. THESE ARE BIENNIUM FIGURES.

*Constant dollars calculated using GNP implicit price deflator for state and local governments purchases of goods and services (1970=100)

THESE CHARTS ARE TAKEN FROM BULLETIN NO. 151

LOCAL TAX RATES - TAX YEAR 1983

AS FURNISHED THE DEPARTMENT OF TAXATION BY THE LOCAL ASSESSING OFFICERS

TABLE # 1 - Rates of County and District Levies for County and District Purposes for Tax Year 1983

TABLE # 2 - Rates of City Levies for City Purposes for the Tax Year 1983

TABLE # 3 - Rates of Town Levies for Town Purposes for the Tax Year 1983

COMPILED & PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF TAXATION OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

Assessment = official value for tax purposes. (By law, assessments are at 100% of fair market value. Actually, that often is difficult to determine.

Levy = tax rate approved by local government, as authorized by the state.

TAX BILLS ARE CALCULATED BY MULTIPLYING THE ASSESSED VALUE BY THE RATE SET FOR EACH $100 IF VALUE. (Ex: $20,000 property x $1 rate = $200/year taxes.)

RATES OF COUNTY AND DISTRICT LEVIES FOR COUNTY AND DISTRICT PURPOSES FOR THE TAX YEAR 1983

(Including County and District Levies in Incorporated Towns but Not Including Town Levies for Town Purposes.)

(District Levies, Where Shown, Are in Addition to the County Levy.)

COUNTY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate +	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
ACCOMACK	County Levy	$ .34	$2.25	$6.00	— —
District Levies:					
Atlantic		.06	.06	.06	— —
Island		.04	— —	— —	— —
Lee		.09	.09	.09	— —
Metompkin		.07	.07	.07	— —
Pungoteague		09	.09	.09	— —
District Levies in Towns of:					
Accomac (Lee)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Belle Haven (Pungoteague)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Bloxom (Metompkin)		.07	.07	.07	— —
Chincoteague (Island)		.04	— —	— —	— —
Hallwood (Atlantic)		.06	.06	.06	— —
Hallwood (Metompkin)		.07	.07	.07	— —
Keller (Pungoteague)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Melfa (Pungoteague)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Onancock (Lee)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Onley (Lee)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Painter (Pungoteague)		.09	.09	.09	— —
Parksley (Metompkin)		.07	.07	.07	— —
Saxis (Atlantic)		.06	.06	.06	— —
Tangier (Atlantic)		.06	.06	.06	— —
Wachapreague (Pungoteague)		.09	09	.09	— —
ALBEMARLE	County Levy	.77	5.00	5.00	— —
ALLEGHANY	County Levy	.74	5.95	5.95	— —
AMELIA	County Levy	.48	2.25*	1.80	— —
AMHERST	County Levy	.69	5.00	5.00	$3.95
APPOMATTOX	County Levy	.60	3.50	3.50	1.00
ARLINGTON	County Levy	.99	5.05	5.05	— —
AUGUSTA	County Levy	.55	3.10	3.10	— —
BATH	County Levy	.39	3.50	3.50	1.00
District Levies:					
Cedar Creek		.10	50	.50	.50
Valley Springs		.10	.50	.50	.50
Warm Springs		.10	50	.50	.50
BEDFORD	County Levy	.48	4.40	4.40	2.20

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all counties.

* Rate on farm machinery is $1.60 per $100

TABLE 1

COUNTY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate +	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
BLAND	County Levy......	$ .70	$7.35	$7.35	$7.35
BOTETOURT	County Levy......	.75	6.00	6.00	5.20
BRUNSWICK	County Levy......	.47	4.60	4.60	1.70
BUCHANAN	County Levy......	.42	1.10	1.10	2.00
BUCKINGHAM	County Levy......	.32	2.40	5.15	1.00
CAMPBELL	County Levy......	.45	3.15	3.15	3.15
CAROLINE	County Levy......	.45	3.35	3.35	3.35
CARROLL	County Levy......	.48	3.00	3.00	2.30
CHARLES CITY	County Levy......	1.18	3.03	1.33	2.80
CHARLOTTE	County Levy......	.35	3.20	3.20	3.20
CHESTERFIELD	County Levy......	.98	3.60	1.00	— —
CLARKE	County Levy......	.50	3.25	.80	— —
CRAIG	County Levy......	.55	5.50	5.50	3.50
CULPEPER	County Levy......	.59	5.00	5.00	2.50
CUMBERLAND	County Levy......	.30	5.20	— —	.40
DICKENSON	County Levy......	.50	14.00	14.00	10.50
DINWIDDIE	County Levy......	.81	5.40*	5.40	— —
ESSEX	County Levy......	.45	3.75	3.50	3.75
FAIRFAX	County Levy......	1.47	4.80	3.75	— —
District Levies:					
Annandale Dist. #2..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Centreville Dist. #5..................		.06	— —	— —	— —
Centreville Dist. #5A..................		.06	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A1..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A11..................		.05	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A2..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A3..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A4..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A5..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A6..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A61..................		.05	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A7..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A8..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1A9..................		03	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist. #1E..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Dranesville Dist #5..................		.06	— —	— —	— —
Lee Dist. #1A..................		.03	— —	— —	— —
Lee Dist #1B..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Lee Dist #1C..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Mason Dist #1..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Mason Dist. #1A..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Mason Dist. #2..................		.02	— —	— —	— —

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all counties.
* Rate on farm machinery is $4 00 per $100

COUNTY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate +	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
Mason Dist. #4..................		$ .02	— —	— —	— —
Mt. Vernon Dist. #1A..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Mt. Vernon Dist. #1B..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Mt. Vernon Dist. #2A..................		.01	— —	— —	— —
Providence Dist. #1..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Providence Dist. #2..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Providence Dist. #6..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Providence Dist. #7..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
Providence Dist. #8..................		.02	— —	— —	— —
FAUQUIER	County Levy......	.59	$3.45	$3.45	$ .01
FLOYD	County Levy......	.55	4.50	4.50	3.50
FLUVANNA	County Levy......	.55	3.70	3.90	1.55
FRANKLIN	County Levy......	.52	5.40	5.40	5.40
FREDERICK	County Levy......	.58	4.35	4.35	4.00
GILES	County Levy......	.56	7.20	7.20	4.80
GLOUCESTER	County Levy......	.60	3.25	3.25	— —
District Levies:					
Gloucester Point Sanitary Dist..........		.02	— —	— —	— —
Gloucester Sanitary Dist. #1..........		.03	— —	— —	— —
GOOCHLAND	County Levy......	.69	3.70	3.70	— —
GRAYSON	County Levy......	.32	6.30	6.30	6.30
District Levies:					
Elk Creek..................		.12	.60	.60	.60
Oldtown..................		.01	20	20	.20
Providence..................		.02	1.00	1 00	1 00
Wilson..................		.01	.20	.20	.20
District Levy in Town of:					
Fries (Providence)*..................		.01	.10	.10	.10
GREENE	County Levy......	.55	16.50	.75	— —
GREENSVILLE	County Levy......	.41	3.50**	2.50	— —
HALIFAX	County Levy......	.36	4.45	3.90	— —
HANOVER	County Levy......	.76	3.64	3.64	2.60
HENRICO	County Levy......	.98	3.80	2.00	— —
District Levies:					
San. Dist. #2 (Sandston)..................		.007	.007	.007	— —
San. Dist. #3 (Highland Springs)..........		.012	.012	.012	— —
HENRY	County Levy......	.54	9.24	9.24	— —
HIGHLAND	County Levy......	.32	4.00	4.00	4.00

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all counties.
* Providence District levy not applicable to Town of Fries.
** Rate on farm machinery and livestock is $2.00 per $100.

COUNTY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate+	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
ISLE OF WIGHT	County Levy......	$ .51	$4.75	$ .78	— —
JAMES CITY	County Levy......	.71	4 00	4.00	— —
KING GEORGE	County Levy......	1.05	2.90	2.00	— —
KING & QUEEN	County Levy......	.88	.88	.88	$ .65
KING WILLIAM	County Levy......	.76	4 20	4.20	3.90
District Levy in Town of:					
West Point (West Point)*	....	.28	1.20	1.20	1.10
LANCASTER	County Levy......	.31	3.80	3.80	1.00
LEE	County Levy......	.62	.62	.62	.62
LOUDOUN	County Levy......	1.13	4.75**	2.75	— —
LOUISA	County Levy......	.35	1.70	1.70	.65
LUNENBURG	County Levy......	.38	7.00	7.00	1.20
MADISON	County Levy......	.50	5 50	5.50	4.30
MATHEWS	County Levy......	.50	3.00	3.00	— —
MECKLENBURG	County Levy......	.50	3.25	3.25	1.45
MIDDLESEX	County Levy......	.39	3.00	3.00	1.25
MONTGOMERY	County Levy......	.67	7.57	7.57	6 90
NELSON	County Levy......	.55	2.50	1.25	— —
NEW KENT	County Levy......	.75	3.00	3.00	— —
NORTHAMPTON	County Levy......	1.09	8.75	8.75	6.25
District Levy in Town of:					
Cape Charles (Capeville)***	....	.97	7.85	7.85	5 95
NORTHUMBERLAND	County Levy......	.42	3.00	3.00	2.40
NOTTOWAY	County Levy......	.36	4.50	4.50	.55
ORANGE	County Levy......	.54	5 50	5.50	.40
PAGE	County Levy......	.56	1.50	7 50	2.00
PATRICK	County Levy......	.55	4.00	4.00	3 50
PITTSYLVANIA	County Levy......	.33	4 25	3.00	2.75
POWHATAN	County Levy......	.60	2.00	2.00	— —
PRINCE EDWARD	County Levy......	.52	5.20* *	5.20	.70
PRINCE GEORGE	County Levy......	.68	3.50	1.50	— —

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all counties.
*County levy in the Town of West Point.
**Rate on heavy equipment is $4.00 per $100 and on aircraft is $1.50 per $100.
***County levy in the Town of Cape Charles.
* *Rate on farm machinery and livestock is $2.60 per $100.

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COUNTY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate+	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
PRINCE WILLIAM	County Levy......	1 39	4 00* * *	1 00	.70
District Levies					
Buckhall Fire Dist.	....	.08	.08	.08	— —
Coles Fire Dist.	....	.071	.071	.071	— —
Dumfries Fire Dist.	....	.038	.038	.038	— —
Evergreen Fire Dist.	....	.07	.07	.07	— —
Gainesville Fire Dist.	....	.05	.05	.05	— —
Greater Manassas Fire Dist.	....	$ .057	$ .057	$ .057	— —
Lake Jackson Fire Dist.	....	.07	.07	.07	— —
Neabsco Fire Dist.	....	.04	.04	.04	— —
Nokesville Fire Dist.	....	.05	.05	.05	— —
Occoquan Fire Dist.	....	.035	.035	.035	— —
Wellington Fire Dist.	....	.09	.08	.08	— —
Yorkshire Fire Dist.	....	.07	.07	.07	— —
District Levies in Towns of:					
Dumfries (Dumfries)	....	.038	.038	.038	— —
Haymarket (Gainesville)	....	.05	.05	.05	— —
Occoquan (Occoquan)	....	.035	.035	.035	— —
PULASKI	County Levy......	.54	4.80	4.80	$4.00
RAPPAHANNOCK	County Levy......	.42	5.60	5.60	— —
RICHMOND	County Levy......	.60	3.50	3.50	3.50
ROANOKE	County Levy......	1.10	3.50	3.00	— —
ROCKBRIDGE	County Levy......	.45	4.50	4.50	— —
ROCKINGHAM	County Levy......	.39	3.50	3.50	1.00
RUSSELL	County Levy......	.65	.65	.65	5.75
SCOTT	County,Levy......	.72	.72	.72	.72
SHENANDOAH	County Levy......	.51	1.80*	2.06	.60
SMYTH	County Levy......	.50	.60	.60	.60
SOUTHAMPTON	County Levy......	.32	4.00	2.40	.50
SPOTSYLVANIA	County Levy......	.65	2.50	2.50	.10
STAFFORD	County Levy......	1.21	5.70	.75	.50
SURRY	County Levy......	.39	3.50	3.50	3.35
SUSSEX	County Levy......	.46	3.00	3.00	1.00
TAZEWELL	County Levy......	.60	2.00	2.00	4.30
WARREN	County Levy......	.60	2.40**	2.00	— —
WASHINGTON	County Levy......	.50	1.00	1.00	— —
WESTMORELAND	County Levy......	.68	1.50	1.50	.88
WISE	County Levy......	.285	4.60	4.60	2.85
WYTHE	County Levy......	.42	.61	.61	.56
YORK	County Levy......	.64	4.70	4.70	— —

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all counties.
*Rate on farm related personal property is $1.30 per $100.
**Rate on farm machinery and livestock is $1 30 per $100.
* * *Rate on farm machinery and tools is $ 70 per $100.

TABLE 1

TABLE 2

RATES OF CITY LEVIES FOR CITY PURPOSES FOR THE TAX YEAR 1983

(Borough Levies, Where Shown, Are in Addition to the City Levy.)

CITY		TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate +	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
ALEXANDRIA	City Levy	$1.41	$5.10	$4.50	— —*
BEDFORD	City Levy	.66	1.30	1.30	— —*
BRISTOL	City Levy	1.11	4.00	4.00	— —*
BUENA VISTA	City Levy	.91	3.85	3.85	— —*
CHARLOTTESVILLE	City Levy	1.13	4.39	4.39	— —*
CHESAPEAKE	City Levy	1.02	4.00	3.12	— —*
CLIFTON FORGE	City Levy	1.15	3.05	2.75	— —*
COLONIAL HEIGHTS	City Levy	1.25	3.50	2.00	— —*
COVINGTON	City Levy	.59	4.56	3.93	— —*
DANVILLE	City Levy	.86	3.00	3.00	— —*
EMPORIA	City Levy	.68	5.00	5.00	— —*
FAIRFAX	City Levy	1.25	2.99	2.99	— —*
FALLS CHURCH	City Levy	.96	5.50	5.50	— —*
FRANKLIN	City Levy	.79	3.20	2.00	— —*
FREDERICKSBURG	City Levy	1.29	3.40	.50	— —*
GALAX	City Levy	.86	7.07	7.07	— —*
HAMPTON	City Levy	1.26	5.40	5.40	— —*
HARRISONBURG	City Levy	.65	2.65	2.65	— —*
HOPEWELL	City Levy	1.10	4.40	3.40	— —*
LEXINGTON	City Levy	.94	4.80	4.80	— —*
LYNCHBURG	City Levy	1.12	3.00	3.00	— —*
MANASSAS	City Levy	1.22	3.05	3.05	— —*
MANASSAS PARK	City Levy	1.90	3.50	1.00	— —*
MARTINSVILLE	City Levy	.76	2.25	1.85	— —*
NEWPORT NEWS	City Levy	1.20	5.00	2.70	— —*
NORFOLK	City Levy	1.30	4.00	1.60	— —*
NORTON	City Levy	.75	5.50	5.50	— —*
PETERSBURG	City Levy	1 55	3.10	3 10	— —*
POQUOSON	City Levy	785**	4.50	4.50	— —*
PORTSMOUTH	City Levy	1.35	4.35	1.75	— —*
RADFORD	City Levy	94	2.80	2.80	— —*
RICHMOND	City Levy	$1.533	$3.59	$1.90	— —*
ROANOKE	City Levy	1.35	3.75	3.75	— —*
SALEM	City Levy	1.25	3.25	3.25	— —*
SOUTH BOSTON	City Levy	.90	2.50	2.50	— —*
STAUNTON	City Levy	1.05	4.00	4.00	— —*
SUFFOLK	City Levy	.96**	4.55	4.55	— —*
VIRGINIA BEACH	City Levy	.80	6.00	1.00	— —*
WAYNESBORO	City Levy	1.01	5.00	4.65	— —*
WILLIAMSBURG	City Levy	.62	3.50	3.50	— —*
WINCHESTER	City Levy	.95	3.50	1.00	— —*

+ Indicates assessment at 100% in all cities.

* Indicates that a merchants' license tax is imposed

**Real estate rate is $ 96 for Nansemond Taxing District and $1 14 for Suffolk Taxing District

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RATES OF TOWN LEVIES FOR TOWN PURPOSES FOR THE TAX YEAR 1983

(In Addition to Any County and District Rates Imposed By the County Authorities Shown in Table 1.)

TABLE 3

TOWN	COUNTY	TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Merchants' Capital
Abingdon	Washington	$ .47	$ .55	$ .55	— —*
Accomac**	Accomack	.10	.10	— —	— —
Alberta	Brunswick	.165	1.50	1.50	— —
Altavista	Campbell	.30	1.90	1.90	— —*
Amherst	Amherst	.15	1.00	1.00	$1.00*
Appalachia	Wise	.0215	2.50	2.50	— —*
Appomattox	Appomattox	.20	.55	1.10	— —*
Ashland	Hanover	.18	.90	.90	— —*
Belle Haven**	Accomack and Northampton	.04	.04	— —	— —
Berryville	Clarke	.37	1.00	1.00	— —*
Big Stone Gap	Wise	.40	3.50	3.50	3.50*
Blacksburg	Montgomery	.20	— —	— —	— —*
Blackstone	Nottoway	.14	1.00	1.00	— —*
Bloxom**	Accomack	.12	.15	— —	— —
Bluefield	Tazewell	.27	.60	.60	— —*
Boones Mill	Franklin		not available		
Bowling Green	Caroline	.21	1.20	— —	— —*
Boyce	Clarke	.07	.60	.60	— —
Boydton	Mecklenburg	.40	2.25	2.25	.25*
Boykins	Southampton	.35	1.25	.50	.65*
Branchville	Southampton	.051	.60	.60	.60
Bridgewater	Rockingham	.13	— —	1.25	— —*
Broadway	Rockingham	.12	1.00	1.00	— —*
Brodnax	Brunswick and Mecklenburg	.20	1.00	1.00	.50
Brookneal	Campbell	.28	1.70	1.70	— —*
Buchanan	Botetourt	.10	.50	.50	— —*
Burkeville	Nottoway	.14	1.25	1.25	— —*
Cape Charles**	Northampton	.24	6.30	6.30	— —*
Capron	Southampton	.03	1.00	— —	— —
Cedar Bluff	Tazewell	.11	.35	— —	— —*
Charlotte C. H.	Charlotte	.11	1.00	— —	— —*
Chase City	Mecklenburg	.34	2.25	2.25	— —*
Chatham	Pittsylvania	.18	2.80	2.80	— —
Cheriton	Northampton	— —	— —	— —	— —
Chilhowie	Smyth	.14	.20	.20	.20*
Chincoteague**	Accomack	.11	.80	.80	— —*
Christiansburg	Montgomery	.175	2.25	2.25	— —*
Claremont	Surry	.05	.75	.75	.60
Clarksville	Mecklenburg	.38	2.50	2.50	2.50*
Cleveland	Russell	.15	.15	— —	— —
Clifton	Fairfax	— —	— —	— —	— —*
Clinchport	Scott	$ .025	— —	— —	— —
Clintwood	Dickenson	.61	$17.00	$17.00	$12.50
Clover	Halifax	.10	1.00	— —	— —*
Coeburn	Wise	.184	2.25	2.25	2.25*
Colonial Beach	Westmoreland	.65	1.40	1.40	1.40*
Columbia	Fluvanna	.09	— —	— —	— —
Courtland	Southampton	.14	1.00	— —	1.00*
Craigsville	Augusta	— —	— —	— —	— —
Crewe	Nottoway	.16	1.25	— —	— —*
Culpeper	Culpeper	.20	1.75	1.75	— —*
Damascus	Washington	.55	.55	.55	— —*
Dayton	Rockingham	.11	— —	— —	— —*
Dendron	Surry	— —	— —	— —	— —*
Dillwyn	Buckingham	.04	.28	.28	— —*
Drakes Branch	Charlotte	.13	1.10	1.10	1.10
Draper	Pulaski		not available		
Dublin	Pulaski	.24	2.00	2.00	— —*
Duffield	Scott		not available		
Dumfries**	Prince William	.055	— —	— —	— —
Dungannon	Scott	.10	— —	— —	— —
Eastville	Northampton	.06	.50	.50	.50
Edinburg	Shenandoah	.21	.60	— —	.60*
Elkton	Rockingham	.10	.75	.75	— —*
Exmore	Northampton	.125	1.00	1.00	— —*
Farmville	Prince Edward	.22	2.00	2.00	— —*
Fincastle	Botetourt	— —	— —	— —	— —
Floyd	Floyd	.13	1.00	1.00	1.00*
Fries**	Grayson	.15	1.35	— —	— —*
Front Royal	Warren	.25	.60	.60	— —*
Gate City	Scott	.15	— —	— —	— —*
Glade Spring	Washington	.125	.125	— —	— —*
Glasgow	Rockbridge	.10	.75	.75	— —*
Glen Lyn	Giles	.11	.85	.85	.85*
Gordonsville	Orange	.25	2.00	.50	— —*
Goshen	Rockbridge	— —	— —	— —	— —*
Gretna	Pittsylvania	.15	1.00	1.00	— —*
Grottoes	Augusta and Rockingham	.098	.75	— —	— —*
Grundy	Buchanan	.22	.50	— —	— —*
Halifax	Halifax	.34	2.50	2.50	— —*
Hallwood**	Accomack	$ .07	$ .30	$ .40	— —
Hamilton	Loudoun	.15	1.10	— —	— —
Haymarket**	Prince William	.14	.60	— —	— —
Haysi	Dickenson	.15	— —	— —	— —*
Herndon	Fairfax	.34	.85	.85	— —*
Hillsboro	Loudoun	— —	— —	— —	— —
Hillsville	Carroll	.30	1.50	1.50	— —*
Honaker	Russell	.80	— —	— —	— —*
Hurt	Pittsylvania	.15	1.00	— —	— —*
Independence	Grayson		not available		

* Indicates that a merchants' license tax is imposed

** Imposes an additional county and district levy.

TABLE 3

TOWN	COUNTY	TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUE ON:			
		Real Estate	Tangible Personal Property	Mach. and Tools	Mer.-chants' Capital
Iron Gate	Alleghany	.18	1.00	1.00	— —*
Irvington	Lancaster	— —	— —	— —	— —
Ivor	Southampton	.06	.50	.25	— —
Jarratt	Greensville and Sussex	.22	1.00	1.00	— —*
Jonesville	Lee	.15	.15	.15	$ .15
Keller**	Accomack	.05	.20	.20	— —
Kenbridge	Lunenburg	.25	3.43	— —	— —*
Keysville	Charlotte	.18	1.80	1.80	— —*
Kilmarnock	Lancaster and Northumberland	.11	.40	.40	— —*
La Crosse	Mecklenburg	.31	1.25	1.25	— —
Lawrenceville	Brunswick	.30	2.20	2.20	— —*
Lebanon	Russell	.10	.42	— —	3.00*
Leesburg	Loudoun	.20	1.00	— —	— —*
Louisa	Louisa	.19	1.50	— —	— —*
Lovettsville	Loudoun	.12	— —	— —	— —*
Luray	Page	.25	.40	2.00	— —*
McKenney	Dinwiddie	.07	.50	.50	— —*
Madison	Madison	.10	.65	.65	.65
Marion	Smyth	.15	.29	.29	— —*
Melfa**	Accomack	.02	.15	.15	— —
Middleburg	Loudoun	.10	.60	— —	— —*
Middletown	Frederick	.10	1.25	— —	— —*
Mineral	Louisa	.20	.80	— —	— —*
Monterey	Highland	.055	1.00	1.00	1.00
Montross	Westmoreland	— —	— —	— —	— —*
Mt Crawford	Rockingham	.05	.50	— —	— —
Mt Jackson	Shenandoah	25	.75	— —	— —*
Narrows	Giles	.40	3.50	3.50	— —*
Nassawadox	Northampton	— —	— —	— —	— —
New Castle	Craig	.05	.50	.50	.50
New Market	Shenandoah	$ .20	$ .80	$1.00	— —*
Newsoms	Southampton	.104	— —	— —	— —
Nickelsville	Scott	.07	— —	— —	— —
Occoquan**	Fairfax and Prince William	.20	.20	$ .20	$ .20*
Onancock**	Accomack	.33	2.00	— —	— —*
Onley**	Accomack	.08	.15	.25	— —
Orange	Orange	.18	2.00	.20	— —*
Painter**	Accomack	.25	.25	.25	— —
Pamplin	Appomattox and Prince Edward	.20	1.00	— —	— —*
Parksley**	Accomack	.21	.40	2.00	— —*
Pearisburg	Giles	.42	3.75	3.75	— —*
Pembroke	Giles	.20	2.00	— —	2.00
Pennington Gap	Lee	.06	.06	.06	.06*
Phenix	Charlotte	.08	.50	— —	— —
Pocahontas	Tazewell	.45	.45	.45	.45*
Port Royal	Caroline	— —	— —	— —	— —
Pound	Wise	.18	2.50	— —	— —*
Pulaski	Pulaski	[illegible]	2.75	2.75	— —
Purcellville	Loudoun		1.05	— —	.20*
Quantico	Prince William		[illegible]	85	— —*
Remington	Fauquier	.10	.80	.50	.40
Rich Creek	Giles	.22	2.50	2.50	— —*
Richlands	Tazewell	.12	— —	— —	— —*
Ridgeway	Henry	.07	.60	.60	— —
Rocky Mount	Franklin	.35	2.50	2.50	— —*
Round Hill	Loudoun	.15	1.00	1.00	1.00*
Rural Retreat	Wythe	.18	.30	.30	— —*
St. Charles	Lee	.10	— —	— —	— —
St. Paul	Wise	.18	1.75.	1.75	— —*
Saltville	Smyth and Washington	.125	1.50	.125	— —*
Saxis**	Accomack	.08	.25	— —	— —
Scottsburg	Halifax	.09	.70	— —	— —
Scottsville	Albemarle and Fluvanna		not available		
Shenandoah	Page	.32	.33	3.50	— —*
Smithfield	Isle of Wight	.15	1.00	.15	— —*
South Hill	Mecklenburg	.30	2.00	2.00	— —*
Stanardsville	Greene	— —	— —	— —	— —
Stanley	Page	.10	.12	.12	1.20*
Stephens City	Frederick	.05	.75	.75	.75*
Stony Creek	Sussex	.09	.50	.50	— —
Strasburg	Shenandoah	$ .23	$1.00	$1.33	— —*
Stuart	Patrick	.25	1.10	1.10	$1.10
Surry	Surry	— —	— —	— —	— —
Tangier**	Accomack	1.50	1.50	— —	— —
Tappahannock	Essex	.08	1.50	1.00	— —*
Tazewell	Tazewell	.128	.40	.40	— —*
The Plains	Fauquier	04	.50	— —	— —*
Timberville	Rockingham	.03	.50	.50	— —*
Toms Brook	Shenandoah	.10	.50	— —	— —
Troutdale	Grayson		not available		
Troutville	Botetourt	— —	— —	— —	— —
Urbanna	Middlesex	.23	1.20	— —	— —*
Victoria	Lunenburg	.18	2.50	2.50	— —*
Vienna	Fairfax	.33	— —	— —	— —*
Vinton	Roanoke	.25	1.00	— —	— —*
Virgilina	Halifax	.10	1.00	— —	.20*
Wachapreague**	Accomack	.05	— —	— —	— —
Wakefield	Sussex	.055	.36	.36	— —
Warrenton	Fauquier	.31	2.50	2.50	— —*
Warsaw	Richmond	.12	.50	.50	— —*
Washington	Rappahannock		not available		
Waverly	Sussex	.14	1.75	1.00	— —*
Weber City	Scott	.075	— —	— —	— —*
West Point	King William	.72	3.00	3.00	— —*
White Stone	Lancaster	— —	— —	— —	— —
Windsor	Isle of Wight	.10	.10	.10	— —*
Wise	Wise	.197	2.50	— —	— —*
Woodstock	Shenandoah	.23	.90	1.00	— —*
Wytheville	Wythe	.20	.28	.28	— —*

* Indicates that a merchants' license tax is imposed.

[illegible] es an additional county and district levy.

VOCABULARY - Some words and concepts useful in the discussion and understanding of information on taxes

ability to pay - philosophical position that the costs of government should be apportioned on the basis of ability to pay, with more paid by those who have more, and less paid by those who have less.

assessment - assessed value, an official evaluation of real property such as land, buildings, and improvements.

(tax) avoidance - taxpayer planning and manipulating assets to minimize or eliminate the tax payments due. (Not to be confused with tax evasion, the criminal act of deliberately not paying what is owed.)

business/corporation tax - tax on the income and assets of a business.

capital budget - fund for long-term additions or betterment of assets that may produce income. Ex: construction of college dorms.

confiscatory taxes - taxes so high that they force the owner of the asset to sell the asset to pay the tax.

constant dollars - what the number would be without inflation since the baseline date.

cost-benefit - a ratio of cost of a product or course of action compared to the benefit derived. A tool to analyze value. Ex: A tax may cost more to collect than it yields in revenue.

current dollars - today's dollars, actual amount including inflation.

disposable income - income remaining after taxes are deducted.

ear-marked funds - money set aside for special use, not included in general fund. Use usually related to source of funds -- Ex: gas tax money for highways.

easement - decreased value for tax purposes because of restrictions on use. Ex: a power line or sewer across the property, or restrictions along a river.

elastic demand - demand varies inversely with the price of an item. High prices decrease sales. Lower prices increase sales -- and tax receipts of taxable item.

equity - fairness. tax equity - fairness of particular tax on particular payers, fairness of assessments and enforcement of collection.

excise tax - tax on sale of a particular class of items (i.e., tobacco, liquor)

fiscal - adjective referring to government taxing and spending (i.e., fiscal year, or fiscal responsibility -- concern of an official about taxing and spending)

gambling tax - tax on pari-mutuel betting, lottery, or other legalized gambling.

general fund - main part of the budget, operating funds, excluding ear-marked and capital budget funds.

general obligation bonds - legal pledge to repay borrowed money from general funds.

general tax revenue - general sales tax or income tax revenue for general fund.

(tax) incentives - lower tax rates or deductions to encourage certain activities or investments (i.e., charity contributions, municipal bonds, or homr mortgages).

(tax) incidence - the person who sends in the money (legal), or the person who actually pays (economics) such as the tenants in a rented building.

inelastic demand - does not vary much with price of item. Ex: use of tobacco. Price of cigarettes seems to have little effect on use.

Vocabulary (cont'd)

intangible property - stocks, bonds, and other paper which represents value, as well as assets such as good will for a business, not material or touchable.

(tax) neutrality - has little effect on the balance of the economy.

per capita - per person. total expenditures or tax revenue or other statistic divided by population to make comparisons between states with smaller and larger populations. (See Representative Tax System, below)

per $1,000 personal income - total expenditures or tax revenue or other statistic divided by total personal income to compare the ways money is spent in richer or poorer states.

personal property tax - tax on assets other than land, buildings, and improvements. May be based on a percentage of value of buildings to approximate value of furnishings, as well as automobiles and other non-land assets.

progressive tax - the percentage of income paid in taxes increases as the total income increases. Virginia's income tax was originally a progressive tax, but inflation has limited its progressivity, since all taxable income above $12,000 is taxed at the same rate (5.75%), and this $12,000 is very little more than the average annual income in Virginia. Thus, most of the income above average in the state is taxed at this one rate.

property tax - tax on land, buildings, and improvements.

proportional tax - percent of income, regardless of the amount earned. Ex: a "flat tax" of 5%. It would be felt more keenly by low income persons, but the actual percentage would be the same for all incomes, since loopholes and deductions would not be permitted.

public service corporation tax - tax on utilities

regressive tax - a higher percentage of income collected from low income persons. Ex: sales tax on food. A family spends a high percentage of a $20,000 income on food. The same sized family earning $100,000 spends more, but not 5 times as much on food. A considerable portion of the wealthier family's income is likely to be saved/invested, spent on travel, or spent on services not taxed.

Representative Tax System - A new method of computing tax capacity of a state. In addition to per capita income, the former measure, factors are now included that show how each state compares to the average of all other states on the 26 taxes collected by most states. Ex: if Virginia imposed all 26 taxes and collected at the average rate, it would have a tax effort of 100%, instead of the 90% in 1981. This RTS was developed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

revenue - government income

road/school allocation formulas - established by law to return state-collected funds to localities - formulas include many factors.

sales tax or general sales tax - the 4¢ on a dollar that Virginias pay on most items.

tax evasion - deliberately not paying a tax - a crime

tax shifting - the payer of the tax charges it to others. Ex: landlord increases the rent, or industry adds taxes into the selling price of products.

use tax - in lieu of sales tax. Ex: registration fee on car purchased elsewhere for use in Virginia.

user tax/charge/fee - government collects for services used by some of the people. Ex: parking, college tuition, recreation facilities, tolls on roads and bridges.

Table C. State and Local Government

Region, division, and State	State and local government employment, full-time equivalent—Con.															
	Employees per 10,000 population[1]			By selected function (1,000)										Payroll for October (Mil. dol.)		
				Education				Health and hospitals		Public welfare		Police and fire protection				
				Total		Local schools										
	1980	1977	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1977	1970
	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179
United States	488	481	419	5 341.1	4 257.5	4 063.8	3 350.8	1 298.2	950.9	371.9	249.8	817.5	639.5	14 730.1	11 279.4	5 906.4
Northeast	484	468	424	1 030.1	909.0	862.1	776.1	285.4	251.1	115.2	84.7	205.6	192.0	3 329.0	2 655.1	1 559.9
New England	476	463	391	284.0	211.6	235.4	176.9	62.6	52.2	19.3	14.5	55.7	45.8	763.1	601.8	324.7
Maine	458	447	411	28.9	21.8	23.3	17.4	3.1	2.8	1.2	0.8	3.3	2.5	58.7	43.2	22.3
New Hampshire	450	435	361	20.9	13.4	16.0	10.1	3.1	2.2	3.1	1.1	3.3	2.2	46.9	35.0	16.7
Vermont	481	482	423	14.2	10.0	10.3	6.9	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.3	1.3	0.9	28.1	22.0	12.0
Massachusetts	500	488	401	129.3	92.3	112.9	82.2	35.1	31.8	9.5	7.7	30.9	25.9	364.6	310.5	161.9
Rhode Island	471	464	379	20.3	17.5	15.0	13.5	5.6	3.6	1.6	1.2	4.5	3.7	61.9	47.8	24.9
Connecticut	445	429	371	70.4	58.6	57.9	46.9	14.2	10.6	3.1	3.3	12.3	10.6	192.9	143.3	87.0
Middle Atlantic	487	470	434	746.1	697.4	626.7	599.2	222.8	198.9	95.9	70.2	149.9	146.2	2 545.9	2 053.3	1 235.1
New York	539	515	512	345.6	367.2	285.2	310.0	148.6	136.0	53.3	43.6	77.4	86.8	1 393.3	1 148.5	753.8
New Jersey	502	478	373	175.6	129.7	145.8	113.1	35.5	27.8	14.4	7.3	36.1	27.6	517.5	402.9	199.7
Pennsylvania	401	399	351	224.9	200.5	195.7	176.1	38.6	35.2	28.2	19.2	36.4	31.8	635.0	501.6	281.6
North Central	466	457	403	1 416.4	1 224.7	1 063.2	950.2	294.6	248.5	95.1	60.0	199.3	157.8	3 750.0	2 900.3	1 588.9
East N. Central	454	444	390	967.7	839.3	725.3	651.4	193.5	170.1	68.1	41.0	147.8	117.8	2 674.5	2 071.1	1 143.5
Ohio	438	422	366	235.5	205.6	183.9	165.3	49.1	37.5	18.7	12.0	34.1	27.7	614.3	471.5	255.6
Indiana	451	437	383	131.5	112.0	97.5	85.5	31.2	25.1	6.5	3.9	17.6	13.3	295.0	228.5	125.4
Illinois	446	433	398	251.2	226.1	191.9	179.0	44.6	44.4	15.2	12.8	50.1	33.2	745.0	593.9	335.9
Michigan	470	467	404	231.9	201.0	172.3	154.6	46.4	42.9	18.6	8.2	30.2	25.5	695.0	537.0	291.2
Wisconsin	480	482	414	117.6	94.5	79.7	67.1	22.1	20.1	9.1	6.1	15.8	13.1	325.2	240.2	135.4
West N. Central	504	488	433	448.6	385.4	337.9	298.8	101.2	76.5	27.0	19.0	51.5	39.9	1 075.5	829.2	445.4
Minnesota	498	487	425	104.3	91.3	80.1	71.8	22.9	17.1	9.3	4.6	10.0	7.5	291.9	222.3	119.7
Iowa	508	493	432	83.0	69.6	61.1	54.8	17.6	12.1	5.2	3.6	7.2	6.0	167.6	151.1	76.0
Missouri	463	440	392	111.9	94.8	90.2	75.4	33.2	23.7	6.0	5.2	18.6	14.8	260.8	199.8	110.9
North Dakota	502	481	450	18.0	18.4	12.6	11.4	2.5	1.8	1.1	0.7	1.5	1.1	42.8	31.9	16.6
South Dakota	500	485	482	18.5	18.3	14.1	14.7	2.8	2.1	0.8	0.6	1.8	1.3	37.3	29.3	17.6
Nebraska	590	571	497	45.1	37.9	30.9	27.1	8.5	7.9	3.2	1.5	4.4	3.5	109.1	81.1	43.2
Kansas	536	533	470	67.8	57.1	49.0	43.6	13.6	11.7	1.5	2.8	8.0	5.8	146.0	113.6	61.3
South	503	487	410	1 888.3	1 328.3	1 438.0	1 035.6	505.7	311.3	98.8	53.2	253.4	170.6	4 358.0	3 204.2	1 487.9
S. Atlantic	515	504	416	921.9	649.0	706.7	510.8	260.9	161.6	48.0	27.6	131.7	88.2	2 254.7	1 699.4	779.8
Delaware	526	519	472	15.1	14.5	10.6	10.3	3.5	2.1	0.6	0.9	1.8	1.5	38.6	33.0	16.9
Maryland	547	517	411	111.4	82.6	79.9	64.8	24.9	18.4	6.7	3.5	18.0	14.6	318.7	243.7	116.6
Dist. of Col.	762	769	643	13.7	14.1	10.9	12.9	6.3	6.6	2.2	3.9	5.7	8.2	85.7	75.8	38.6
Virginia	503	503	398	143.5	100.3	109.1	79.2	27.1	17.9	6.5	3.2	16.7	11.5	321.4	243.4	114.9
West Virginia	511	477	412	52.6	38.5	40.8	30.1	12.0	6.8	3.4	2.0	4.4	3.2	107.8	81.3	38.8
North Carolina	508	492	372	158.7	104.7	121.1	81.1	37.4	18.4	8.4	4.1	17.9	10.8	342.1	250.7	112.2
South Carolina	515	487	398	85.2	57.1	62.8	45.9	24.8	14.5	5.0	1.7	8.6	5.0	172.4	121.9	52.9
Georgia	563	526	432	139.8	96.1	111.2	75.4	64.3	36.9	8.2	2.7	19.8	11.6	321.3	228.3	105.2
Florida	471	483	434	201.9	141.0	160.2	111.2	60.5	40.0	8.9	5.4	38.7	21.9	546.6	421.2	185.9
East S. Central	481	460	395	342.7	253.8	254.5	192.2	99.2	64.5	20.5	11.0	45.7	30.1	761.5	551.6	262.3
Kentucky	423	408	356	83.7	63.2	62.1	49.8	13.0	11.3	5.6	2.7	9.6	6.9	177.4	128.6	65.1
Tennessee	490	483	414	103.4	74.8	81.5	56.5	31.6	23.5	7.2	3.3	16.0	10.0	247.9	178.0	84.8
Alabama	504	468	394	90.7	67.6	64.5	50.4	33.4	16.4	4.8	2.4	13.0	8.4	214.4	155.6	70.1
Mississippi	514	480	422	64.9	48.2	46.4	35.5	20.2	13.2	3.0	2.6	7.1	4.8	121.7	89.6	42.2
West S. Central	498	478	411	623.7	425.5	470.8	332.6	146.7	85.2	30.3	14.8	76.1	52.3	1 341.8	953.0	445.8
Arkansas	465	434	381	55.6	38.7	41.3	29.2	13.5	9.2	2.3	1.5	6.2	4.5	104.9	75.0	34.0
Louisiana	532	496	438	106.8	81.0	82.9	64.9	32.0	19.3	4.8	3.7	14.1	11.2	230.6	171.4	87.8
Oklahoma	524	497	420	81.7	56.3	59.7	42.5	16.9	11.3	8.8	3.7	10.2	6.9	171.3	118.0	58.9
Texas	483	476	405	379.5	249.4	292.9	195.9	84.3	45.4	14.4	5.8	45.6	29.7	828.0	588.0	265.2
West	491	520	458	1 006.3	795.6	720.6	588.6	210.4	142.0	82.8	51.9	159.2	119.1	3 293.1	2 519.8	1 263.7
Mountain	519	526	473	307.4	214.7	217.0	154.5	52.6	33.1	13.5	8.3	41.5	24.0	788.2	500.7	252.5
Montana	556	551	479	22.4	17.2	17.0	12.2	3.0	2.8	1.5	0.9	2.4	1.8	53.8	43.8	20.1
Idaho	481	497	454	23.0	16.7	17.0	12.2	4.3	3.1	1.3	0.6	2.7	1.6	53.6	40.8	17.5
Wyoming	643	578	604	15.9	10.0	12.0	7.5	3.6	2.8	0.5	0.6	1.8	0.9	40.4	23.0	11.8
Colorado	515	526	483	77.2	60.7	55.2	41.4	15.7	9.5	3.6	2.8	10.7	6.2	205.9	153.0	69.3
New Mexico	589	559	486	39.9	27.8	27.0	19.7	6.5	4.0	1.9	1.4	4.6	2.7	90.8	63.2	29.1
Arizona	506	522	435	73.9	42.0	50.4	30.6	10.1	4.6	2.3	0.9	10.3	5.4	198.0	139.8	56.4
Utah	463	483	449	39.0	29.5	26.2	21.7	4.9	3.2	1.6	0.6	4.4	2.4	88.4	62.9	29.7
Nevada	501	538	519	16.1	10.9	12.1	9.0	4.5	3.1	0.8	0.4	4.5	2.7	57.1	40.3	18.8
Pacific	481	519	453	696.9	580.8	503.7	434.3	157.9	108.9	49.3	43.6	117.7	95.2	2 504.9	1 853.1	1 017.2
Washington	495	501	468	97.3	83.5	68.2	60.3	16.1	10.9	5.5	4.7	12.8	9.4	314.2	227.0	120.0
Oregon	514	510	463	68.6	53.6	50.5	39.2	11.6	6.9	4.7	2.2	9.0	5.9	189.2	144.8	67.4
California	468	487	446	497.8	417.5	358.9	314.9	123.6	86.5	37.4	38.0	90.3	76.2	1 863.7	1 476.3	783.7
Alaska	803	694	513	13.6	7.0	10.3	5.8	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.3	1.7	0.8	69.4	47.5	15.8
Hawaii	503	518	496	21.5	10.2	15.8	14.2	5.0	3.6	1.0	0.3	3.8	2.8	68.4	57.5	30.4

[1] Based on Bureau of the Census resident population enumerated as of April 1, for 1980 and 1970, and estimated as of July 1 for 1977.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
State & Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1982

ITEMS 1164-1179

Table C. Local Government Finances and State and Local Government Employment

Region, division, and State	Local government finances—Con.											Gross assessed value of property, 1979 (Bil. dol.)			State and local government employment, full-time equivalent (1,000)		
	Direct general expenditure—Con. (Mil. dol.)					Debt outstanding (Mil. dol.)			Per capita, 1980[1] (Dol.)				Locally assessed				
	1980																
	Highways	Police and fire protection	Environment and housing	1977	1972	1980	1977	1972	Property taxes	Direct general expenditure	Debt outstanding	Total[2]	Real	Personal	1980	1977	1970
	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163
United States	12 650	17 152	25 243	170 938	106 499	213 645	169 458	120 705	269	984	941	1 678.8	1 358.5	206.8	11 048.9	10 568.7	8 528.2
Northeast	2 592	4 474	6 484	47 344	32 320	51 058	49 741	37 538	430	1 182	1 038	336.2	316.1	14.6	2 378.7	2 309.9	2 079.2
New England	588	1 134	1 294	8 822	5 433	8 066	7 317	5 986	484	867	652	121.7	100.1	12.9	587.4	568.0	482.8
Maine	65	59	67	619	354	809	492	263	305	659	541	15.7	13.7	2.0	51.5	49.4	40.9
New Hampshire	56	56	61	486	261	396	385	266	441	689	429	10.7	10.7	Z	41.4	37.9	26.8
Vermont	38	17	28	256	166	135	151	163	375	625	264	6.2	5.6	0.6	24.6	23.7	18.8
Massachusetts	268	661	642	4 821	2 818	4 452	3 909	3 124	554	993	775	43.9	41.0	2.2	288.9	280.3	227.9
Rhode Island	32	88	117	539	329	566	456	437	408	732	587	8.1	6.4	1.6	44.6	44.3	38.0
Connecticut	131	255	379	2 069	1 485	1 908	1 924	1 732	472	846	613	37.1	30.6	6.5	136.4	132.4	112.6
Middle Atlantic	2 004	3 340	5 190	38 522	26 887	42 992	42 424	31 550	412	1 261	1 187	214.4	207.8	1.7	1 791.2	1 742.0	1 616.5
New York	1 172	2 015	3 039	24 425	17 742	22 856	26 394	21 013	500	1 670	1 300	89.7	85.0	-	945.9	918.5	934.6
New Jersey	406	666	834	6 431	4 191	6 081	5 385	4 050	468	1 111	826	97.1	95.3	1.7	369.9	349.5	267.8
Pennsylvania	426	659	1 317	7 666	4 953	14 045	10 645	6 488	234	887	1 162	27.6	27.6	-	475.4	474.0	414.1
North Central	4 513	4 267	6 553	43 818	27 610	50 225	38 170	29 620	321	974	853	400.9	322.1	43.9	2 756.9	2 662.1	2 277.7
East N. Central	2 868	3 313	4 886	31 514	19 649	30 218	24 891	20 359	326	982	725	282.2	225.1	31.2	1 890.6	1 834.2	1 570.7
Ohio	564	753	1 130	7 855	4 502	6 406	5 779	5 126	268	916	599	69.4	47.3	4.3	472.8	454.3	389.9
Indiana	259	265	391	3 201	2 328	3 317	2 263	1 900	240	762	604	17.0	10.6	4.7	247.6	235.9	199.1
Illinois	743	1 084	1 528	8 623	5 330	9 003	7 685	6 025	356	953	788	67.2	55.6	10.2	509.3	494.0	440.2
Michigan	707	828	1 268	7 723	4 951	8 202	6 861	5 264	400	1 131	886	72.5	63.3	9.3	435.1	427.5	358.6
Wisconsin	595	383	569	4 112	2 536	3 227	2 304	2 044	339	1 170	682	56.0	48.3	2.8	225.9	222.5	183.0
West N. Central	1 645	974	1 667	12 304	7 961	20 007	13 279	8 261	308	955	1 163	118.8	97.0	12.6	866.3	827.9	707.0
Minnesota	474	239	583	3 763	2 490	6 611	3 838	2 993	323	1 199	1 619	15.9	15.4	0.3	203.1	194.0	161.7
Iowa	359	132	224	2 154	1 347	1 914	1 386	988	360	1 013	657	58.8	51.0	2.7	147.8	143.7	122.2
Missouri	257	327	422	2 786	1 971	3 212	2 692	2 393	214	785	652	17.3	10.9	4.3	228.7	213.2	183.5
North Dakota	86	29	53	414	238	607	365	198	285	862	928	0.8	0.8	Z	32.8	31.2	27.8
South Dakota	67	28	50	388	243	419	140	94	351	731	507	4.4	4.2	-	34.5	33.4	32.1
Nebraska	168	88	150	1 183	647	4 405	3 079	1 495	399	952	2 803	11.8	9.9	1.6	92.6	88.8	73.8
Kansas	234	125	185	1 615	1 025	2 839	1 778	1 102	357	849	1 199	10.0	4.8	3.6	126.7	123.6	105.8
South	3 123	4 498	6 956	43 721	25 032	69 001	49 392	32 384	190	798	912	587.1	442.9	105.3	3 793.1	3 500.3	2 577.4
S. Atlantic	1 208	2 499	3 850	23 789	13 667	29 810	22 494	14 070	204	845	803	429.0	328.5	73.6	1 904.3	1 761.0	1 276.6
Delaware	14	32	70	379	257	577	413	316	168	748	968	3.9	3.9	-	31.3	30.9	25.8
Maryland	231	348	645	3 844	2 297	3 998	3 295	2 525	268	1 022	946	37.3	30.9	0.2	230.6	216.9	161.2
Dist. of Col.	75	226	229	1 494	1 069	2 658	2 534	820	344	2 980	4 175	13.1	12.4	0.7	48.6	52.5	48.7
Virginia	147	308	514	3 119	1 849	3 937	3 478	2 447	231	755	734	85.5	72.7	6.8	268.8	261.8	164.1
West Virginia	25	59	106	850	479	1 431	449	312	138	634	734	12.4	5.5	4.9	99.6	90.9	71.8
North Carolina	113	289	525	3 356	1 839	3 151	1 935	1 482	183	735	535	79.0	46.9	24.2	298.1	276.8	189.3
South Carolina	88	123	197	1 284	762	1 411	1 039	787	187	621	451	2.6	1.7	0.4	180.8	145.6	102.7
Georgia	222	296	405	3 088	1 831	4 800	3 340	1 912	197	621	878	36.9	24.6	8.7	307.5	273.9	196.3
Florida	383	816	1 157	6 374	3 283	7 847	6 011	3 488	212	879	795	158.2	129.7	28.0	458.8	429.7	294.8
East S. Central	724	689	1 034	7 189	4 070	13 386	9 596	6 495	113	680	912	73.9	51.9	13.8	705.4	653.6	506.4
Kentucky	100	149	253	1 554	825	4 387	2 736	1 500	87	601	1 198	47.6	33.9	9.1	154.8	145.9	114.7
Tennessee	229	261	380	2 423	1 447	4 634	3 517	2 494	157	731	1 008	13.6	10.8	1.5	224.8	212.5	162.4
Alabama	188	199	295	1 906	1 060	3 049	2 271	1 701	67	672	783	8.5	5.0	1.9	196.2	177.2	135.7
Mississippi	207	90	106	1 306	737	1 316	1 072	800	139	717	522	4.3	2.1	1.3	129.6	118.0	93.6
West S. Central	1 131	1 300	2 072	12 744	7 296	25 805	17 302	11 799	216	795	1 081	84.2	62.5	17.7	1 183.5	1 065.7	794.2
Arkansas	103	77	105	944	506	1 654	1 019	856	131	598	720	4.6	2.5	1.2	106.3	95.8	73.2
Louisiana	228	259	362	2 359	1 378	4 112	2 858	2 326	110	808	974	8.1	4.5	2.1	223.7	199.2	159.7
Oklahoma	188	155	248	1 540	868	1 848	1 345	1 137	151	720	608	6.8	4.2	1.3	158.5	140.0	107.5
Texas	612	809	1 350	7 901	4 544	18 191	12 080	7 481	275	839	1 270	64.6	51.3	13.1	695.0	630.6	453.8
West	2 420	3 895	5 246	38 055	21 537	43 383	32 155	21 185	258	1 123	1 000	354.6	277.4	43.0	2 118.2	2 096.4	1 583.9
Mountain	700	838	1 088	7 699	3 981	12 539	7 894	4 008	285	968	1 097	45.2	29.3	4.8	589.8	547.2	391.9
Montana	68	42	52	547	291	543	420	174	431	963	689	1.6	0.7	0.5	43.7	42.5	33.3
Idaho	61	48	55	517	257	348	252	184	226	719	384	2.9	2.2	0.3	45.4	43.9	32.4
Wyoming	43	38	51	385	171	804	406	163	499	1 355	1 694	3.8	0.8	0.4	30.3	23.8	20.0
Colorado	201	220	262	2 234	1 173	3 341	2 151	1 242	327	1 008	1 151	12.5	9.8	1.3	148.7	141.7	106.7
New Mexico	59	82	105	724	411	1 184	669	295	123	834	907	5.5	2.8	0.3	76.6	68.5	49.4
Arizona	156	232	342	1 954	854	4 658	2 833	1 160	305	1 025	1 708	7.2	4.4	0.8	137.4	126.7	77.2
Utah	70	68	84	783	376	877	540	375	233	829	586	5.2	3.5	0.7	87.7	83.5	47.5
Nevada	45	90	107	575	348	787	614	436	227	1 166	975	6.6	5.1	0.8	40.0	36.5	25.4
Pacific	1 720	3 057	4 158	28 356	17 556	30 824	24 261	17 177	248	1 179	965	309.4	248.1	36.1	1 528.4	1 549.3	1 202.0
Washington	300	292	457	2 751	1 734	10 024	6 665	3 719	176	990	2 417	78.7	63.2	11.9	204.4	188.9	159.7
Oregon	187	217	291	1 958	1 063	2 140	1 432	899	381	1 087	811	64.1	51.6	8.1	135.2	187.5	98.8
California	1 150	2 399	3 196	22 705	14 327	15 848	14 240	11 873	244	1 235	667	132.9	106.6	16.6	1 108.2	1 087.9	881.7
Alaska	50	66	98	541	248	2 495	1 378	382	474	2 265	6 195	18.8	9.8	1.4	32.1	27.6	15.6
Hawaii	33	63	116	401	194	317	326	303	192	385	327	15.1	15.1	-	48.5	47.4	38.2

[1] Based on estimated resident population, July 1, 1980. [2] Includes State assessed property, not shown separately. All assessment in Hawaii, Maryland, and Montana is performed by a State agency, but values are shown here as "locally assessed" for comparability with other States.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
State & Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1982

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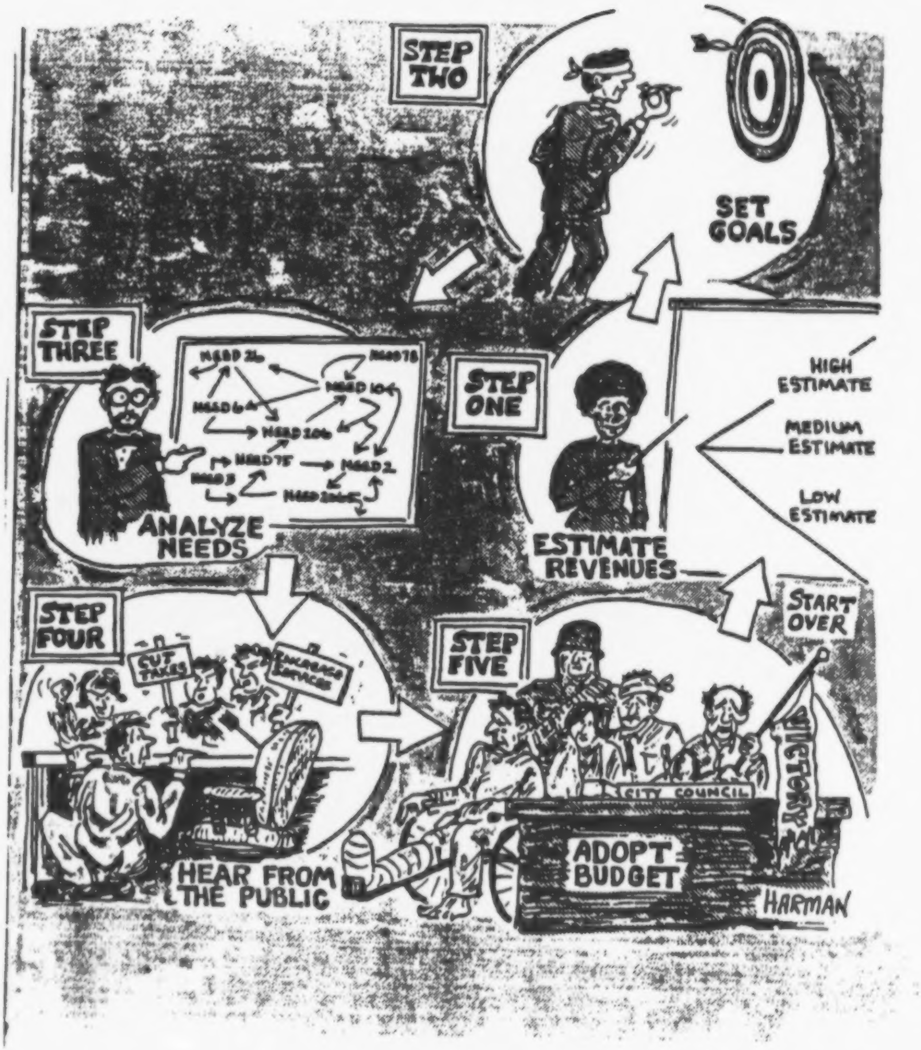
HOW DOES VIRGINIA RANK AMONG THE STATES?

The following rankings were taken from several sources, though most may be found in State Fiscal Indicators, 1982, published by the National Conference of State Legislatures.

In each case, the state ranking #1 spent the most, had the most employees, or the largest debt. Ex: Virginia is 40th in state and local government debt. This means that 39 states have more state and local debt per person than Virginia.

40th in state and local government debt per capita
40th in state and local expenditures/$1000 personal income
40th in state and local spending on local schools/$1000 of personal income
40th in state aid to schools/$1000 of personal income
35th in state expenditures/$1000 of personal income
31st in state and local spending on health & hospitals/$1000 of personal income
41st in state and local spending on welfare/$1000 of personal income
20th in state and local spending for streets and highways/$1000 of personal income
33rd in nation in state expenditures per capita
33rd in nation in state and local expenditures per capita
44th in state general sales and gross receipts tax revenue/$1000 of pers. income
38th in state tax revenue per $1000 of personal income .
21st in state-local employees per 10,000 population
31st in average monthly earnings of full-time state employees
30th in average monthly earnings of full-time local employees
32nd in state-local noneducation employment/10,000 population
10th in state-local education employment per 10,000 population (incl. colleges)
24th in nation in per capita personal income - Considerably higher than all other southeast states, excluding Florida which is about $100 less
13th in the nation in population
22nd in the nation in urbanization
36th (tied with NJ) in population (aged 5-17) as percent of total population
20th in per capita (average) income in 1982 - $11,095. U. S. average: $11,107


STEP TWO
SET GOALS
STEP THREE
NEED 26
NEED 76
NEED 104
NEED 6
NEED 206
NEED 75
NEED 2
NEED 3
NEED 2005
ANALYZE NEEDS
STEP ONE
HIGH ESTIMATE
MEDIUM ESTIMATE
LOW ESTIMATE
ESTIMATE REVENUES
STEP FOUR
CUT TAXES
INCREASE SERVICES
HEAR FROM THE PUBLIC
STEP FIVE
START OVER
CITY COUNCIL
VICTORY
ADOPT BUDGET
HARMAN

G - LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA

Plans & Ideas for Using Section G
News Letters - for Teacher Background G 3 - 7
  Virginia Local Government, 1776 - 1976
  The Study of Small Towns in Virginia
  Town-County Relations in Virginia
  Women in Virginia State & Local Government
  An Update on Local Government Consolidation in Virginia
  Annexation Resumes in Virginia
Powers & Structures of Local Government in Virginia G 9 - 14
Local Government Organization & Charts G 15 - 16
Student Worksheet - Fill In Information on "Our Local Government" G 17 - 18
Student Worksheet - Local Meeting Observer's Report G 19 - 20
Ward System or At-Large Representation G 21 - 22
Instructions and Worksheet - Studying Local Problems G 23 - 24
Brief Class Activity - Setting Priorities on Local Problems G 25
Class Activity - Our Local Budget, A Political Process Exercise G 27 - 36

(The cartoon on the front of this page was drawn by Doug Harman, City Manager of Alexandria. It is printed with his permission and the permission of "Virginia Town & City," the official magazine of the Virginia Municipal League. The cartoon points to the perpetual budget cycle and the interplay of administration, elected officials, and politics. Cut taxes! Increase services! Man the barricades! Call the ambulance!

PLANS & IDEAS FOR USING SECTION G

SPECIAL REASONS FOR INCLUDING MORE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN YOUR COURSE

Students can be more involved and interested than in any other unit. The problems are real and near at-hand, the authorities are accessible, and students may even have a personal or family stake in the solution.

Teachers can enjoy the unit, too! Some preliminary work, a written unit plan, advanced assignments, and cooperative officials can provide a productive and challenging segment of the course that does not exhaust the teacher. The local government unit is an appropriate culminating experience for the social studies program in the schools, BUT BE SURE TO SAVE ENOUGH TIME TO DO IT RIGHT! Scheduled earlier in the year, the local unit can stimulate "involvement in the community," and enrich current events discussions all year.

The schools and school administrators can benefit from increased contact with local government officials. The more seriously officials regard the schools as a vital link in their community relations, the more helpful they will be in the classroom and in other ways.)

Officials can benefit from the local government unit. They are usually glad to help plan the unit and contribute time and resources for the classroom. Many officials relish the opportunity to visit classes. They recognize the schools as a conduit to share knowledge and collect feedback from a considerable segment of the community's families, and an opportunity to make local government more credible and supportable.

THESE MATERIALS MAY BE COMBINED IN MANY DIFFERENT WAYS AND USED AT DIFFERENT TIMES DEPENDING ON YOUR COURSE PLAN. Inductive plans start with the problems.

PLAN A - ADVANCED ASSIGNMENTS PLUS 15-20 OR MORE CLASS PERIODS
PLAN B - ADVANCED ASSIGNMENTS PLUS 12-18 CLASS PERIODS
PLAN C - ADVANCED ASSIGNMENTS PLUS FEWER THAN 12 CLASS PERIODS

Plan A	Plan B	Plan C	Component	Page
✓	✓	✓	Basic Information - (Handout or lecture notes)	G 9-14
✓	✓	✓	Worksheet - Our Local Government (Find the answers!)	G 17-18
✓	✓	✓	Studying Local Problems - assign prior to unit	G 23-24
✓	✓		Our Local Budget - Class activity, using student reports	G 27-36
		✓	Decision-Making on New Programs, using student reports	G 25
✓	✓	✓	Advance preparation on roles and agenda issues, then observe a board/council meeting	G 4, 19
✓	✓		Posthole - field trips, guest speakers on a local issue official visits/interviews, or other ideas	G 3-8

- IF YOU HAVE TAUGHT LOCAL GOVERNMENT FROM A NATIONAL TEXTBOOK IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THIS WILL BE A DELIGHTFUL CHANGE. You will not have to keep explaining the differences between the textbook's homogenized prototype and your own government and issues. All of you will learn from officials, from each other, from parents, and from the process itself.

- IF YOU HAVE TAUGHT LOCAL GOVERNMENT FROM AN OUTLINE IN PREVIOUS YEARS, ADD AN ACTIVITY OR TWO TO SPARK STUDENT INTEREST (AND YOURS)!. Use your outline and data as introduction. Involving students in the process is well worth a little extra preparation. Once you set the unit in motion, it almost runs itself!

- IF YOU HAVE USED CLASS ACTIVITIES LIKE THESE, read through the section and contact Teacher Resources, Institute of Government, University of Virginia, if you can suggest improvements or other ways to involve students in learning the process of government. Share your ideas!

AFTER YOU HAVE READ THROUGH THIS SECTION G, CHECK YOUR TEXTBOOK. These materials cover almost every concept and vocabulary word in the local government chapters of national textbooks. Your students will not be missing anything crucial by focusing their study on VIRGINIA local government...IN FACT, THEY'LL GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND ENJOY IT MORE!

GETTING STARTED ....

1 - WHATEVER ELSE YOU DO, AT LEAST ONCE EARLY IN THE YEAR, PLAN TO MEET YOUR STUDENTS AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OR CITY COUNCIL. During the preceding week, obtain a copy of the agenda and ask questions about items that are not familiar. Discuss the agenda with each of your classes. Let each student copy a diagram from the board of who sits where, and be sure they all know where the meeting is held, and where to park and enter the building. Let the governing body know that you are coming -- they will probably recognize the teacher and group and welcome you. Radio reports of meetings are often not complete, and telecasts are usually unbelievably dull -- the camera is usually on the speaker, though the action and interesting responses may be elsewhere. The experience will be particularly rewarding if you have had a mock board/council meeting with this agenda a day or two before the real meeting. Students can compare their arguments and reactions to those of the officials. Sometimes they even come up with valuable suggestions! If there is a break, or at the end of the meeting, introduce yourself and any students who have questions. (If you tend to be itchy, take along some unobtrusive work to do on a clipboard -- there are some parts of some meetings that will not require your full attention.) See report sheets adapted from the League of Women Voters and the ideas of Dwight Campbell, Jonesville High School, Lee County. Meetings are even more instructive if students attend two in sequence or watch an idea go through staff work and recommendations to ordinance.

CAN YOU BE PUT ON THE LIST TO RECEIVE THE BOARD/COUNCIL AGENDA IN ADVANCE? OFFER EXTRA CREDIT TO STUDENTS WHO FIND PREVIEW INFORMATION IN THE NEWSPAPER, SHARE IT WITH THE CLASS, AND POST IT ON THE BULLETIN BOARD.

2 - STUDENT MATERIALS ON YOUR COMMUNITY Start at the County Office Building or City Hall -- the professional manager or public information officer. Check the local Extension Service office, service clubs, League of Women Voters, or other organizations that have materials on your county or city government. Don't reinvent the wheel. Make a classroom collection of the available charts, flyers, pamphlets, books. If you can, duplicate basic materials for all of your students. At the least, give them the information necessary to complete the information questionnaire (G 17-18). If you are unsure of how to

go about developing or adapting materials for classes in your community, call or write Teacher Resources, Institute of Government, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903 (804-924-3396).

3 - ASSIGN LOCAL PROBLEM STUDIES (see G 23 - 24) at least a week in advance of your local government unit. Since there will probably NOT be enough juicy ones to go around, and since group activity is part of the skills training in social studies, let groups work together. Coordinate with other teachers and other classes to avoid multiple requests to officials. If several classes are working on local government units at the same time, the officials might set up a conference in the office building or in the high school to answer basic questions and help students locate materials and information for their studies. Students should be armed with local government structure charts and a clear notion of what information they need, so they can take full advantage of the meeting.

4 - Help your students take part in local opportunities such as the police ride-along program. If your local law enforcement officers have such a program, they will undoubtedly send an officer to your school with information and permission forms.

5 - Visiting local courts can be a very educational experience -- it also can be very frustrating to plan in advance. The big case that would be so interesting may be settled out of court or "continued" at the last minute to another day. If your school will allow excused absences for individual students to attend, and if you have support from other teachers, it may work better to let students make their own arrangements and attend in small groups. (Check your school policies, and remind students of the permissions that will be needed from parents, other teachers, and administrators.) They can share the experience in class, and return with dispatch if the court is adjourned. Contact your local chapter of the Virginia Bar Association, or court clerk to see if any local court docket seems firm enough to allow you to select or suggest a good day for students to see an interesting case. The Young Lawyers group of the Bar Association has as part of its mission helping in schools -- they might provide a guide for your students, or for your class if you decide on a field trip. Note: Since many teachers and course plans treat local courts as part of the unit on Courts and the Law, there are no materials in this section on the law. See "By the Good People of Virginia.." by Cline and Fleming, and Your Virginia State Government, by the League of Women Voters of Virginia for information.

6 - GO-SEE TOURS In order to appreciate a local issue or controversy, it may be necessary to actually see the site. Teenagers spend a lot of time "out -- riding around." Why not suggest that they write up a guide sheet for a walking tour or see-it-yourself trip. The teacher should check it to be sure that the guide does not recommend a dangerous or illegal (trespassing) route, that the tour is limited to daylight hours, and that the rights and privacy of property owners and neighbors are clearly spelled out. If the area is a construction sight or one that is patrolled regularly by police, it may be necessary to obtain extra permissions. Students should be helped to become informed citizens, but they should be good citizens and considerate of others.

A guide will be necessary for a field trip, particularly if the location is a technical or closed facility. Water treatment plants, jails, and offices can be educational places to visit, but many of them are on the regular tours of the elementary and middle schools. Check with your supervisors before you mention it to students -- some of them are so anxious to get out of classes that they will not tell you they have already seen the sludge beds!

7 - Neighborhood associations are active in many localities. They offer another opportunity for student information, input, and involvement. If there is a planning/zoning or other item of particular interest to a section of the community, it can demonstrate the process of local government. What notices must be given? Who will ultimately make the decision? What legal requirements must be satisfied? What other groups have an interest in the decision? Has the issue been dealt with in the press -- in a disinterested or nonpartisan way? Other special interest groups may also be sources of information. What viewpoints would be crucial to a balanced presentation?

8 - Use the information from student local problem studies in a mock board/council meeting, if you do not have time for the "Our Local Budget" exercise. Have each class elect a set of officials to decide on the issue in a meeting patterned after the local governing body's meetings. Students will be likely to attend a real meeting to see how they should act. Student officials should justify their votes, and class discussion should include such questions as the possible political repercussions from spending or not spending the money.

9 - Plan a school-wide candidate forum for your local election - See Section D of this notebook.

10 - Plan a local government or issue forum with officials and students as speakers. Videotape it for use in other classes. A local TV or cable studio might help, then show it to the community.

11 - Watch for articles, flyers, groups or presentations in your community that are suspected of being one-sided, that might be examples in a discussion of propaganda. Dissecting such an item can be a useful and educational experience, and can cut down on the gullibility of some students who consider anything printed to be true. Great examples of distortions and half-truths litter front porches and public thorofares. If you think there are, or ought to be, two sides to the controversy -- you can maintain proper professional impartiality by comparing their premises and arguments. BE CAREFUL ABOUT GIVING CLASS TIME TO ISSUES THAT ARE NOT WORTH RESEARCHING, OR TO GROUPS THAT MIGHT USE YOU TO GAIN A PLATFORM, PRESS FOR EQUAL TIME, OR SUE THE SCHOOL IF THEY THINK YOU SLANDERED THEM. If the materials are distributed publicly and your students bring them in to class, and if you can keep the discussion analytical and questioning, allowing students to come to their own conclusions, you should not be criticized. (See propaganda, D 15-16.)

12 - Special up-dated information on annexation and consolidation: Read the April 1984 News Letter: "Annexation Resumes in Virginia." Ask your local officials for specific information on your community. Write Teacher Resources, Institute of Government, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

Bibliography and other resources

Each government teacher should have a copy of
Thomas R. Morris & Larry Sabato, Virginia Government and Politics, Readings and Comments, Published jointly by the Virginia Chamber of Commerce and the Institute of Government, University of Virginia. 1984

This is a new edition of a key resource. It includes Institute of Government News Letters (some also in this notebook) and articles from newspapers, magazines, and books, organized and very readable, in bite-sized chunks. Copies may be obtained from the Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903, for $12 (plus tax, where applicable).

Your high school library also should have one or more copies. If your community library does not contain this book, you might request it for your students to use as a reference. Others in the community would benefit, too.

Videotape #1 in the "Get Involved in Government" series, ("Get Involved in Local Government,") is a 15-minute case study on zoning changes required to permit the construction and operation of a brewery, questions of land use, and sale of beer on Sunday. It will keynote your students' local government problem studies and trigger discussions of citizen action in the community. Contact the State Department of Education, Instructional Media & Technology Development & Dissemination Service. Send a videotape and $2 (handling charge) and they will copy it for you.

See #2 on G 3 for ideas on materials from your own local government.

There are many simulations available on local government -- even some new ones on computer programs. Look them over for technique, but consider inserting problems and issues from your own community -- or, better yet, let your students select and research the necessary information on timely local issues.

The office of the Extension Service in your community may have simulations available and even help put them on. If your school has a 4-H program, some of your students may already have used such a simulation -- in which case, they can help you update the problems and adapt it to your use.

If you intend to do an in-depth study (many weeks) of your local government, you might order a copy of the Manual for County Officials or for Municipal Officials. Contact the Institute of Government.

"Social Education," the magazine of the National Council for Social Studies, had a "Do It Series" insert on Studying Local Government, in the April 1984 issue. See it for other resources and ideas.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS LETTER

VOL. 52, No. 11

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VIRGINIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT, 1776-1976

By WELDON COOPER

The author is Robert Kent Gooch Professor of Government at the University of Virginia.

This is the first in a series of six articles commemorating the Bicentennial of the American Revolution.

Viewed against the backdrop of local government in Virginia as it was in 1776, one finds in 1976 much that is familiar as well as much that is new. As far as the general-purpose units of local government are concerned—namely the county, city, and town—at least one of each was already present in the year of independence. The county, which first appeared on the scene in 1634 when eight such units were established by the Assembly, was by far the most visible, covering as it did the inhabited parts of the new state. In contrast, only one city and four towns were in existence in 1776. Williamsburg, the capital city, was formally constituted "a City incorporate" in a charter granted by the lieutenant governor of the colony on July 28, 1722. The first town, Richmond, had been incorporated in 1742; it was to attain city status in 1782. The other three incorporated towns were Dumfries (1749), Smithfield (1752), and Leesburg (1758). The remaining municipality was the Borough of Norfolk, which attained corporate status in a charter dated September 15, 1736. (Norfolk continued as a borough until 1845, when that title disappeared with the change in name to the City of Norfolk.) Thus, the foundations on which Virginia local government rest in 1976 had been established in rudimentary form by the time of independence.

If there were similarities, however, the intervening two centuries also have brought enormous changes. Of the many developments that might be mentioned, one would certainly have to include (1) the emergence of a system of city-county separation for which the principal characteristics had been firmly established by the end of the first century after independence; (2) the dominance of the county in the early years of independence and well into the nineteenth century; (3) the rise of the municipality to at least a coequal position with the county by the end of the nineteenth century; (4) the appearance of the urban county in the second and third quarters of this century; and (5) the profound influence of the emergence of metropolitan areas, one result of which was the arrival in 1969 of the newest member of the local government fraternity, the planning district.

CITY-COUNTY SEPARATION

Perhaps the most important, and certainly the most intriguing, development during the years under review was the appearance over time of a statewide system of city-county separation. Under this system, those municipalities dubbed as cities were constituted independent units of local government, as separate and apart from the adjacent county or counties as one county was from another. Barely discernible in 1776, this pattern had clearly become fixed in the local government system by the end of Reconstruction. Moreover, the separation of city and county, while recognized in the statutes, by the courts, and in practice, did not have constitutional sanction until the 1971 Virginia Constitution defined a city for the first time as "an independent incorporated community." In contrast, those municipalities known as towns remained within the county as a second layer of government in that unit, a practice commonly followed for almost all municipalities in other states. To compound the confusion, one can still find in Virginia units of local government carrying such titles as County of James City, County of Charles City, and Town of Gate City!

Chester W. Bain in his "A Body Incorporate": The Evolution of City-County Separation in Virginia (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967) presents an authoritative account of the slow but steady emergence after 1776 of a system of local government under which cities and counties occupied a coequal status as "primary political subdivisions" of the Commonwealth. Bain finds that nowhere in the colonial charters of Williamsburg and Norfolk is there any indication of an intention to confer on them a position of independence in relation to the counties in which they were located. Moreover, Norfolk (1845), Petersburg (1850), and Alexandria and Lynchburg (1852) received in their city charters no specific grant of independence. Nevertheless, there were individual acts which, when viewed collectively, marked the beginning of the Virginia city of today. In the 1776 Constitution, for example, Williamsburg and Norfolk were given separate representation in the House of Delegates, a provision which was duplicated for some of the newer cities in succeeding constitutions.

As incorporated towns began to appear in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Bain finds many examples of a gradual growth of separation even before the formal title of city was assigned by the General Assembly. Developments after the adoption of the 1851 Virginia Constitution speeded this process with the term of "city" being applied in large part to those municipalities which had both a population in excess of 5,000 and a separate court of record. After the adoption of the 1870 Constitution, the element of independence became fixed with the provision for separate county and city school divisions in an act establishing a system of free public schools. The formal classification of cities and towns in terms of population, however, did not come until the 1902 Constitution, when cities and towns were distinguished on the basis of population—but without any constitutional hint of the established independent position of the city.

Perhaps the single most important contribution flowing from Bain's book is his dispelling of the myth that the colonists brought with them a longstanding practice in British local government under which more thickly settled areas were split off from their counties and designated "county boroughs." As noted above, the two incorporations of Williamsburg and Norfolk give no hint of independence; nor did the city incorporation of Richmond in the early years after the Revolution. The weakness of the transfer theory is further indicated by the absence of independence in the cities of West Virginia, which was a part of Virginia until 1863, and in other states whose settlers were also British in origin. Rather, as Bain concludes, city-county separation in Virginia "has evolved largely from usage that has its roots deep in the colonial period . . ." (p. 53).

THE DOMINANCE OF THE COUNTY

While city-county separation was in a period of gestation in the early years after 1776, the Virginia county continued as the dominant unit of local government. The ten exceptions which existed until the nineteenth century (three small cities and seven even smaller towns) were dwarfed indeed by the counties, which had grown steadily in number from the original eight established in 1634. A number of reasons have been advanced for the development of the county as the dominant unit of local government, with the municipalities trailing far behind. Donald C. Dixon, in his most useful but still unpublished study entitled "Constitutional History of Virginia Local Government" (Institute of Government, University of Virginia, 1973, pp. 35-37), has suggested the overriding influence of geography and economics. The existence of a number of large rivers made possible water-borne commerce far inland and thus encouraged a wide dispersion instead of a concentration of population. Complementing this pattern of growth was the early appearance of tobacco as the premier "money crop" on which the plantation system was based. The growth of self-sufficiency because of the ease with which the tobacco trade was conducted mitigated against the development of trade centers, since both the planters and the English merchants with whom they traded did not need such centers. The county with its larger geographic area was therefore much more suited to the needs of the time than was the municipality.

Within each county the center of local government power early in the colonial period came to be vested in the county court, which exercised all the powers of government at the local level without regard to whether those powers were legislative, executive, or judicial in nature. Indeed, the county court was so strongly entrenched as an institution of local government that it was carried over intact into the new era in 1776 and sanctioned only by implication in the constitution of that year. Efforts to reduce the power of the county court were undertaken by reformers in the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30; and while these efforts were unavailing, developments between that convention and the one held in 1850-51 began the downfall of the county court. The 1851 Constitution reflected such a sentiment by making the justices of the peace elective by popular vote. Important in this loss of status was the rising influence of the circuit judges who began to assume most of the significant judicial duties which the county courts had exercised in prior years. The disappearance of the county court from county government was completed in the 1870 Constitution, which provided for a separate governing body—the county board of supervisors—to assume the legislative and administrative duties formerly exercised by the county court.

THE RISE OF THE MUNICIPALITY

The pattern of county government in what is now present-day Virginia was firmly established shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, since the last two counties, Bland and Dickenson, were created in 1861 and 1880, respectively. The pattern of municipal government, in contrast, was only beginning to take shape before 1800, with a mere three cities (one of which was then called a borough) and seven towns having been incorporated prior to that year. Indeed, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that municipal incorporations reached flood tide. Even then, there was a marked difference between the trends in city and town incorporations.

A summary of those trends tells the story. The number of Virginia towns in the earlier years grew very slowly; only 11 were incorporated in the first seventy-five years of independence which, when added to the 3 already in existence before 1776, made a total of 14. By 1875 an additional 21 towns had been added. Then came the great period of town growth: in the fifty years between 1875 and 1925, 108 towns were incorporated. Since 1925 only 45 towns have been added to the list, the last 2 being in 1960 and 1966. Not only has town growth reached a zero level; the actual number of towns has declined. This decline is largely the result of the incorporation of towns as cities. In the fifty years since 1925, there have been fourteen instances of transition from town to city status. Also, there have been two occasions in which a total of 3 towns disappeared as a result of consolidation with a county to become a city. The town, then, while it continues to be a significant element in the local government picture seems to have reached its numerical peak.

Since the incorporation of a town merely adds a second layer of local government to that already existing in the county, the resulting effect is a minimum of disruption. The principal reason for such an action is to furnish some services either not available from the county or being provided at a lesser level than that desired by town residents. In the instance of city incorporation, just the opposite is the case. Since any portion of Virginia's territory not in a city is perforce located in a county, the immediate result of city incorporation is the division of a county into two parts where before there had been only one. Thus, the appearance of a new city, except in the instance of city-county consolidation, means an increase in the number of primary political subdivisions in Virginia. (In other states such an act would be equivalent to the creation of a new county.)

In contrast to the counties, which have declined in number since 1925 from 100 to 95, and the towns, which have stabilized at approximately 190, the number of cities has almost doubled, mounting from 22 in 1925 to 41 in 1976. Moreover, the bulk of the growth has occurred in the modern period, with about three-fifths of the cities coming into existence since 1900. The names of only four cities have disappeared from the official roster—three as a result of city-county consolidation and one by virtue of a city-county merger under a different name. The net result is that the number of primary political subdivisions (cities and counties) has increased from 122 in 1925 to 136 in 1976. Virginia thus stands alone among the fifty states in its policy of continuing to permit the creation of additional primary political subdivisions.

THE URBAN COUNTY

One clear result of municipal growth, and especially the increase in the number of cities, was the eclipse of the county as the dominant unit of local government. Once almost the exclusive scene of local government activity, the county languished as the cities and the larger towns began to assume the newer and expanded functions of local government, leaving to the county the limited number of state functions for which, in the traditional language, the county served as an "administrative district of the state." The city, in addition to its expanding role, enjoyed another advantage; namely, a system of annexation, first by the legislature and after 1904 by the courts, which assumed the city to be a growing entity in both area and function. The county, in contrast, was envisioned as a more static unit, to some extent in area and to a much greater extent in terms of functions. (The definitive work here is Chester W. Bain, Annexation in Virginia: The Use of the Judicial Process for Readjusting City-County Boundaries [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1966].) The classic statement of the difference between the Virginia city and county is that of Justice Abraham P. Staples of the Virginia Supreme Court in his opinion in the case of *Norfolk County* v. *City of Portsmouth*, 186 Va. 1032 (1947), where he held that under the constitution and statutes of Virginia there had been established "the policy of placing urban areas under city government and keeping rural areas under county government," Under this doctrine, logic demanded that when those areas of a county adjacent to a city became urbanized, they should be annexed by the city since the city was the one particularly equipped to provide the service needs of those areas.

Ironically, this expression of the urban-rural distinction and its enshrinement in Virginia jurisprudence was being undermined at the very time it was being proclaimed. The threat to the purity of the city-county distinction was the "urban county" which began to appear in the metropolitan areas of the state and which did not always follow the pattern of continuous population expansion beyond the boundaries of the city. Instead, much of the growth occurred unevenly in different parts of the county remote from the city. These urban counties, Arlington perhaps being the first example, began by necessity to provide services of a local government nature and thus to take on characteristics similar to those of a city. No longer, therefore, could overwhelming proof be established in annexation cases that the city could meet the service needs of a county area sought to be annexed in a manner that the county could not. Notable among these urban counties that followed Arlington in appearance were Fairfax and Prince William in Northern Virginia and Henrico and Chesterfield in the Richmond area.

The growth in the number of local government services provided by the urban counties thus tended to bring into question the long-held distinction in law between a county and a city. Under the 1902 Constitution, this distinction was maintained with separate articles devoted to county and municipal government. Events from the 1940s on, however, made it increasingly difficult in practice to distinguish between a city and a county; anything a city could do a county could also do provided the necessary legislative authorization was obtained. Therefore, for all practical purposes the 1971 Constitution, which dealt with local government in a single article, made the county the coequal of the city in Virginia local government law.

THE METROPOLITAN AREAS

The emergence of the urban county in Virginia was a part of a nationwide movement leading to urban concentrations that came to be known as metropolitan areas. The most dramatic example of such a metropolitan concentration in the United States, termed by Jean Gottmann the "Megalopolis," is the area stretching from Boston and southern New Hampshire through Washington, D.C. and Richmond to its southern anchor in Tidewater Virginia. The portion of this concentration in Virginia, known as the "Urban Corridor," constitutes only a small part of the total area of the state, but it is the location of most of the population growth that is now occurring. Of the eight metropolitan areas recognized by the U.S. Bureau of the Census lying in whole or in part in Virginia, only the Roanoke, Lynchburg, and the Virginia portion of the Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee areas are outside the Urban Corridor. And just as the classical theory of city-county separation began to break down in the case of the urban county, so did that theory become inapplicable to the metropolitan areas. Annexation was no longer the solution, either because one city could not annex another city or because an urban county more and more could demonstrate to an annexation court its ability to provide local government services.

By the mid-60s the problems created by these new developments could no longer be ignored. The 1966 General Assembly, on the recommendation of Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., created the Metropolitan Areas Study Commission (known as the Hahn Commission after its chairman, T. Marshall Hahn, Jr.) with instructions to propose solutions for legislative consideration. The report of that commission (Metropolitan Virginia: A Program for Action [Richmond: Division of State Planning and Community Affairs, 1967]) had as its central recommendation with regard to governmental structure the establishment of (1) regional planning districts and (2) a unified metropolitan government called a "service district." In each instance local participation was voluntary, by action of the local governing board in the case of planning districts and by a popular referendum in each of the participating local government units for the creation of service districts. In the eight years since the service district was authorized, no serious attempt has been made to establish such a unit in any part of Virginia. On the other hand, there are presently twenty-two planning districts, each with a commission and a staff, covering the entire state.

What about this new entry, the planning district? While the jury is still out and probably will remain out for some time, some preliminary observations can be made. For one thing, the planning district has been made an integral part of the review procedure in the federal-state grant process. In addition, the regional composition of the membership of the planning district commission (which includes officials and citizens of the cities, counties, and larger towns embracing the area covered by the planning district) has compelled a view of local government planning and related problems on a broader basis than the interests of a particular local government alone. As might have been expected, however, the level of performance among the districts has been uneven. In some instances, it might have been better for the executive director of the district to have had a background in local government management instead of planning. In other instances, the impossibility of drawing boundaries in such a way as to provide in all cases a district with a clear community of interest has brought together in one group members with the most disparate views and interests. In still other instances, the difficulties arising from the fact that the planning district is a regional agency located somewhere between the traditional local governments and the state has caused a tug-of-war in which the planning district itself gets caught in the crossfire. Another obstacle has arisen especially in the less populated and predominantly rural planning districts, where the state has had to provide an increasing proportion of the costs because of the sheer necessity of providing enough resources to assemble a minimum staff. This has had the effect in some districts of developing a state-oriented staff for the simple reason that the state is the chief provider.

The planning district is now approaching its seventh birthday, and it is probably safe to assume that it is here to stay. The original scheme of things as envisioned by the Hahn Commission was for the planning district over time to assume operating responsibilities which in the more urban areas might take on the characteristics of an areawide government. Despite the general lack of movement along these lines, the opportunity is now available for two or more local governments in a planning district jointly to request that district to assume certain operational activities without the necessity in each instance of setting up a special agency. In a scattering of instances, planning districts have assumed certain small operating functions growing out of the desires of two or more of the cities, counties, and towns composing the district. Whether that opportunity will be used to full advantage is a question to which the answer is not yet clear.

NO-GROWTH AND THE FUTURE

The attempt here to suggest only the major changes in Virginia local government over the bicentennial period has of necessity led to the omission of other significant developments. Among those that might have been included is the gradual exclusion of the judiciary from participation in local legislative and administrative matters. It was not until the 1971 Constitution, for example, that the circuit judge was excluded for the most part from his former significant role in county government; and even under that constitution, some vestiges of that role still remain. A second major development of especial interest to Virginians, because of the invention of the city manager plan in Staunton in 1908, has been the spread of professional management, first to the cities and towns, and then in the late 1960s and early 70s to the counties. A third event of potential significance was the establishment of the Virginia Urban Assistance Incentive Fund by the Area Development Act of 1968. That fund, which is administered by the newly created Department of Intergovernmental Affairs (formerly the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs), consists of a modest amount of money for use in making grants to localities and private agencies sponsored by them for new and innovative approaches to the solution of urban ills. Heavy emphasis in making awards is placed on approaches that can be transferred to localities elsewhere in the state. The experience under this fund for the first seven years is encouraging.

Perhaps of greatest importance for the future is the fact that Virginia local government by and large is in a no-growth phase of its history as far as acquiring new functions of government are concerned. A glance at a local government budget quickly reveals that the localities are concerned with providing such traditional services as public education, police protection, and fire protection. Some of the earlier local functions, public health for example, have come largely under state control and guidance. And the newer functions, such as the control of air and water pollution, have not even been seriously considered for local administration. This is not to say that a zero growth policy in terms of expenditures is here; a glance at any local budget would indicate a trend to the contrary. Yet it seems that growth in the *functions* of local government is largely if not completely at an end. What this development portends at the beginning of the third century of independence will increasingly be an important part of any consideration of the future role of local government in Virginia.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS
LETTER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
NEWS LETTER

VOL. 56, NO. 3

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THE STUDY OF SMALL TOWNS IN VIRGINIA

By Byron Farwell

Mr. Farwell is the mayor of Hillsboro, Virginia. This article is based on a larger study of small towns in Virginia that the author undertook as the recipient of the Wallerstein Fellowship, administered by the Virginia Municipal League and the Institute of Government.

The small towns of Virginia are examples of representative democracy at its purest and best. They are municipalities whose rich and poor, cultured and analphabets, black and white, young and old live in close proximity; people know each other. Such towns are a rich and vibrant part of our culture, a colorful warp in the political-social fabric of American life. It seems a shame deliberately to kill them, yet they have already been condemned to death. This has been done, I suspect, because so few know anything about them.

Scholars and bureaucrats have paid insufficient attention to small towns. They have not even agreed on a definition. As a result, misconceptions flourish, the worth and importance of small towns has not been appreciated, and their problems have remained not only unsolved but also often unperceived. This situation ought to be corrected by detailed studies, but the need for them has not been manifest and consequently a methodology has not been developed. The most widely used research tool to date has been the survey, but it has proved inadequate and the results obtained are often misleading. This news letter discusses the uses and the users of surveys; it suggests a new approach to the study of rural life; and it includes a plea for scholars and responsible officials in the higher reaches of our great bureaucracies to find new and better ways to study the attitudes, values, way of life, and problems of small towns.

USES AND USERS OF SURVEYS

There is a belief, prevalent among many academics and bureaucrats, that the more sophisticated the scholarly techniques used, the more accurate will be the conclusions. I would like here to suggest that there is occasionally madness in method; that the use of elaborate and sophisticated research tools does not automatically produce the best of all possible answers to important questions; that the method is not, after all, the message; and that the process is not—or ought not to be—the principal product of scholarly research.

In February 1978, I attended a two-day conference in Fredericksburg organized and directed by the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services. That department had made a study of rural problems, and the purpose of the conference was to help elected rural officials cope with them, or, in the words of the conference director, "to find workable ways to strengthen the resource management and policy-making capabilities of rural government."

Unfortunately, *not one* of the problems discovered by the Agriculture Department were problems faced by *my* town.

I have now happily forgotten the details of that study, but it was, of course, based upon a survey. Perhaps the method used was similar to that of Professor A. E. Luloff, who conducted a survey of the residents of small communities in western Pennsylvania to determine how serious they perceived certain local problems to be.[1] For his survey, Professor Luloff, together with "key informants and others," drew up a list of "thirty-six local problems and issues" that, by telephone, respondents were asked to rank in importance.

The Virginia Agriculture Department believed its survey had discovered all the major rural problems; Professor Luloff and his key informants assumed that they already knew them. It is probably a safe guess that the "key informants" were either other academics or bureaucrats, for the list of problems, ranging from "Need for Long Range Planning" to "Lack of Community Spirit" and "Race Relations," were problems and issues in which many academics and bureaucrats are keenly interested—but small town folk much less so.

Surveys have their place. They are easy to use; they are fun; and they can be useful. But, as a recent report by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) said, "Statistics based on surveys of very small groups (in this case, very small cities) are unreliable."[2] This particular report, a lengthy one based almost entirely on a survey, demonstrated this statement's validity. It also illustrated how a good tool can be misused.

The Institute of Government and the Tayloe Murphy Institute are pleased to announce the following joint publication:

VIRGINIA ISSUES: STATE AID TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
by John L. Knapp and Philip J. Grossman

This study examines the rationale for state aid, describes Virginia's current programs (including those passed by the 1979 General Assembly), and recommends changes. Single copies are available free to individuals upon written request to the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903. Additional copies are priced at $4.00 each.

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[1] A. E. Luloff, "Identifying the Locus for Action: What Local Residents Have to Say," 9 *Small Town* 11-14 (December 1978).

[2] U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Developmental Needs of Small Cities* (Washington, D.C., 1979), p. 120.

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA CHARLOTTESVILLE NOVEMBER 1979

The HUD report identified 10,713 rural towns (called "nonmetropolitan small cities"[3]) with populations of less than 2,500 people and 140 towns with more than 25,000 but fewer than 50,000 people. For understandable reasons, the survey questionnaires on which the report was based were sent to only 446, or a mere 4 percent, of the smaller towns, but to all of the larger ones. While sampling such a large universe is an acceptable practice, it does introduce a certain amount of error. Much more troublesome is the fact that only 43 percent of the sample of small towns bothered to respond, compared to 68 percent of the larger towns. It is a well-known fact that considerable error is often introduced into survey results due to important differences in the willingness of people to complete and return mail questionnaires. Apparently no one considered or took into account the fact that a relationship might exist between the size of the town and the likelihood of obtaining a response. Nevertheless, this flawed survey was assumed to be meaningful, and HUD is at this moment using the statistics it provided in its Small Cities Program planning.

It is perhaps only fair to add that HUD also consulted a number of interest groups (though none with Virginia's interest at heart) and some consultants (none from Virginia), made case studies of forty-eight cities and towns (none in Virginia), and held seventeen "group meetings" (none with Virginians). However, the HUD study did include the Virginia towns of Branchville and Dendron, two of the fifty-six incorporated towns in the state with fewer than 500 inhabitants. (It is towns of this size that are here called small towns.) For the past year I have been wandering around Virginia talking with elected officials and other citizens in all of these small towns; therefore, HUD's choice of Branchville and Dendron was especially interesting to me. Both are located in the southeastern part of the state, and they are among the poorest in the Commonwealth; neither could be considered typical of anything other than poor small towns in southeastern Virginia. As far as can be determined from the report, no one from HUD actually visited any town in Virginia. Yet such aspects of HUD's Small Cities Program as pertain to Virginia will be based upon this report.

PROBLEMS OF SMALL TOWNS

My own system for studying small towns was different from that of the Virginia Agriculture Department, Professor Luloff, or the people at HUD. I used neither surveys nor computer, and I did not formulate hypotheses. Instead, tape recorder in hand, I simply asked one and all: "What are your problems?" The full and frank answers I received bore almost no relation to those problems defined by Professor Luloff, those discovered by the Agriculture Department, or those uncovered by the bureaucrats at HUD.

Financial difficulties, for example, were high on the list of rural problems in both of the first two studies. Yet only one elected official in one Virginia small town identified a shortage of municipal funds as one of his town's serious problems. Financial difficulties are usually confined to the ill-managed cities. (Hillsboro, Virginia, for example, levies no taxes but has in its treasury enough money to give $150 to every man, woman, and child in town.) On Professor Luloff's list, such problems as lack of public transportation, use of illegal drugs, water and air pollution, inadequate housing, and the need for long-range planning also ranked high. No one, neither elected official nor concerned citizen, ever mentioned a single one of these to me. When I specifically inquired about them (after all, could scholars and experts be wrong?) there were shrugged shoulders. Some allowed that a few of these issues were sometimes problems, but none regarded any of them as serious.

Bureaucratic interference and red tape were frequently mentioned as major headaches by small town elected officials; coping with growth was also frequently mentioned; yet questions about such problems rarely appear on surveys. Neither do questions concerning the problem of dogs.

When I asked Alfred Tirelis, vice-mayor of Alberta, about problems in his town, he leaned over the counter of the post office, where he is postmaster, and told me: "Dogs are our main problem." Mayor Carroll Marshall of Saxis said much the same thing: "Dogs! That's our number one problem, and it's impossible to solve." Catherine Bright, a councilmember of Tom's Brook, exclaimed: "Dogs are one of our biggest problems! Really."

The main problem of Alberta, Saxis, and Tom's Brook is also the principal problem of many, perhaps most, towns. Dogs overturn garbage cans, jump on pedestrians, wander carelessly about the streets, urinate on flower beds, defecate on lawns, bark in the middle of the night, kill sheep, bite children, and frighten salesmen and postmen. They also give joy and comfort and tail-wagging love to their owners, making two sides to any discussion about what should be done about them.

Neither President Carter nor the Congress of the United States is concerned with the conflicts between pets and people or between people because of pets. Governors and state legislators also keep aloof from such concerns. Scholars ignore them. However, even though some people feel that small communities are particularly convenient places to dump unwanted cats and dogs, pet problems are not confined to small towns.

In 1975 a nationwide study conducted by the National League of Cities discovered that 60.7 percent of the mayors and 44.3 percent of the councilmembers named "dogs and other pet control problems" as the area in which they received the most citizen complaints. As a source of citizen concern, it ranked ahead of taxes, traffic, sewers, crime, housing, and health care. Although unnoticed by the previously mentioned surveys, dogs are obviously a major concern in many municipalities—and it is not a small problem, nor one that will soon go away. Dog control programs cost nearly half a billion dollars annually. Of all reported injuries and diseases, dog bites are second only to gonorrhea. Perhaps the problem deserves fewer snickers and more study.

Surveys often go awry not only because they fail to ask the right questions and often ask the wrong ones but also because, all too often, even when they address themselves to the right issues, false assumptions are made and wrongly worded questions are asked. It is not surprising that less than half of the towns under 2,500 bothered to respond to HUD's questionnaire. To the small town official, most of the questions were irrelevant, superficial, or were, as lawyers say, leading. For example, included was a series of questions regarding the "adequacy of facilities," in which small town mayors were asked to assess the availability in their municipalities of "business and industrial sites suitable for development," of "resources to attract economic development," and of "assistance to help secure and manage federal programs." Implicit in this series of questions was the notion that new businesses and industries were both desired and desirable, and that towns want, or ought to want, federal funds. Such is certainly not the case in all small towns. Some struggle to stay small.

HUD's questions also clearly implied recognition of the fact that federal programs are so complex that experts are needed not only to manage them, but even to apply for them, as is indeed the case. It is implied, too, that those who accept federal funds must also accept bureaucratic control. Many citizens of small towns in Virginia retain the attitudes of those who in 1776 feared a strong central government; these citizens still believe in liberty, and they distrust federal bureaucrats who would take it from them. They are therefore afraid (with reason, it seems) to take the federal dollar.

Professor Luloff in his survey also asked whether people felt that law enforcement was adequate in their communities and how important this issue was to them. However, he made no attempt to relate law enforcement to the prevalence of crime, to the density of the population and its social composition, to the type of law enforcement available in an area, to the types of crimes historically committed in the communities, to existing law enforcement practices, to the financial resources available, or most impor-

[3] Cities, of course, are never referred to as nonrural large towns. Language reflects attitudes, and the usage of the federal bureaucracies reflects their strong urban orientation. In this particular study, even the smallest towns are called cities, as though to call them towns would be to denigrate them.

tant of all, to the attitudes of smalltowners toward crime, criminals, and law enforcement. Little information is available about crime in rural settings, and at the federal level there appears to be no recognition that the urban approach to crime is not always the best for peace officers in small communities. A look at crime in Virginia's small towns and the way it is handled is illuminating.

While it is never a good idea to leave houses and cars unlocked, many smalltowners do. A fisherman in Saxis told me about his town: "You can leave your keys in your car; you can leave your door open; and you don't have to worry about somebody knocking your head in."

Most town charters give municipalities the right to appoint a constable—a town sergeant, as he is generally called in Virginia—but few small towns have or need full-time policemen. Some have appointed part time sergeants. Most rely for protection upon the county sheriff and the state police.

In Virginia, as elsewhere, there is a strong correlation between density of population and crime. The eleven most populous political jurisdictions in the state contain 42 percent of the population but account for 60 percent of all crime. Fairfax County, with 1,315 people per square mile, has a crime rate (offenses known to police) of 46 per 1,000; adjoining Loudoun County, with only 101 people per square mile, has a crime rate of only 20 per 1,000; and in Highland County, where people are scarcer than deer and there are but 6 people per square mile, the crime rate is a mere 7 per 1,000. Togetherness is dangerous.

Most of the difficulties in attempting to obtain accurate and meaningful information about crime (or other phenomena) in small towns and rural areas seems to lie in the ignorance of the questioners. It is too often forgotten that a considerable amount of knowledge is usually required in order to ask intelligent questions. This is particularly true of surveys, where there can be no instant give-and-take of question and response, and additional questions cannot be formulated on the basis of answers.

The ease with which a scholar with a survey might go wrong can be illustrated by imagining a study of the overcrowded conditions in Virginia's prisons in which the capacity of all town and county jails as well is to be considered. One might imagine that the simple question "Do you have a jail in your town (county)?" would elicit meaningful information. But the answer to that question might be yes or no, and *either* could be right or wrong. A respondent to the survey question might answer "yes" because a jail physically exists, or "no" because in some small towns and counties the jail in fact is unused. Either answer would be correct, and neither would be helpful.

Both Surry and Branchville have jails that are no longer in use. The only small town in Virginia with a municipal jail in working order is Haysi. It boasts an impressive eight-jail establishment that looks as if it were part of a federal maximum security prison, but it is seldom used. Although on July 1, 1979, the state released 399 prisoners on parole—not because they were deserving, but simply "to ease overcrowding"[4]—the facilities at Haysi remained empty. (Admittedly, placing state prisoners in small town jails might pose troublesome problems of finance, security, and so on.)

SMALL TOWNS AND THE BUREAUCRACIES

Neither the U.S. Bureau of the Census (perhaps the world's largest user of surveys) nor any other agency of the federal government analyzes data on small towns. The Census Bureau collects valuable information on them but, in a sense, tosses it away by refusing to use it. All information on towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants is heaped together and is considered as though towns of 125 people are the same as, and have the same values and problems as, towns twenty times larger. Also, the Census Bureau is not skilled at guessing what is happening to small towns. Its latest estimations of the populations of the fifty-six small towns in Virginia are surely incorrect, probably by as much as 10 percent in most cases. Consequently, there is a dearth of basic information on towns with fewer than 500 people, in spite of the fact that the problems of these towns are significantly different from those of towns with more than 500 inhabitants. The 500 figure is, in fact, a watershed number, for it is when towns grow to this size that they first encounter urban-type problems with which they are ill-equipped to cope, and it is then that they frequently experience serious crises. Yet not a single agency of the federal or state government concerns itself with the special problems of small towns.

As perhaps few city-dwellers realize, most of the 80 million people who live in rural America are not farmers. Thus, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is preoccupied with the business of farming, an industry, and is not concerned with the problems of most rural people. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is, almost by definition, a force working against small towns, for development is what many small towns are fighting against. It is not development, but preservation, that most small towns desire.

The belief in growth, the conviction that bigger is better, is so ingrained in most bureaucrats that often they cannot even imagine a small town economy that is based on simply maintaining a steady flow of business. Walter Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, once made this clear when he said: "I cannot conceive of a successful economy without growth." The curious belief that bigger communities are better than smaller ones is not new in this country. In 1929 the author Sinclair Lewis spoke of this

> American mania . . . which considers a town of 4,000 twice as good as a town of 2,000. . . . Following that reasoning, one would get to the charming paradox that Chicago would be ten times better than the entire state of Vermont. But I have been in Chicago and have not found it so.

Unlike cities, small towns have no protectors and little political influence. In Virginia, the State Corporation Commission, designed to protect consumers from the rapacity of public utilities, will not lift a finger to help a small town fight the unreasonable demands of a giant utility, for the relationship between a town and a public utility is unregulated, and the actions of, say, the Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco) in its dealings with a municipality are completely uncontrolled by the state. As most public utilities are monopolies in the areas in which they operate, the companies' directors are free to provide or to withhold services as it suits them, and to charge municipalities whatever rates please them.[5]

State and federal governments both seem to have a strong desire either to ignore completely the existence of small towns or, when they are noticed, to regard them as a dread blight. In Virginia the distaste for small towns is such that the state's latest (1971) constitution actually forbids their incorporation (Article VII, Section 1). To become an incorporated town today, a community must have "within defined boundaries a population of 1,000 or more." The General Assembly may increase this population minimum, but no provision exists for decreasing it. Thus, as existing incorporated small towns grow larger—and six small towns have grown larger than 500 since the new constitution became effective—the number of small towns decreases; and it is probable, almost inevitable, that all the incorporated small towns of Virginia will disappear.

Yet small towns ought not to be allowed to sink without a trace. It is appalling that those who ought to be experts have failed to develop a methodology for describing and explaining what is taking place in rural America, and it is frightening that those responsible for formulating policies affecting rural communities possess so little understanding of their problems, values, and way of life. The federal bureaucracies may have failed to develop methods for studying small towns because they have not the slightest intention of ever doing so. In early December of last year, President Carter stated his determination to see that those in the federal government "make sure that there is a full partnership between Washington and the rest of the country in meeting the needs of small towns and rural America." Determined he may have been, but the bureaucracies have made no visible movement in that direction.

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[4] One of the released prisoners was re-arrested the same day.

[5] The Virginia Municipal League negotiates electric power rates that it recommends to its members, and these are always accepted. The power companies then demand that all non-member municipalities pay the same rates. The small towns that are not League members are not directly represented in the League's negotiations with the power companies but are forced to live with the outcome since the utilities refuse to negotiate different rates with non-member municipalities.

Responding to a report critical of HUD's efforts to help small rural communities, Patricia Harris, then secretary of HUD, said: "HUD's history of help to these needy areas . . . is not one we can be proud of. I want to assure all Americans living in these small communities that my administration has already undertaken programs to give them the help they need." Let us hope that no Virginian was assured by her statement for, except for Duffield and Clinchport, no small town is even aware of the existence of her programs.

When, in 1977, wind and water destroyed most of the homes in Clinchport (1970 pop. 286), HUD and the Appalachian Regional Commission decided to help the storm-struck, homeless people there by building a new town—they call it "a planned unit development"—a few miles from Duffield (the smallest incorporated town in Virginia) on Route 421. It is called Thomas Village. The federal government paid stricken homeowners an average of $13,000 for their lost possessions plus $15,000 for relocation expenses. The anticipation was that the homeless families would resettle in Thomas Village. Homes there cost as much as $65,000, however, and few can afford them. In addition, people from Clinchport who do move there will no longer be able to govern themselves through an elected mayor and council (a matter of no concern whatever to the bureaucrats), and the government has placed numerous restrictions on what inhabitants of their new unincorporated town can and cannot do. At last report, only ten of the sixty-eight relocated families from ravaged Clinchport had chosen to live in the government village, and this included a widow who bought the government's prototype house for $35,000 and one man who rejected the government's recommended houses and built his own.

The federal bureaucracies' lack of concern for the people who live in small towns is almost total. When I attempted to discuss small town problems with HUD, then-secretary Patricia Harris could not be bothered. Donna Shalala, HUD's assistant secretary for policy development and research, informed me quite bluntly that HUD has no policies for small towns and undertakes no studies of them because "the value systems in communities of 500 people or less are too narrow for our particular needs." Interestingly, a report recently published by Ms. Shalala's office giving the results of a HUD-sponsored conference on "Financial Management Needs of Local Government" stated that the participants thought "the federal government has a bias against small communities, supposedly because of a (perceived) lack of expertise in these jurisdictions." Indeed, among the federal programs being reduced or eliminated in the 1980 budget are rural community programs, rural development planning, rural community fire protection, and several Farmers Home Administration programs.

The Christian Science Monitor recently (June 11-15, 1979) ran a series of articles on the problems of rural growth, and its reporters were shocked by the ignorance of the bureaucrats. Many of the experts in Washington to whom the reporters spoke were not even aware that rural growth is a problem: "The Monitor found widespread unfamiliarity, both among private and federal rural experts, concerning the new rural growth trend and the extent of the problems involved." Considering the lack of interest on the part of the federal bureaucracies and their failure to develop a methodology for studying rural areas, the ignorance of the putative rural experts is hardly surprising.

When President Carter wanted to learn about small town problems, he discovered that his federal departments knew little about rural America and did not know how to learn more. He therefore bypassed his bureaucracies and in 1978 initiated a series of rural development studies that included talks with a few mayors and a few visits by White House staff members to some small towns. Complete results have not yet been published, but indications are that the study will not make the necessary distinctions that would enable scholars, planners, politicians, and bureaucrats to discover and help the under-500 towns—even if they should suddenly feel the desire to do so.

CONCLUSION

Admittedly, it is neither easy nor inexpensive to reach these widely dispersed small town citizens and to discuss their needs. It is clear, however, that surveys alone will not do. They are blunt instruments for dissecting such complex and diverse subjects as small American towns. Perhaps personal interviews with smalltowners are not the only way small towns are to be understood and their problems defined, but it would not be out of place to suggest that, as a rule of thumb, the smaller the subject groups of a study and the more widely dispersed they are, the more intimate must be the research methods. In any case, a touch of humanity is not inconsistent with sound research.

Errata: In the September 1979 issue of the news letter, the figures for the 1978-80 budget (p.1, col.2) should be $9.35 billion (not million) for the biennum, $1.86 billion (not million) above the adjusted 1976-78 figure.

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TOWN-COUNTY RELATIONS IN VIRGINIA

By Mary Jo Fields and Sandra H. Wiley

The authors are both research assistants on the staff of the Institute of Government.

Town government in Virginia is surely one of the most neglected areas of research in the Commonwealth. At first glance, the towns' population totals seem to indicate that this neglect is warranted, for the 188 towns in Virginia account for only about 7 percent of the total state population and 11 percent of the total population residing in the counties.[1] However, towns do account for 58 percent of the state's 324 units of local general purpose government (counties, cities, and towns), and only twenty-one of the state's ninety-five counties have no incorporated towns within their boundaries.

Furthermore, the significance of towns in Virginia cannot be judged solely on the basis of statistics. Many residents are justifiably proud of the lifestyle associated with their towns and of the long and historic tradition of their town governments (seven of Virginia's towns were incorporated before 1800). In addition, although many towns in Virginia are quite small in terms of population, they nonetheless possess a wide array of legal powers and responsibilities that define, to a degree, their relationship with the counties in which they are located. An analysis of the ways in which counties and towns work together or at cross-purposes can add to the understanding of Virginia local government as well as provide insights into intergovernmental relations. As a step toward further encouraging the study of town governments in Virginia, this news letter focuses on town-county relations, long overshadowed by the more controversial patterns of city-county relations.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The traditional distinction made in the United States between counties and municipal corporations (towns and cities) has been that counties are established as administrative and territorial subdivisions of the state, while municipal corporations are established by an area's residents for the purpose of providing local services that are neither needed nor wanted by the surrounding area. The Commonwealth of Virginia historically recognized this distinction by giving cities and towns broader powers to offer local services such as garbage collection, street lighting, and fire protection. However, as the twentieth century's rapidly expanding population began to spill over the boundaries of cities and towns, many once-rural counties found themselves with suburban concentrations of populations needing municipal-type local services as well. To help meet this demand, the Commonwealth has gradually given counties more discretion and powers regarding county management and service provision. In 1966, the General Assembly granted to counties many of the powers it had already granted to cities and towns. Similarly, the 1971 Constitution blurs the traditional distinction by dealing with counties, cities, and towns in a single local government article. The 1971 Constitution also for the first time gave constitutional recognition to Virginia's cities as independent incorporated communities not a part of the adjacent county. It goes on then to define towns as "any existing town or an incorporated community within one or more counties which has become a town as provided by law" (Article VII, Section I), thus explicitly adopting the principle that a town, unlike a city, legally remains a part of the county in which it is located, its residents subject to county taxes and entitled to many county services. Towns may become cities if they have a minimum population of 5,000 and meet other conditions set by state law; currently, sixteen Virginia towns meet the population standard.[2]

Towns are distributed fairly evenly throughout the counties in most parts of the state, except in the Northern Neck and Richmond suburban areas, where few communities are incorporated. While most

The Institute of Government is pleased to announce the following new publication:

Zoning and Subdivision Law in Virginia: A Handbook
by Stephen P. Robin

This volume presents an overview of the legal framework of land use regulation and control in Virginia through a discussion of twenty different subjects. Copies of the handbook are available at a price of $3 each (with a 20 percent discount for orders of five or more copies) from the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903. Please make all checks payable to the University of Virginia.

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[1] Population figures are derived by the authors from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Estimates and Projections—1977 Population Estimates for Counties and Incorporated Places in Virginia.* Series P-25, No. 859 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1979), pp. 5-8. The Town of Draper in Pulaski County is not included in the count of 188 towns because no municipal officers are elected in the town.

[2] The moratorium on the transition of towns to cities, due to expire July 1, 1980, was part of a broader temporary moratorium on city-initiated annexations enacted by the General Assembly in the early 1970s to give that body time to find a solution to some critical problems in city-county relations. In 1979 the General Assembly enacted a package of legislation that revised the annexation statutes, some of the formulas determining state aid to localities, and the provisions for towns becoming cities. The conditions under which towns can become cities, too numerous to explain here, are set forth in Virginia code, secs. 15.1-977.23 and 15.1-982.1 through 15.1-1009.

This news letter is based in part on a series of interviews with selected county and town officials from across the state. The authors wish to thank those persons, too numerous to name here, who contributed their time and insights to this study.

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA / CHARLOTTESVILLE / JUNE 1980

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ı of 27,693. The size of the town in
n to the total county population
:s widely. In Montgomery County,
.nt of the residents live within the
ı two incorporated towns, while only
cent of Albemarle County's popula-
.sides in Scottsville, the county's only

wns can expand their populations and
boundaries through annexation pro-
lings. Under Virginia's annexation laws,
ıns have the right to petition the circuit
urt for the purpose of annexing county
:operty into the town's corporate limits. In
ddition, county residents in adjacent areas
:an petition the court directly for annexation into a town. Although areas annexed by a town remain a part of the county, town annexation may still be controversial, particularly if the town meets or is close to meeting the population standards for becoming a city. Also, the county may lose some revenue from the annexed area because some town levies pre-empt county ones. Thus, town annexations may affect county collections from the business, professional, and occupational license tax; the utility license tax; the utility consumer tax; the motor vehicle license tax; and the county 1 percent retail sales tax. However, the property tax revenues of a county are not reduced by town annexations; any town levies on property are added on to existing county ones. A recurring issue in town-county relations is whether or not town residents receive a fair share of county services in return for the taxes paid by town residents.

ƆLES OF THE COUNTY AND TOWN

ꞁhe roles of the county and the town are
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While the county has retained the major responsibility for these functions, the growth of suburban areas has caused the county also to enter into the delivery of municipal-type services once considered the exclusive purview of the towns. For example, towns and counties now have similar grants of authority to create many public works, including water, sewer, electrical, gas, and other utility systems; to provide for garbage collection; and to manage solid waste disposal. They also have similar powers in many other areas of activity, including libraries, recreation, and planning and zoning.

Planning and zoning, particularly, reflect a major expansion of the county's role through both mandatory and permissive legislation. The state now requires every locality to appoint a planning commission, to develop a comprehensive plan, and to enact ordinances regulating subdivisions. In addition, counties as well as towns are finding zoning to be a useful tool in the regulation of growth and land use. The state has been fairly firm in assigning to towns the power to plan and zone within their corporate boundaries, while limiting the county's jurisdiction to unincorporated areas only. This general rule holds true for zoning purposes and, except in three counties, for subdivision regulations as well. However, the county's comprehensive plan, under some conditions, may include town territory, although the plan has no legal status therein unless approved by the town council. Likewise, the town's plan may be extended to adjacent county areas under similar conditions and upon approval by the county board of supervisors.

Counties have even entered an area of public service perhaps most closely associated with municipal government—the protection of property. Both counties and towns may establish their own fire departments; alternatively, they may appropriate funds to volunteer companies for equipment and physical facilities. (Volunteer squads also generally provide emergency rescue services and are supported by contributions from the county or the town, or both.) For many years, municipalities and counties have been involved in law enforcement, the former through the operation of a police department and the latter through the operation of the sheriff's department, with only a few counties authorized to establish a police department. However, effective July 1, 1980, the authority to establish a police department will be extended to all counties in the state. The county sheriff's department (or police department) has the power within town limits to enforce state criminal law and county ordinances, but not town ordinances. Town ordinances, of course, have no legal effect beyond corporate limits. Effective July 1, 1980, however, any locality will have police powers over property it owns that is located outside its boundaries (e.g., reservoirs and sanitary landfills).

One clear and continuing distinction between the functions of towns and of counties involves the construction and maintenance of streets and highways. All towns over 3,500 population are responsible for their own roads, except for interstate and primary highways, whereas roads in all but two counties, as well as in the small towns, are part of the state's road and highway system. In keeping with their general lack o responsibility for roads, counties also hav only limited, specified powers of tra' regulation.[3]

In recognition of the growing interdependence of local governments and the increasing potential for duplication of effort, the state has encouraged interlocal cooperation through a broad grant of authority allowing two or more jurisdictions to agree to exercise jointly any power they can exercise alone. In addition, the General Assembly has enacted numerous statutes authorizing interlocal cooperation in specific functional areas. Localities also may enter into a number of interlocal agreements, such as mutual aid assistance pacts and service contracts. Thus, a legal framework exists for towns and counties to work closely together to deal with common problems.

SOURCES OF FRICTION

As this overview makes clear, the distinctions between the respective roles of the county and the town are becoming increasingly blurred; the 188 towns and 95 counties in the Commonwealth today possess similar legal powers in many areas of their day-to-day operations. Even so, they are still quite diverse in economics, geography, population, and traditions. Not surprisingly, then, counties and towns have chosen to work o their relationships in a variety of ways on the basis of a number of factors oth than just the legal powers encouraging cooperation. In an attempt to find out more about their relationships, personal and telephone interviews were conducted with numerous county and town officials. Though not designed to yield quantifiable data, these interviews make clear that a wide variety of forces comes into play in town-county relations.

One such set of forces consists of the way in which counties and towns perceive themselves and each other. Some towns, as a matter of local civic pride, want to handle as many town affairs as possible without county involvement or interference. This attitude seems particularly apparent in connection with certain services once unique to municipalities but increasingly undertaken by counties as well—as, for example, recreation. Counties tend to support consolidation of such services under their aegis to avoid duplication; towns tend to resist such a move, in part because they think that their own programs are better than those of the counties.

Behind the concern of some towns to keep the county government at arm's length is a firmly held view that historically they have been treated as stepchildren by the coun Whether correct or not, this percept almost guarantees that where it prevails, any interaction or cooperation with the county will be regarded with suspicion and hostility. But the past colors counties' perceptions of towns as well, for some county respondents expressed resentment that town officials never seem to want to have anything to do with them except when they need funds or assistance.

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[3] Arlington and Henrico counties have been given greater power here, since they are responsible for the roads within their boundaries.

It is not history alone that generates conflict and friction, however. Rural residents may resent county funding of urban-type services mainly beneficial to town residents, such as water and sewerage systems or solid waste disposal. Town dwellers, on the other hand, sometimes feel that the county favors unincorporated areas over incorporated ones in the provision of services. For example, some counties help to fund volunteer fire departments throughout the county, but the towns are expected to supplement the county's effort by contributing to those departments serving the town's population. Similarly, some towns complain because the county will not assist them with those town programs that also serve persons living immediately beyond the town's borders.

The root problem, of course, is the great difficulty of ensuring, or even of getting agreement on the principle, that towns and non-town residents alike get only the public services they pay for, and pay only for those services they receive (and not for someone else's). But even when services are evenly distributed, disagreement between townspeople and others may still arise over the proper level or quality of services. This is readily apparent in the field of public education. Town residents sometimes press for higher teacher salaries, more capital improvements, and a higher quality of education than the other county residents are willing to support. Difficulties can even arise out of such seemingly innocuous decisions as closing all county schools—including those located within a town—when snow has made rural roads impassable. A town may have cleared its streets, but the school for its children will still be closed.

Another issue with considerable potential for muddying town-county relations is that of annexation. Comments from respondents reveal that in some cases the bitterness of past annexation battles, particularly those resulting in towns becoming—or threatening to become—independent cities, has erected barriers to cooperation that are difficult to overcome. Even without that sort of legacy, to many county officials the word "annexation" has negative connotations not always related to its real impact. But the annexation threat is a real one in those counties with larger towns having the potential to become cities. Fortunately, in some cases both sides have recognized that a town's transition to city status would result in a "no-win" situation for both the county and the municipality, forcing them to acknowledge their interdependence and jointly to make conscious efforts to solve their problems without a change in status.

Geography can affect town-county relations in several ways. A town that is the county seat, or is located near the county seat, very likely will have more informal, day-to-day contacts with county officials than one that is a great distance away, in an isolated part of the county. Some larger counties report attempts to deal with the geographical problem by locating branch county offices in those towns distantly located from the county seat. (If, however, the county expects the town government to contribute directly to the funding of these offices, the effort may become a new source of conflict.) Another county is combatting the problem of geographical isolation for one town through conscious efforts to promote state improvements to farm-to-market and secondary roads leading to the town. A town's population relative to that of the county is also significant, as is the presence of a city adjacent to the county. If such a city is the county seat (as is the case with almost 15 percent of the counties), the county may be more inclined to enter into cooperative arrangements with the city, to the neglect of the town. Furthermore, because the stakes in a county's relationship with a city are so much higher (the annexation problem), there is a tendency in counties with adjacent cities for that relationship to overshadow their concern for their own towns.

BASES FOR COOPERATION

From what has been said, it is evident that town and county officials do sometimes find ways to solve their problems amicably. Whether or not they do so, respondents insist, depends in no small part on the personalities of the various officials and leaders involved. Personality seems to be especially important in the relationships between law enforcement agencies; it was frequently cited as an important reason for a good (or bad) working relationship between the county sheriff's department and town police. But the influence of individual personalities is not peculiar to that area. Town mayors and chairmen of county boards of supervisors in some counties make it a point to meet frequently for informal, congenial discussion of mutual problems and concerns, while in other counties they are continuously at loggerheads with each other. No doubt objective factors are involved in the contrasting situations, but both town and county officials repeatedly stressed the importance of the personal factor in bridging their differences.

The presence of professional administrators is also invaluable in fostering cooperation and communication between counties and towns. Town managers and county administrators alike report frequent informal exchanges and contacts with their counterparts in other localities as a routine part of their job. Also, town managers and county administrators are much more likely to view town-county problems in an objective, nonpartisan fashion and may be better able than local elected officials to defuse highly controversial issues and to work together to discover possible solutions and compromises. Coordination of administrative functions such as data processing, purchasing, and building inspections are becoming more common as town and county administrators seek ways to cut governmental costs.

Effective communication is obviously crucial if county and town governments are going to be able to identify their common problems and arrive at workable, mutually acceptable solutions. Virginia's towns and counties have experimented with a variety of both formal and informal methods to improve communication. Among formal means, perhaps the one most frequently tried or considered is joint meetings of county and town governing bodies. Wythe County has found quarterly joint meetings of the county board of supervisors and its two town councils to be successful. Another method sometimes used is for a representative from one governmental body—such as the mayor or the chairman of the board of supervisors—to attend the other's meetings. Communication is also facilitated if the county supervisor whose election district includes a particular town is an effective advocate for the town with issues that come before the county board. Unfortunately, that is easier said than done; one of the most frequently voiced complaints of town officials is that town interests are not adequately represented at the county level. Communication is also aided if a county and its towns establish joint single-issue committees, appointed as needed, for the study of mutual problems. Additional communication methods are annual joint meetings of the town and county governing bodies with their General Assembly delegates and the exchange of a variety of written materials, including the minutes of county board and town council meetings.

Some governmental activities by their very nature encourage cooperation. Planning is a good example. Because planning clearly has ramifications that go beyond governmental boundaries, it necessitates a close working relationship between jurisdictions—one often achieved through the planning commissions themselves. Some town councils, with the approval of the county board, designate the county planning commission as the town commission. In several cases, the county comprehensive plan incorporates those of its towns, and one county planning commission routinely consults the appropriate town commission before undertaking any actions affecting the town.

Despite these and similar methods of coordination, conflict may also arise between a county and its towns due to basic differences in planning orientation (or to poor communication). While recognizing the desirability of encouraging growth in the vicinity of existing towns, county leaders admit that they are sometimes reluctant to channel growth into areas they may not control in the future because of possible town annexations and even transition of towns to cities. Towns, for their part, may be upset if the county does not plan for growth (or the right kind of growth) in their vicinity. Recent legislation removing extraterritorial powers from most counties and towns may exacerbate the possibilities of disagreement in this regard. The interviews conducted make it obvious that failure to communicate in the planning process can lead to disgruntlement, anger, and the duplication of services. In one instance, a county recreational project intended also to serve a small town did not include swimming facilities

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dependence to the greatest extent possible.
he political interaction between towns and
counties is further complicated by the fact that county elections are partisan in nature, while town elections are often to varying degrees nonpartisan.

COOPERATION AND FINANCES

At the heart of many aspects of town-county cooperation are financial considerations. Financial pressure can be a major force promoting cooperative ventures such as water and sewerage operations that are
rohibitively expensive for a single small
vernment to support. For example, the six
vns in Southampton County have asked
county to assume full responsibility for
wn-operated water systems. While the
has been reluctant to agree to the
request, it has been performing the
nce for the systems and is initiating a regional water system that includes one of the towns.

Even when financial considerations are not the primary motive for a cooperative effort, the localities involved are still faced with decisions about the allocation of costs—as, for example, the financing for volunteer fire departments that serve both the town and the county. Often, the town pays for most or all of the building and land costs, while both jurisdictions share in the purchase of equipment. Some counties and towns have developed innovative financial arrangements for law enforcement services. Thus, the Town of West Point contracts with the sheriff's department of King William County for full-time police protection. In Southampton County, three towns have a written agreement with the county whereby a deputy sheriff is assigned to each town. In return, each town pays one-half of the expenses for its resident deputy, with the county paying the other half.

Cooperative arrangements may also grow out of the need to ensure the future economic health of both the county and the town. This is particularly applicable when a town is already eligible (or will soon be) to become a city. The Town of Wytheville's petition for city status was the impetus for a revenue-sharing agreement between Wythe County and its two towns. According to the terms of the agreement, a designated portion of the county's total 1 percent sales tax revenue is paid to each of the two towns; in return, the towns agree not to incorporate as cities. (In actuality, the possibility of city status for the second town, Rural Retreat, is remote because of its small size.) This course of events has served as a catalyst for the development of a closer working relationship between the county and the towns in other matters as well.

The motivations behind joint agreements cannot always be neatly categorized. An interesting example of an agreement generated by several forces involves a fifty-year agreement between Roanoke County and the Town of Vinton. In essence, the town has given up its right to seek city status for twenty years in exchange for partial county financing of the water system serving the town and its surrounding area. In addition, the town has agreed not to promote or seek annexation actively for the same twenty-year period, although citizen-initiated annexations are still permissible. Agreements based on a sharing of finances may become mo common in the future, in part encouraged by 1979 legislation that allows counties not immune from annexation and their towns to enter into agreements that both define town annexation rights and provide for a sharing of resources and liability.[4]

CONCLUSION

Town-county relations in Virginia cover a broad spectrum. In some instances, it is fair to say, towns have had little political influence, and town-county relations have been so distant that the towns have withdrawn as much as possible from any interactions with the county. Similarly, counties have sometimes felt so victimized by past town actions (particularly in the event of town transition to city status) that they are extremely wary of any town attempts to strengthen their own positions. However, it is encouraging that some counties and towns have recognized their mutual needs and have successfully developed good working relationships, including a variety of cooperative agreements, to ensure their continued well-being.

That line of development is not necessarily the direction of the future. Some observers believe that the expanded role of the coun and the small size of many of the towns ha left the towns with few reasons for existence. Others are staunch defenders of the town's role in the intergovernmental scheme. Whatever the ultimate prospects for the town as a governmental unit, for now the welfare of the Commonwealth's counties and towns depends heavily on their willingness to continue to search for the most effective and economical ways to coexist.

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[4] Virginia Code, sec. 15.1-1058.1.

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WOMEN IN VIRGINIA STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

By Mary Jo Fields

Ms. Fields is a research assistant on the staff of the Institute of Government.

Within the past decade, the proportion of women in the civilian labor force has risen dramatically. Women accounted for 43 percent of civilian workers in 1980, an increase of nearly one-third over the 1969 level of 33 percent. Indeed, by 1980 more than one-half of all women over sixteen years of age were part of the labor force.[1]

The growing number of women in the workforce reflects ongoing and fundamental changes in the role of women in American society. Many women have chosen to pursue fulltime careers; many have moved into the workforce after their children left home; and other women have sought to combine the traditional role of mother and homemaker with a new role as a second breadwinner in the increasing number of two-earner families. Still other women have been pressed into the workforce by virtue of their status as heads of households in an era in which rising divorce rates have produced an expanding number of female-headed families.

Although social commentators may debate the implications of the changing role of women as it may affect the future of such institutions as marriage and family, clearly the role of woman as worker is well established and likely to expand still further. This News Letter will examine the status of women in the workforce, giving particular attention to Virginia. The analysis begins with an overview of the role of women in the national workforce and then proceeds to a consideration of the changing legal environment for working women. The News Letter then looks in some detail at the employment patterns of women in Virginia state and local government. The final section of the article discusses alternative interpretations of the Virginia data in light of the national debate about whether or not women still suffer significant discrimination in the workplace.

WORKING WOMEN: AN OVERVIEW

Although women today have more diverse career opportunities than in the past, they still tend to cluster in a more limited range of occupations than do men. In July 1981, slightly more than one-third of employed women over twenty years old were clerical workers; 18 percent were service employees, while 17 percent were professional and technical workers. Thus, these three categories encompassed approximately 70 percent of this group of employed women. In contrast, slightly more than one of five men over twenty years old were craft workers, followed by 16 percent professional and technical workers, and 16 percent managers and administrators—accounting for about 54 percent of employed men in that age group.[2]

Specific occupational breakdowns from the *1980 U.S. Statistical Abstract* show that some occupations are heavily dominated by either men or women. As examples, in 1979 women held over three-fourths of the positions as librarians, registered nurses, telephone operators, prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers, bank tellers, and secretaries. On the other hand, not very many women were employed as engineers, dentists, carpenters, automobile mechanics, plumbers, or firefighters; men held at least 95 percent of these positions.

A recent study by the National Research Council for the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) states that the earnings for fulltime, year-round women workers are, on the average, less than 60 percent of men's earnings. Some of the factors that account for this disparity in earnings are differences in education, work experience, and job commitment: women earn less because they have less education, have been in the workforce for a shorter period of time, and are more likely to have discontinuous career patterns than men. Another factor affecting the earnings gap is the differences in the types of occupations that men and women hold; the types of jobs that women typically hold tend to pay less than the types that men hold. The Council study concludes that women's earnings are

INVITATION FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The editors invite submission of manuscripts that might be considered for publication in the *University of Virginia News Letter*. Articles should focus on a discussion of some particular public policy or concern, and its impact on various instruments of state and local government. Preference will be given to articles that either (1) address situations within the state of Virginia or (2) shed light on a situation in Virginia through regional or other cross-sectional comparisons.

A News Letter article contains some 4,600 to 4,800 words and should be a minimum of 16 but no more than 18 double-spaced typed pages. We regret that we cannot pay contributors, but each author will receive twenty-five copies of the issue containing the published article.

For complete information, please write to
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Attn: Sandra H. Wiley
Institute of Government
University of Virginia
207 Minor Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

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[1] Compiled by the author from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings* (August 1981), p. 7, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, 2 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 1:127-28.

[2] Compiled by the author from *Employment and Earnings*, p. 22.

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lower in part because women are concentrated in lower-paying occupations to a greater extent than are men.[3]

Two questions are raised by this conclusion: (1) why are women concentrated in certain occupations? and (2) what affects the pay scales for these occupations? The role of women as homemakers has influenced the types of occupations that women in the past chose to pursue, as well as those that they were allowed to pursue. Women once were relegated, in large part, either to occupations that did not require long years of education, training, and work experience or to those requiring skills that were easily transferable from one organization to another without a large investment in on-the-job training. Because of the social norm that women were expected *not* to work except at home, particularly if they had a family, women were not prime candidates for jobs that entailed steady career advancement over a number of years. The continued practice of separating occupations by sex is affected by a variety of factors that may include discrimination, career preferences, the available job market, and the training and education levels of both men and women in the labor market. Certainly women today have more diverse career opportunities than in the past, and they now are entering occupations that traditionally have been dominated by males.

The second question, concerning pay scales for female-dominated occupations, can be approached from two viewpoints. The first is that the pay scale for any occupation is a product of the labor market system and reflects the skills and training required, as well as the availability of labor, to fill that position. Therefore, occupations pay what they are worth to the employer. A second viewpoint is that occupations held mainly by women pay less because they are held by women and that the pay scales do not actually reflect the true worth of the occupations. This second viewpoint is the one advanced in the National Research Council study mentioned earlier, although the minority report to this study supported the labor market theory.

THE LEGAL ENVIRONMENT FOR WORKING WOMEN

Equal employment legislation has been both a cause and a consequence of the growing number of employed women. The participation of more women in the workforce initially contributed to efforts to enact legislation prohibiting discrimination in the workplace. Once enacted, that legislation helped to broaden the career avenues open to women. As women have become a significant part of the labor market, increased pressures have been exerted, particularly by women's rights groups, for more rigorous enforcement of laws against sexual discrimination. The extent to which sexual discrimination persists will continue to be a subject of debate, but federal and state efforts to enforce laws prohibiting discrimination in the workplace already have contributed to the expansion of career opportunities for women.

Federal efforts to discourage sex discrimination in employment began with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. This act, which amends the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, requires equal pay for men and women performing substantially equal work under similar working conditions. The act covers federal, state, and local government employers, as well as those employers in the private sector who must follow minimum wage standards. Wage differentials are permitted by the act if based upon merit, seniority, production, or another system that is not based on sex. Complaints regarding wage discrimination are filed with the EEOC, which has the power to investigate charges, to conduct compliance reviews, and to file suit to enforce the act. The court can order the payment of back wages, the discontinuation of discriminatory practices, and fines and imprisonment.

The Code of Virginia (section 40.1-28.6) also prohibits wage discrimination on the basis of sex. The Virginia statute applies only to employers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and does not assign enforcement provisions to a government agency. Under the state act, individuals, rather than agencies, must initiate lawsuits.

While the purpose of the Equal Pay Act is narrowly focused on preventing wage differentials, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits not only sex discrimination in all aspects of employment but also discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, and religion. In addition, 1978 amendments to Title VII specify that the prohibition on sex discrimination incorporates discrimination based on pregnancy, childbearing, and related medical conditions. The provisions of Title VII apply to private employers of fifteen or more persons; federal, state, and local governments; employment agencies; labor unions; and apprenticeship committees. The EEOC is responsible for enforcing Title VII both in the public and private sectors. The EEOC has the power to receive complaints, to investigate compliance with equal employment standards, and to seek court enforcement of Title VII. The court, in turn, can order employers to stop discriminatory practices, and to take affirmative action to ensure equal employment. Discrimination is permitted only on the basis of a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ); for example, it is not discriminatory to hire only female actresses to play female roles. The BFOQ provisions have tended to be defined narrowly by the courts, thus making it difficult for employers to justify "males only" or "females only" positions.

The impact of the Equal Pay Act and Title VII on the employment of women illustrates the ways that changing social norms are reflected in the legal structure. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, reflecting the view of women that the Victorian era symbolized, states began enacting protective legislation that established maximum working hours or weight-lifting restrictions for women employees or that excluded women entirely from certain occupations such as mining or bartending. This type of legislation was based on the belief that women, because of their physical characteristics and childbearing role, needed more protection in the workplace than men. (Some persons also have argued that this protective labor legislation may have had the purpose of protecting males from female competition in the workforce.) Title VII, on the other hand, is predicated on the belief that women and minorities need legal protection to prevent any discrimination that would inhibit their employment opportunities. Under Title VII (and, in selected instances, the Equal Pay Act as well), protective legislation that excludes or restricts the employment of women is discriminatory.

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, and religion also is prohibited by federal Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375. This order currently applies to most federal government contractors and subcontractors. Guidelines issued by the U.S. Labor Department, which coordinates the implementation of the order, require contractors to maintain affirmative action programs designed to ensure equal employment. The Virginia Fair Employment Contracting Act (Va. Code, sections 2.1-374 through 2.1-376.1) prohibits discriminatory employment practices for many state contractors. In addition, contracting agencies are prohibited from discrimination in the awarding of contracts. Specific enforcement provisions

Table 1. Classified Employment in Virginia State Government By Sex and Job Category, 1981

Job Category	Males as % of total males	Females as % of total females
Official/Administrator	9.1%	3.0%
Professional, Technical, & Paraprofessional	38.9	45.3
Protective Service	15.1	1.5
Office/Clerical	6.1	39.4
Skilled Craft	14.6	.3
Service/Maintenance	16.2	10.5
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

SOURCE: Compiled by the author from Commonwealth of Virginia, Virginia Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, *Annual Report to the Governor of Virginia on the Administration of Executive Order No. 1* (July 1981). Data used are from a table in Appendix B entitled "Classified Employees by Race and Sex by Job Category for Each Secretariat" (no page numbers given).

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[3] Donald J. Treiman and Heidi I. Hartmann, *Women, Work, and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1981), p. 42.

are not provided, however, and the act specifically states that it does not "empower any agency to require a contractor to grant preferential treatment" to any person or group.

Equal employment provisions also are included in other federal statutes, including many grants-in-aid programs. For grants-in-aid legislation, the provision usually prohibits employment discrimination in any project funded by the grant—as in Title I of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, to give just one example. On the other hand, the anti-discrimination clause in the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 (which authorized revenue sharing) is very broad; employment discrimination is prohibited in all programs conducted by the recipient government, not just those funded by revenue sharing.

The Bill of Rights in Virginia's 1971 Constitution (Article I, Section 11) prohibits governmental discrimination on the basis of sex. To date, the Supreme Court of Virginia has interpreted this provision rather narrowly. The Court has ruled that a sex-based classification can be used if the classification is related to the objective embodied in a state law. In this particular case, the Court upheld a statute allowing women to claim an exemption from jury duty by virtue of having custody of either children under sixteen years of age or impaired persons. The case was brought on the grounds that the exemption did not apply to men as well.[4]

WOMEN IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

State and local governments are included among the service-producing industries (as opposed to goods-producing industries such as mining, manufacturing, and construction). The expansion of job opportunities in these industries has been a significant factor in the increase in the number of working women. In fact, many of the occupations held mainly by women—such as registered nurse, secretary, teacher, librarian, and social worker—are found disproportionately in the service-producing industries. In general, the proportion of women in the total workforce of state and local governments in Virginia is increasing, and the percentage of women in administrative positions also is increasing. What follows is a brief review of these developments.

Virginia State Government. In May 1981, 74,355 classified employees worked for the Commonwealth of Virginia. (Faculty members are not classified employees and therefore are not included in these figures.) Of this number, 51.7 percent were women. **Table 1** shows the distribution of the state's classified employees by sex and job category. As Table 1 indicates, women were most likely to be employed within either the professional, technical, and paraprofessional category or the office/clerical category. Men were distributed more evenly throughout the job categories, although men were most represented in the professional, technical, and paraprofessional grouping. The percentage of women employed as clerical workers in the state government labor force is slightly higher than in the national civilian labor force. Comparisons of state and national employment figures should be made only tentatively, however, because the occupational classification systems are somewhat different for the two groups.

The state government's male classified employees were much more likely to be employed as skilled craft or protective service employees than women; in fact, men held about 98 percent and 90 percent, respectively, of the positions in these categories. In addition, a larger number of employees in the official/administrator and service/maintenance categories were men than women, with men holding about 74 percent and 59 percent, respectively, of these positions. Women, on the other hand, held about 87 percent of the clerical positions and 56 percent of the professional, technical, and paraprofessional positions. Overall in 1981, women held a greater percentage of positions within each job category than they had in 1977, with the exception of the skilled craft category.[5]

Female employees of the state tend to have lower salary ranges than their male counterparts. In April 1981, 26 percent of women and 9 percent of men employees made less than $9,000. (The salaries of both classified and faculty personnel are included in these figures.) The largest percentage of women (42 percent) and men (29 percent) were in the $9,000-$12,999 salary range. While 13.3 percent of the state's male employees made $25,000 or over, the comparable figure for females was 1.8 percent; however, in 1979 only .9 percent of the women and 9.4 percent of the men employed were in this top salary bracket. While inflation accounts for some of the gains that women have made, women did move into the top salary range at a faster rate than men.[6]

Virginia Local Government. Information on Virginia's local government employees is available from the EEOC, which collects data yearly on both state and local government employees. Some explanation of this data is needed, however. Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, state and local governments with 15 or more fulltime employees are required to file reports with the EEOC on a periodic basis, ranging from once a year for governments with 100 or more employees to once every six years for governments with 15 to 24 employees. Because all governments do not file a report each year, the data collected by the EEOC are adjusted for non-reporting and non-sampled jurisdictions before final reports are made. Thus, the data presented in the final reports are subject to sampling error; the sampling error increases as the subpopulations decrease.

The data presented in **Table 2** are based on reports filed with the EEOC for 1979 by counties, cities, and towns in Virginia. (Employees of local school boards and special districts are not included in that table because these institutions file separate reports with the EEOC.)

As Table 2 indicates, women were most likely to be employed by local governments as clerical workers, professionals, and paraprofessionals. Men were most likely to be protective service, service/maintenance, and professional employees. In terms of overall employment, the EEOC data show that men held about 60 percent of the county positions and 70 percent of the municipal positions. An examination of the distribution of men and women within job categories reveals that men held over 90 percent of the skilled craft and protective service positions in local governments, while women held about 90 percent of the office/clerical and over 60 percent of the paraprofessional positions. The professional positions were fairly evenly divided between men and women. Women tended to be concentrated in the lower-paying job categories, with the exception of the service/maintenance positions. For all job categories in both counties

Table 2. Fulltime Employees of Virginia Counties and Municipalities By Sex and Job Category, 1979

	Counties		Municipalities	
Job Category	Males as % of total males	Females as % of total females	Males as % of total males	Females as % of total females
Official/ Administrator	6.4%	3.1%	6.3%	2.4%
Professional	13.8	21.2	10.6	24.9
Technical	11.6	8.1	9.3	6.0
Paraprofessional	2.0	10.4	2.6	9.0
Protective Service	35.2	5.3	26.6	4.8
Office/Clerical	2.1	47.2	2.2	43.3
Skilled Craft	12.4	.5	12.9	.5
Service/ Maintenance	16.5	4.2	29.5	9.1
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

SOURCE: Compiled by the author from U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "State and Local Government Information (EEO-4), 1979 Summary Report" (unpublished).

NOTE: School board and special district employees are not included in the table.

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[4] *Archer v. Mayes*, 213 Va. 633, 194 S.E. 2d 707 (1973).

[5] The 1977 employment figures were compiled from Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Personnel and Training, *Special Report on Virginia's State Government Employees 1978* (unpublished), p. 27.

[6] Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Personnel and Training, Virginia Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, *Annual Report to the Governor of Virginia on the Administration of Executive Order No. 1* (Richmond, July 1981). Data used are from a table in Appendix B entitled "Salary Level Distribution by Race and Sex" (no page numbers given).

and municipalities, females' earnings were below the median salary; on the other hand, male local government employees earned at least the median and, in most cases, above the median salary.

Virginia Educational Institutions. As mentioned earlier, the preceding description of local government employment did not include employees of educational institutions. In the 1979-80 school year, the school divisions in Virginia employed 65,241 instructional employees. (This figure does not include non-instructional personnel performing clerical, service, skilled craft, and laborer duties.) Of these instructional employees, approximately 74 percent were women. Women held about 88 percent of the elementary and 63 percent of the secondary teaching positions and about 55 percent of the supervisory and supportive positions (which include guidance counselors, social workers, and psychologists). On the other hand, 77 percent of the principals and assistant principals were men.[7] The top position in the local school system, that of division superintendent, is presently held by a woman in only one county.

While women made up almost three-quarters of the public school instructional staff, the picture was quite different in the institutions of higher education. There, women held only 26 percent of the instructional positions in academic year 1977-78; moreover, they were concentrated in the lower echelons of academia. By rank, only 12 percent of full professors were women; the comparable figures for associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors were 18 percent, 30 percent, and 49 percent, respectively. Preliminary figures for the 1980-81 academic year indicate a slight increase in the overall number of women faculty members, with women making up 27 percent of the instructional faculty.

Editors' Note: We are interested in hearing readers' comments on the topics discussed in the *University of Virginia News Letter*. If you have comments, questions, or information on this month's article on women in Virginia government, or any related issues, please address them to:

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In terms of salaries, the average female faculty member in 1977-78 made less than her male counterpart. Looking only at public universities, which tend to have higher salary ranges than other institutions of higher education the median salary for a fulltime nine-months appointment for a female faculty member in 1977-78 was 86.6 percent of the total median salary; the comparable figure for a male faculty member was 104.2 percent. Women's median salaries exceeded the total median only at the instructor rank; the gap between women's median salaries and total median salaries was largest at the professorial rank. Preliminary figures for 1980-81 show that women's median salaries as a percent of total median salaries have actually decreased—to 80.6 percent of the total median salary for all faculty members.[8]

CONCLUSION

To some degree, any interpretation of employment data will be governed by attitudes toward the changing role of women. Persons holding more traditional views of women as homemakers may view the inroads that women have made in the workplace as evidence of the failure of society to preserve the homemaker role. Others may view the statistics as evidence of the need for stronger equal employment practices to end continuing discrimination against women employees. A more moderate interpretation of the data is that career opportunities for women have expanded, but the legacy of traditional views toward the employment of women is still felt in the workplace. In addition, the efforts of state and local governments to increase the employment of women and minorities are influenced by a variety of factors somewhat beyond their control. Economic limitations, for example, limit a government's ability to recruit aggressively and to train its employees, as well as to create new positions—actions that could aid in achieving equal employment opportunity.

Employment trends for women in Virginia's governments parallel in many respects those nationwide. Women employees in Virginia state and local government are concentrated in lower-ranking and lower-paying occupations. At the same time, women are moving into the upper echelons of government and are holding upper-level decision-making positions in both state and local governments. Furthermore, progress should continue as women gain seniority and work experience. Nevertheless, women employees are in vulnerable positions, in part because of their recent entry into some occupational areas. Economic downturns and layoffs in the private and public sector will have a disproportionately larger effect on women than men. In addition, relaxation of equal employment and affirmative action practices could adversely affect the future status of women employees nationwide.

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[7] Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Education, *Virginia's Supply of Public School Instructional Personnel: A Report for the Year 1979-80* (Richmond, 1980), pp. 2 and 21.

[8] Commonwealth of Virginia, Council of Higher Education, *Faculty Profile: Fall, 1977* (Richmond, September 1978), pp. 9 and 14. Preliminary figures for 1980-81 were obtained in a telephone interview with the Council.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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DECEMBER 1983

AN UPDATE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATION IN VIRGINIA

By Mary Jo Fields

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After a decade of relative inactivity in local boundary adjustments, local government consolidation once again has become a topic of discussion and debate in Virginia. During the past two years, consolidation has been studied in at least six areas of the state: Clifton Forge-Covington-Alleghany County; Staunton-Augusta County; Martinsville-Henry County; Emporia-Greensville County; Charlottesville-Albemarle County; and Pulaski-Dublin-Pulaski County. The renewal of interest in consolidation was triggered in part by the enactment of the "annexation package" of legislation by the 1979 General Assembly, which signalled the end of a series of moratoriums on city-initiated annexations, city incorporations, and some consolidations that had been in place for most of the period since 1971.

The interest in consolidation is by no means new to Virginia localities; indeed, Virginia has seen more consolidations of local governments than any other state in the nation. From 1952 to 1974, fourteen counties, cities, and towns combined to form the five consolidated cities in Tidewater Virginia—the cities of Hampton, Newport News, Virginia Beach, Chesapeake, and Suffolk. During the same time period, referendums on consolidation were held in five other areas of the state, and consolidation was considered in at least twelve more.

This *News Letter* will focus on recent local government consolidation activity in Virginia by presenting an overview of the consolidation process allowed by Virginia state law, reviewing the status of consolidation efforts, and discussing the effectiveness of consolidation as a means of governmental reorganization.

THE CONSOLIDATION PROCESS IN VIRGINIA

Consolidation is the merger or combining of two or more governments. A consolidation usually takes one of three forms: (1) the complete unification of the governments in an area, resulting in one government and uniform services for the entire jurisdiction; (2) the unification of some, but not all, governments with the retention of service differentials, generally by taxing or service district. Virginia law allows each of these types of consolidation.

Because consolidations are difficult to achieve, another type of reorganization has been suggested as an alternative to consolidation. The comprehensive urban county involves the tranfer of some functions to an areawide government, usually a county government, with the retention of more specialized functions by municipal governments. Thus the comprehensive urban county really is a partial functional consolidation. While current Virginia law does not provide for this type of consolidation, the General Assembly probably will be asked to consider legislation allowing it since the Staunton-Augusta County proposal (discussed later in this article) would establish this type of arrangement.

Constitutional and statutory provisions governing the consolidation process in Virginia are flexible and fairly simple. Generally, the state laws do not place obstacles in the way of local efforts to consolidate; further, the General Assembly generally has responded to requests to amend the process to facilitate merger negotiations. In contrast, some other states either do not permit local governments to merge or have fairly restrictive and cumbersome statutes governing the process.

The Virginia Constitution, in Article VII, Section 2, provides a broad grant of authority to the General Assembly to enact procedures for the consolidation of counties, cities, towns, and regional governments. Article X further allows the legislature to permit different rates of real property taxation in consolidated governments.

The consolidation procedure established by the General Assembly allows any one or more counties or cities with a common boundary or any county and all of its towns to consolidate as a county or city. The

On December 13 at the State Capitol, Governor Charles S. Robb announced that the National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded a grant of $205,000 to the Institute of Government for a series of twenty public forums leading up to the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution in 1987.

"The Constitution and the Commonwealth: The Virginia Court Days Forums, 1984-86" is a part of a broader array of commemorative activities planned by the Institute, which was asked by Governor Robb in 1982 to offer staff assistance and support for opportunities "for Virginians to reflect on our constitutional heritage." Governor Robb has been represented in the planning for Court Days and other commemorative activities by A.E. Dick Howard, Counselor to the Governor and eminent constitutional scholar.

Further details on the Court Days series are provided on the back page of this *News Letter*.

following outline includes only the major steps in the consolidation procedure required by state law.[1]

1. The local governing bodies negotiate a consolidation agreement. (The Code also provides for citizen-initiated consolidation efforts; a decision by the Virginia Supreme Court on the constitutionality of these provisions currently is pending.)
2. After the agreement is reached, the agreement must be filed with the circuit court, neighboring jurisdictions must be notified of the agreement, and the agreement must be published in local newspapers.
3. If a consolidated city is proposed, a special three-judge court determines if the city is eligible for city status.
4. The referendum on consolidation is held; to pass, it must receive a favorable majority vote in each jurisdiction proposing to consolidate.
5. The General Assembly must enact a charter for a consolidated city; in some instances, General Assembly approval must be sought if a consolidated county is proposed.
6. In the case of a consolidated county, new county officers are elected prior to consolidation, unless the consolidation agreement otherwise specifies the membership of the governing body.
7. On the date specified in the agreement, the consolidated government comes into being.

Virginia law allows local officials wide latitude in designing the form of a consolidated government. A county or city can be proposed; special taxing and service districts can be established; the size and method of election of the governing body can be determined. Also, town governments can be retained; in fact, towns do not have to be a party to a consolidation agreement between a city and county. In this case, the agreement does not have to be approved by the town council, and town voters do not have to approve the consolidation in a separate referendum. The discretion permitted local officials under state law certainly has contributed to the high success rate (when compared to other states) that consolidation efforts in Virginia have enjoyed.

While the flexibility of the statutory process governing consolidation can affect the consolidation effort, it by no means is the only factor that motivates consolidation campaigns. Experience in Virginia and elsewhere in the nation suggests that major structural changes often occur because of a "precipitating event" that may be viewed as a crisis situation by either the local electorate or political leaders. Other important factors include the support of local political leaders and the sense of a community of interests between the consolidating governments.

HISTORY OF CONSOLIDATION EFFORTS IN VIRGINIA

Several of the consolidations that have occurred in Virginia had a common precipitating event—the threat of annexation by a central city. The threat of annexation, coupled with the statewide practice of city-county separation, was a factor in the series of events leading to the creation of the five consolidated cities in Tidewater Virginia, although the importance of annexation varied from situation to situation.

Hampton, the first example of city-county consolidation in the state, resulted from the merger of the City of Hampton, Elizabeth City County, and the Town of Phoebus in 1952. Annexation certainly was a major factor in this case; Hampton was more or less forced to join consolidation efforts when Elizabeth City and Phoebus began considering merger as a city to prevent Hampton from annexing, a move that would have left Hampton with no means of expansion. (While Hampton was the first merger of a city and county, the cities of Richmond and Manchester had merged in 1910, and the towns of Waynesboro and Basic City had consolidated in 1923.)

Then in 1952 Warwick County incorporated as a city to thwart possible annexation attempts by Newport News. Concern about the economic and political future of the region led these two cities to consolidate in 1958.

Until 1960 the state's consolidation statutes applied only to a limited number of local governments in the state. In that year, however, the statutes were amended to apply statewide, primarily to accommodate merger talks between the City of Richmond and Henrico County. The consolidation referendums held in those localities failed, however, and instead consolidation activity moved south across the Hampton Roads port. In 1962, the City of Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County merged as the City of Virginia Beach; the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County merged as the City of Chesapeake. Both these consolidations were viewed as means of avoiding annexation by the central cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth.

After 1962 consolidation efforts were unsuccessful until the merger of the cities of Suffolk and Nansemond in 1974. During those twelve years, referendums on consolidation were defeated in Winchester-Frederick County (1969), Roanoke-Roanoke County (1969), Charlottesville-Albemarle County (1970), and Bristol-Washington County (1971). The only consolidations that occurred during these years were town mergers—between Tazewell and North Tazewell in 1963 and Christiansburg and Cambria in 1964. Then in 1972 Nansemond County consolidated with its two small towns—Holland and Whaleyville—as the City of Nansemond. Two years later, the merger of the cities of Nansemond and Suffolk went into effect. While annexation had a role to play in these consolidations, some city officials feel that a more important motivation was the voters' feeling that a consolidated government would save money.

Frustrated with the problems of boundary adjustments between Richmond and Henrico County, the 1971 General Assembly enacted a moratorium on both annexations and city incorporations for certain areas of the state. The next year, this moratorium was applied statewide to all counties adjoining cities; in addition, the General Assembly put a halt to the ability of these counties to become cities through consolidation. The moratorium removed consolidation as a possibility for some local governments, and interest in consolidation waned as a result. Between 1972, when Suffolk and Nansemond voters elected to merge, and 1983, only one consolidation referendum was held—in the town of Front Royal and Warren County in 1976. That consolidation effort was unsuccessful.

As previously noted, the recent surge in consolidation can be attributed in part to the lifting of the moratorium in 1979 and to other parts of the 1979 annexation package, particularly the provisions relating to negotiation of boundary disputes. Whether any of the efforts will culminate in a merger, however, is open to question. In fact, one of the consolidation efforts has already met defeat at the polls.

RECENT CONSOLIDATION ACTIVITY

Pulaski County-Pulaski Town-Dublin Town

The most recent consolidation referendum held in the state sought the approval of the voters of Pulaski County and the towns of Pulaski and Dublin on whether their governments should consolidate as the County of Pulaski. The referendum was defeated by the voters in each of these localities in July 1983. The results of the referendum were a major blow to efforts to reorganize the local governments in Pulaski County.

Those efforts began during the early 1980s with a series of meetings between officials from the Town of Pulaski and Pulaski County about a possible town annexation suit. These meetings evolved into the appointment of a joint study committee on consolidation, city status, and annexation, with members appointed from the county and the towns of Pulaski and Dublin. This committee commissioned a report, issued in August 1982, on functional and governmental consolidation, as well as city status for and annexation by the Town of Pulaski. The report recommended the complete consolidation of the two towns and the county—city status was judged to be too costly, and annexation would be only a temporary solution, while consolidation would save money.[2]

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[1] The basic procedure for consolidation is contained in Virginia Code, sections 15.1-1130.1 through 15.1-1147.

A consolidation agreement then was prepared by a consolidation advisory committee; by March 1983, the three localities had agreed to hold the referendum on the consolidation. The consolidation agreement did not receive unanimous support from all of the governing bodies involved, however; and, as noted earlier, it was rejected by the voters.

The consolidation agreement would have established a unique local government in Virginia—a consolidated county.[3] The agreement proposed that the two towns and the county merge as a county, that the county be divided into shires (two of which would consist of the former towns of Pulaski and Dublin), and that the Dublin and Pulaski shires also would serve as special taxing and service districts. Additional services—sidewalk and street maintenance, fire protection, law enforcement, recreation, and street lighting—would be provided within these districts. The governing body of the consolidated county would be a seven-member board of supervisors, elected from single member districts for four-year terms.

The defeat of the consolidation referendum in the county and the towns highlights the importance of the factors that motivate consolidation. First, while annexation by the town was an issue, there really was no "precipitating event" or crisis situation to command the allegiance of both the electorate and political leaders for consolidation. Second, local leaders were decidedly *not* united about the consolidation—as an example, newspaper articles noted that four members of the Pulaski town council voted in favor of holding the referendum on consolidation but did not endorse the proposed agreement.

On the other hand, two factors should have worked for the consolidation. First, once again the flexibility of Virginia statutes governing consolidation was proven. The 1982 General Assembly, in order the facilitate the negotiations among the governments in Pulaski County, amended several sections of the consolidation statutes relating to the establishment of shires, special service and taxing districts, and the consolidation of a county and all towns within it as a county. Legal barriers to reaching a consolidation agreement thus were not a problem in Pulaski County.

Second, the consolidation effort should have been aided by the fact that the county already provided some services to town residents, including education, social services, and the functions performed by constitutional officers. Because independent cities were not involved in the consolidation campaign, it would seem that the merger might have been somewhat easier to achieve.

Regardless of the dependent status of Virginia towns, however, town residents have strong ties to their communities. Several persons at the public hearings held on the consolidation campaign in Pulaski County testified that they feared the loss of community identity in a consolidated county. Newspaper accounts on the day after the referendum noted that voters had indicated more concern about protecting their community identities than saving tax dollars through merger.

Staunton-Augusta County

Staunton, the birthplace of the city manager form of government in the United States, is now a partner in the proposed creation of a new form of local government in Virginia: the tier-city. The proposal, while new to Virginia, resembles proposals for the creation of urban county governments in other states. Indeed, the proposal is not a complete consolidation, as two governments will continue to exist.

The proposal for the consolidation of Augusta County and Staunton into a consolidated Augusta County and the tier-city of Staunton was unveiled in October 1983. The city and county now are trying to resolve differences over some of the points in the consolidation plan. The localities are working under an immediate deadline—any bills to amend state statutes that concern the consolidation must be filed with the General Assembly by January 11. If the city and county are able to reach final agreement on the consolidation plan and the General Assembly makes the needed statutory changes, the referendum will be held in the fall of 1984. Provided the referendum is approved by both the county and city voters, the consolidation will take place on July 1, 1985.

The consolidation plan followed a year and a half of meetings, confrontations and negotiations between the county and city that began in April 1982, when Augusta County filed notice with the Commission on Local Government that it intended to petition for partial immunity of some county territory from city annexation and city incorporation. The Waynesboro city council voted in August to begin annexation proceedings; the Staunton city council took similar action in October. In the meantime, negotiations between the county and each of the cities had begun, with the purpose of reaching a negotiated settlement for the partial immunity and annexation proceedings. In December 1982 the Commission on Local Government recommended against partial immunity for Augusta County, and negotiations over the annexation suits resumed again. While Waynesboro continued to press for annexation, Augusta County and Staunton began considering consolidation as a solution to their interlocal problems. By March 1983, the localities had agreed to study the consolidation of their governments into a single, two-tier government in which general government services would be handled by the first tier and special urban services, by the second.

The agreement reached between the city and county also specified that the localities were to hire a consultant to develop a consolidation plan based on the two-tier government, appoint an advisory committee to assist the consultant, and appoint an appeals commission to handle disagreements about the consolidation study. The agreement contains strong incentives for consolidation: if the referendum on consolidation is not approved, Staunton will annex Augusta County territory. The amount of territory will depend on which government fails to approve the agreement or, if the agreement passes, on the results of the consolidation referendum. If either the county board or the county voters reject consolidation, Staunton will annex about 16 square miles of territory. In the event the city council or city voters reject consolidation, the city will annex only 11 miles. The rejection of the consolidation plan by the city and the county means the city will annex about 13 miles.[4]

In October, only several months after the county and city had agreed to study consolidation, a consolidation plan was presented to the localities. Some of the major points included in the plan, as proposed by the consultant hired by the localities, are summarized below.[5]

Form of government. A consolidated county (to be named Augusta) is proposed as the upper or general tier of government. The second tier is the tier-city of Staunton, which includes almost double the area of the present city of Staunton. The proposed tier-city, unlike other cities in Virginia, is not independent and separate from the county; like towns, it is part of the county.

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[2] See Municipal Advisors, Inc. *Report to the Joint Study Committee on Consolidation, City Status, and Annexation*, August 1982, 202-4.

[3] Consolidation Advisory Committee, *Agreement Establishing the Terms and Conditions of the Consolidation of: Town of Dublin, Town of Pulaski, County of Pulaski* (xeroxed, n.d.)

[4] *Study Agreement for Consolidation*, agreement between Augusta County and Staunton, Virginia (xeroxed, March 21, 1983).

[5] Municipal Advisors Inc., *A Consolidation Study for the County of Augusta, Virginia and the City of Staunton, Virginia, Volume III: The Consolidation Plan* (xeroxed, October 15, 1982).

Governing bodies and elected officials. Under the terms of the proposed agreement, each tier has its own elected governing body. The county board of supervisors has either seven or eight members (depending on the results of a referendum), each elected from a single-member district. (The tier-city is divided among three of these districts.) Because the plan specifies that the county would operate under the county manager form of government, the only other elected officials for the county are the sheriff, Commonwealth's attorney, and circuit court clerk. The tier-city has a seven-member council elected at large. No separate constitutional officers are elected in the tier-city. Because the tier-city is part of the county, tier-city residents vote for both county and tier-city officeholders.

Division of services. Additional services that can be provided by the tier-city include police; street, roads, sidewalks, and storm drains; garbage collection and disposal; water and sewerage; public transportation; parking; and cable television. Functions to be assigned to the county include education, health, welfare, courts, property assessment, fire services, voter registration, library services, street lighting, and housing of prisoners. The consultants predict that through the elimination of some positions and increased efficiency, the consolidation would save almost half a million dollars in the first budget year.

Taxes. Under the agreement, the county has exclusive power to levy the personal property tax; consumer utility tax; business, professional, and occupational license taxes; and local motor vehicle registration licenses. Both the county and tier-city have authority to levy real estate taxes. Thus, tier-city residents would pay real estate property taxes to both tiers of government. Despite this, the estimates are that current Staunton city residents would experience a 20 percent reduction in real estate taxes; current Augusta County residents that become tier-city residents would see increases in their real estate taxes, while the remainder of Augusta County residents would realize a slight reduction in taxes.

Expansion of the tier-city. The tier-city will not be able to regain city status for thirty years following consolidation. Ten years after consolidation, however, the tier-city will be able to initiate annexation suits. The territory included in Augusta County's petition for partial immunity will not be subject to annexation by the tier-city.

Since October, when the plan was submitted to the city and county, both localities have prepared lists of objections, additions, recommendations, and corrections to the proposal. Points on which the city and county are unable to reach agreement will be submitted for arbitration to the appeals commission, whose decision is binding. As of early December, the city and county were debating a number of issues, including the boundary of the tier-city, whether the county should operate under the county manager form of government, whether fire services should be consolidated in the county government, the number and boundaries of the county magisterial districts, and what revenue sources the tier-city will have.

Clifton Forge-Covington-Alleghany County

The independent cities of Clifton Forge and Covington and Alleghany County had a combined population in 1980 of about 28,500 persons. These three local governments were facing stagnant or declining population growth and decreases in state and federal aid, and they were concerned about the future economic growth and development of their region. Covington was threatening to initiate an annexation suit; the county and Clifton Forge were considering consolidation as a means of forestalling Covington's ability to annex.

In an effort to work together, in March 1982 the three localities agreed to explore a range of alternatives for delivering public services in the Alleghany Highlands. The alternatives selected for study included annexation by Covington, economic growth sharing, consolidation of Clifton Forge and Alleghany County, consolidation of all three governments, and consolidation of services but not governments. The study's results, released in February 1983, concluded that consolidation of all three governments was the best long-term solution for the area's governmental problems.[6]

In November the three governments agreed to develop a consolidation plan that will be put before the voters in a referendum by May 1985. The consolidation plan will include an annexation back-up agreement that will specify voluntary boundary adjustments in the event the consolidation attempt is unsuccessful.

Charlottesville-Albemarle County

In February 1982 governing bodies of the City of Charlottesville and Albemarle County reached an agreement in which Charlottesville relinquishes its right to annex county territory in exchange for sharing the revenues collected from real estate property tax levies in the county.[7] Revenues are shared as follows:

1. The city and county put a share of their real property tax revenues in a revenue-sharing fund. The share is based on a fixed percentage of the total assessed value of taxable real property.
2. The fund is then divided between the city and county by a formula based on population and true real property tax rates.
3. A limit is put on the total amount of funds that can be transferred to either jurisdiction from the fund.

The agreement went into effect in 1983. For this first year, the net effect was that the county transferred $1.3 million to the city. The county's payments will increase as its tax base grows; but if the county's population grows faster than its tax base or if the city's relative wealth increases, the amount paid by the county will decrease.

Also included in the revenue sharing agreement is a provision requiring the city and county to appoint a committee to study the desirability of either total governmental consolidation or the consolidation of services only. To date the committee has requested a background study on governmental consolidation as well as studies in a number of functional areas, including law enforcement, social services, and education. The deliberations of the consolidation study committee are continuing, although at this point consolidation does not appear to be an immediate alternative.

Martinsville-Henry County

In 1981 the Martinsville city council and the Henry County board of supervisors created a merger study commission that was asked to "analyze functional and political aspects of the two governments and determine the feasibility of total or partial merger."[8] At a June 1982 joint meeting of the council and board, the study committee recommended the full merger of the city and county. A month later, the two localities appointed a committee to draw up a consolidation agreement. That committee prepared a draft agreement establishing a consolidated city and drawing heavily upon consolidation plans developed in the Tidewater. Last April, however, the city and county negotiating teams reported that they were unable to overcome two major areas of disagreement: the handling of existing debts in the consolidated government and the method of election (ward or at-large) of new city officials. The movement toward full consolidation of the two governments appears to have come to a halt, although administrative and elected officials are still exploring the possibility of the consolidation of some services.

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[6] John McNair and Associates, *Alleghany Highlands Governmental Summary: Executive Summary* (December 1982).

[7] *Annexation and Revenue Sharing Agreement Between the City of Charlottesvile and Albemarle County* (xeroxed, June 28, 1982).

[8] Martinsville-Henry County Merger Study Committee, *Summary Report to a Joint Session of the Henry County Board of Supervisors and Martinsville City Council* (xeroxed, June 28, 1982).

Emporia-Greensville County

The consolidation of the City of Emporia and Greensville County has been discussed for over a decade. The most recent impetus for consolidation began in 1978 when a group of citizens petitioned the circuit court to force the initiation of the consolidation process. City and county committees were appointed to develop a consolidation plan, but they were not successful in their efforts. Then in April 1981 the circuit court appointed a citizens committee to develop the consolidation agreement, as allowed by Virginia's consolidation procedure. The city, however, challenged the constitutionality of these provisions of the procedure. That case has been heard by the Supreme Court of Virginia, which is expected to render an opinion early in 1984.

In the meantime, the Emporia city council voted to annex over six miles of Greensville County territory. In September 1982 the city and county, with the help of a mediator, announced that they had signed an intergovernmental agreement that allows Emporia to annex over four square miles. The Commission on Local Government subsequently gave its approval to this agreement in May 1983. However, the agreement will not become effective, and the annexation will not take place, until the Supreme Court's opinion on the constitutionality of citizen-initiated consolidation efforts is handed down. If the court rules that the consolidation effort is to proceed, then the annexation case will be postponed until that effort is resolved. A successful completion of a consolidation agreement and approval of that agreement at the polls would mean an end to the annexation case. If the consolidation effort fails, however, the annexation will proceed.[9]

Thinking About Consolidation

Recent experience in Virginia reinforces the idea that some type of precipitating event may be necessary for the voters and elected officials to contemplate or agree to a governmental change as drastic as that of consolidation. Research on local government consolidations in Virginia and across the nation often point to the need for this precipitating event to spark the consolidation momentum. Consolidation efforts, however, represent more than a response to some type of pending political crisis. A well-developed body of literature in public administration favors larger and more efficient local governments, which are sometimes best obtained through consolidation. In any consolidation campaign, a number of additional arguments for the effort are advanced; opponents of consolidation counter these with their own set of arguments. Here is a brief summary of the arguments that generally are made both for and against consolidation.

Arguments in Favor of Consolidation

1. A consolidated government is more efficient and effective than several smaller governments. Costs can be held down and perhaps reduced through the elimination of duplicative services, personnel, and equipment. Further, the larger unit may be able to take advantage of "economies of scale" or lower per-unit costs for government services.

2. Consolidation helps eliminate spillovers or externalities. Many government services benefit citizens in adjoining areas who neither pay for the service nor share in the effort involved in its delivery. These "spillovers" are eliminated if the taxing jurisdiction is coterminous with the service jurisdiction. While the complete elimination of spillovers is probably impossible, the larger jurisdiction is better able to avoid the problem than are several smaller ones.

3. The environment for decision making and long-range planning is improved. A single government in an area is better able to coordinate policies and decisions than are several governments.

4. Consolidated governments, with only one governing body, are easier for the citizens to understand and use. Decision making and service responsibilities are more clearly defined and understood.

5. Consolidation matches area needs with area resources. Tax burdens within a community are equalized through the creation of a government that more clearly corresponds to area needs.

Arguments Against Consolidation

1. Larger, consolidated governments do not save money; in fact, statistics show that larger governments have greater per capita costs than smaller ones.

2. By consolidating, the benefits of diversity of governments are lost. Citizens are not able to show their approval or disapproval of government policies by moving. Consolidation results in a monopoly that stifles the competitive drive, produces uniformity, and decreases options for citizens.

3. Consolidation weakens community identification. Citizens' identification with counties, cities, and towns will not be carried over to the new, larger consolidated government.

4. People are closer to smaller governments than larger ones. Further, smaller governments are more easily controlled by the people. Two or more governments are preferable to one bigger government that will rely on a larger impersonal bureaucracy.

5. Consolidation trades the status quo for the unknown. Resistance to change often thwarts attempts at consolidation. (On the other hand, dissatisfaction with the status quo may be a precipitating event, if some type of crisis emerges.)

Conclusion

Whatever the arguments are for or against consolidation, this process, like annexation, has been a means for some cities to solve the problems of fixed borders, declining populations, and stagnant economies. In Virginia, however, the process has been used to prevent the expansion of central cities by surrounding them with other cities, which cannot be annexed. Thus the consolidations in Tidewater resulted in a landlocked Norfolk and Portsmouth. If the Staunton-Augusta County proposal is approved, Waynesboro will be unable to grow.

Other cities, such as Richmond and Roanoke, are unable to annex territory because the counties that border them are immune from annexation. Cities reaching annexation agreements since 1979 may have had their last chance at territorial expansion since the county areas surrounding them may well be immune from annexation by the time the cities are allowed to start the process again. Thus, cities such as Fredericksburg, Harrisonburg, and Williamsburg may find themselves precluded from future annexation efforts. Charlottesville has excluded itself permanently from annexation through its participation in the revenue sharing agreement with Albemarle County.

Whether consolidation will be a viable future alternative for cities that cannot exercise the annexation option is open to question. It may well be that other "precipitating events" will develop, or, as could happen in Charlottesville and Albemarle County, the spirit of cooperation engendered by revenue-sharing agreements or cooperative activities may help lead to consolidation. On the other hand, consolidation activity may well continue at its present pace, but with very few completed mergers.

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[9] Commission on Local Government, *Report on the City of Emporia-County of Greensville Annexation Agreement* (Richmond, May 1983).

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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH: THE VIRGINIA COURT DAYS FORUMS, 1984-86

"The Constitution and the Commonwealth: The Virginia Court Days Forums" is a series of twenty public forums on the United States Constitution to take place at various sites throughout the Commonwealth over the next three years. The series is intended to promote a broader public understanding of persistent issues of constitutional governance, as the nation looks ahead to its third century under the Constitution; to foster a greater appreciation of the Constitution and of Virginia's contribution to its creation and evolution; and to encourage citizen participation in the discussion of public affairs through the revival of the Court Days tradition of eighteenth century Virginia.

Each forum will be held in a city or county courthouse at a site relevant to the constitutional issue to be discussed. The forum itself will bring together a panel of experts—drawn from the fields of history, political economy, philosophy, and law—with a general audience, who will join with the panel in a free-flowing discussion of ideas and points of view on the topic of that forum. The historical background and contemporary debate on the issue to be discussed at a particular forum will be examined in an article in the *University of Virginia News Letter*, which will be issued six to eight weeks in advance of the forum. Ten of the twenty forums will be videotaped by the Central Virginia Educational Television Corporation for later broadcast on WCVE-TV, Channel 23, in Richmond.

The first forum—to be held at the Courthouse of 1770 in Colonial Williamsburg on February 28, 1984—will deal with the topic, "The Constitution as Symbol and Substance: What Does Constitutionalism Mean?" The panelists for the forum include A. E. DICK HOWARD, White Burkett Miller Professor of Law and Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and author of *Commentaries on the Constitution of Virginia*; MERRILL D. PETERSON, Thomas Jefferson Professor of History at the University of Virginia and author of *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*; WILLIAM F. SWINDLER, John Marshall Professor of Law Emeritus at the College of William and Mary, and author of *Court and Constitutio in the 20th Century*; and THAD W. TATE, Director of the Institute for Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary and author of "The Social Contract in America, 1774-1787," in the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Further details on the Williamsburg forum will appear in the January 1984 *News Letter*.

SCHEDULE OF FORUMS

(CH=Courthouse)

1984 Forums

THE CONSTITUTION AS SYMBOL AND SUBSTANCE (Colonial Williamsburg CH of 1770)/RELIGION AND THE CONSTITUTION (Orange Co. CH)/DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION (Loudoun County CH)/COURTS AND THE CONSTITUTION (Richmond City John Marshall Courts Bldg.)

1985 Forums

FEDERALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION (Danville City CH)/THE PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF THE CONSTITUTION (Albemarle Co. CH)/THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND INTERSTATE COMMERCE (Wise Co. CH)/TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONSTITUTION (Augusta Co. CH)/CONFLICTING RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION (Hanover Co. CH)/SUFFRAGE AND THE CONSTITUTION (Roanoke City CH)/SCHOOLS AND THE CONSTITUTION (Hampton City CH)/CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION (Westmoreland Co. CH)/THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BUREAUCRACY (Alexandria City CH)

1986 Forums

FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION (Fredericksburg City CH)/DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION (Winchester City CH)/THE CONSTITUTION AND THE WORLD ECONOMY (Norfolk City CH)/FEDERALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION (Bristol City CH)/NATIONAL AND STATE CITIZENSHIP UNDER THE CONSTITUTION (Petersburg City CH)/STATE CONSTITUTIONS AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION (Henrico Co. CH)/CAPITALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION (Lynchburg City Old Hustings CH)

Editor's note: *Since 1987 will mark the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, the News Letter is carrying regularly in this space announcements of upcoming activities and publications on constitutional themes of interest to Virginians. Funding for this service has been provided in part by a grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy. For further information on the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution in Virginia, contact Timothy G. O' Rourke at the Institute of Government, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903 or A. E. Dick Howard at the Office of the Governor, Richmond 23219.*

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NEWS LETTER

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APRIL 1984

ANNEXATION RESUMES IN VIRGINIA

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After eight years of legislative struggle, the Virginia General Assembly in 1979 approved a new annexation statute, to become effective in 1980. The passage of this statute ended a moratorium on annexation that the General Assembly had imposed initially in 1971. Some newspapers announced that the statute also marked the end of annexation as a major issue in the state. While that was a sound prediction for some parts of the state, the new statute merely marked the resumption of battle in many other areas. This News Letter, after a brief review of Virginia's annexation process, will focus on five communities that have gone through all or part of an annexation controversy since passage of the new legislation.

THE ANNEXATION PROCESS

Annexation is the process by which a city extends it boundaries to include unincorporated land lying outside the city. Annexation traditionally was one of the major ways in which American cities expanded, especially between 1850 and 1920. Extension of a city's boundaries was a logical way to provide services to people in fringe areas near the city. This solution was usually satisfactory to both the city that provided the services and the fringe residents who needed them. Furthermore, the outlying jurisdiction (often a county) usually did not object strongly since it was unable to provide the necessary services.

Annexation has been less useful for solving the "metropolitan problem,"—that is, the existence of numerous political jurisdictions within a single social and economic metropolitan area. Many persons, aided by the ready availability of the automobile, began to choose a home outside the city, in order to escape the aspects of city residence that were considered undesirable—the high costs of living in the central city, for example, as well as what was perceived as the city's political incompetence and corruption. These citizens, once they had become suburban residents, used their political influence to obtain laws that made annexation by the city less likely. Some states provided that only unincorporated areas could be annexed and then made it easier for small territories outside the city to incorporate; many states provided that annexation could take place only after a favorable vote of the people in the affected area. The effect of these measures was to slow the pace of annexation, as well as to make it more controversial.

One additional factor has made annexation in Virginia more controversial than elsewhere. In other states, a city is part of the county in which it is located. The county is usually authorized to tax the property of all residents of the county, including those living within city boundaries. Thus, an increase in the jurisdiction of the city does not decrease the taxing power of the county. Virginia is unique in having a statewide system of city-county separation. Each city and county is responsible for providing services only within its borders; there is no overlap of political jurisdiction and taxing authority. Thus annexation in Virginia is a "zero-sum" game: whatever a city gains is lost to the county. This fact obviously increases the divisiveness of annexation in Virginia.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANNEXATION IN VIRGINIA

Prior to 1904, changes in city boundaries occurred as a result of special acts of the Virginia General Assembly. The Constitution of 1902 authorized general laws pertaining to boundary changes, and the General Assembly approved such a law in 1904. The Assembly's legislation vested decision-making powers in the courts. Since that time, annexation determinations have been made by three-judge courts, with appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court. While Virginia is not unique in employing the judicial process for annexation, it has been the leading user of the courts for this purpose. Reliance upon the judiciary has been questioned upon occasion, but it has always been reaffirmed.[1] This News Letter does not attempt to evaluate the practice of judicial determination or that of city-county separation.

From the passage of the state's annexation statute in 1904 until the general moratorium on annexation in 1971, Virginia's cities were highly successful in annexation litigation. Some city requests were modified by judicial panels during the course of the proceedings, and occasionally a city lost a suit, but nearly all annexation cases were resolved in ways acceptable to the cities. This situation worked satisfactorily, if not happily, as long as the cities were the only effective providers of necessary services. But in the 1950s and 1960s, when some counties began to develop traditional municipal services, annexation controversies began to pit one service provider against another. This conflict intensified pressure to abolish annexation. The General Assembly, recognizing the fact that the state's increasing urbanization would only exacerbate the problems surrounding annexation, imposed its moratorium in 1971 to provide time for considering other solutions.

The greatest impetus for the moratorium may have come from the celebrated annexation dispute involving the City of Richmond and the counties of Henrico and Chesterfield. In 1964 Richmond won an annexation decree against Henrico County, but the city declined the award because it considered the compensation to be excessive. The city then activated a longstanding suit against Chesterfield County; after long negotiations, the two jurisdictions reached a settlement before the trial began. The court decree, which ratified the settlement, was then attacked in both federal and state courts. While annexation ultimately was upheld, the lengthy proceedings made it clear that some reconsideration of the annexation statute was needed.

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[1] Commonwealth of Virginia, *Report of the Commission on City-County Relationships*, House Document 27, 1975, pp. 33-35; Thomas J. Michie and Marcia S. Mashaw, "Annexation and State Aid to Localities: A Compromise is Reached," *University of Virginia News Letter*, July 1979, p. 41.

At the same time that the moratorium was imposed in 1971, the General Assembly established the Commission on City-County Relationships (usually referred to as the Stuart Commission) to review the entire matter. In 1977 the General Assembly came close to passing an annexation bill, based largely on the Stuart Commission's recommendations. When that effort narrowly failed, the Assembly extended its moratorium (scheduled to expire on June 30, 1977) for ten years. Then-Governor Godwin signed the measure only after extracting promises from many interested persons, including leaders of the Virginia Municipal League and the Virginia Association of Counties, that they would work toward a prompt resolution of the problem. This agreement provided support for the process that culminated in 1979 with the final approval of the new annexation statute, which became effective in 1980.

The new statute made one basic change in annexation law by providing permanent immunity to the nine counties that are considered the most urban in Virginia. In addition, a new "partial immunity" provision authorizes a county to seek immunity for designated county areas adjacent to a city that are valuable to the county and might be the subject of an annexation suit. If the local circuit court determines that this portion of the county meets certain criteria, it becomes permanently immune from annexation. Annexation decisions are still made by judicial panels, which must determine "the necessity for and expediency of annexation." Several provisions of the statute do encourage cooperation between localities. The statute also established the Commission on Local Government, which promotes local negotiations in addition to making recommendations to annexation courts. In other respects, even though some changes were made in the standards for determining the need for annexation, the law's provisions remained similar to what had existed prior to the moratorium.

A great deal of annexation activity has occurred since the new statute went into effect in 1980. More than thirty cities and towns have expressed interest in annexation, boundary adjustments, and consolidation. Annexation disputes have been litigated in a few localities, and several other disputes are heading toward final disposition by the courts. Although additional information will be needed before any firm judgments can be made about the effectiveness of the statute, information about the early cases may help to decide whether the new statute is changing the way in which boundary disputes are resolved, and whether the new Commission on Local Government has made a significant difference in the process.

The following discussion focuses on five of these cases, each involving a small, independent city. Taken together, these cases do not illustrate a single clear point; instead, they show considerable diversity among communities that may appear to be quite similar. This diversity points to the difficulty of writing general statewide legislation that will work fairly in a variety of circumstances.

HARRISONBURG—ROCKINGHAM COUNTY

The dispute between Harrisonburg and Rockingham County was the first case to be decided under the new statute. Harrisonburg, with a 1980 population of 19,671, has experienced little growth during the past two decades except for the expansion of James Madison University. Harrisonburg is typical of the small cities that are the protagonists in the current generation of annexation cases. Since the new statute became effective, no large cities have been involved in annexation suits, since usually they are surrounded by the more populous counties that are completely immune under the new statute.

Rockingham County had a 1980 population of 57,038, which is large for a Virginia county. The county has been growing rapidly in some of the areas near Harrisonburg. In spite of its large population, Rockingham County will not be immune from annexation for many years. To qualify for immunity, a county must meet standards of density as well as total population; since Rockingham is the third largest county in Virginia in land area, it will not become immune until it has a population in excess of 120,000.

The Commission on Local Government heard the Harrisonburg-Rockingham County case in November and December 1980, and it also appointed a mediator, at the request of Rockingham. After negotiations proved unsuccessful, the Commission rendered its report in February 1981. The case subsequently was heard by a three-judge annexation court in September 1981 and decided on appeal by the Virginia Supreme Court in September 1982.

In considering the "necessity for and expediency of" annexation, the report of the Commission on Local Government began with an assumption that Harrisonburg had a need for additional land development. While the reasons supporting this need are not adequately articulated in the report, the assumption of need is a critical element of the recommendation. Once the need for developable land is stated, the remainder of the case becomes relatively easy. While the legal burden of proof remains with the city, the emphasis becomes not so much "Why should this annexation take place?" but rather "Are there reasons for not allowing this needed annexation?" After surveying a variety of public services, the Commission concluded that Harrisonburg had a better record than the county in supplying several of these services. Consequently, the Commission found no reason to block the annexation.

Harrisonburg sought a substantial part of Rockingham County. The proposed annexation area included 9.1 percent of the county's population, 14.1 percent of the county's property values subject to local taxation, and a substantial 65.4 percent of local sales tax receipts. The Commission on Local Government recommended approval of almost all of the annexation request. The Commission also recommended that Harrisonburg be required to assume a portion of the county's long-term debt and to compensate the county for a loss of net tax revenue. The annexation court, in turn, approved the Commission's recommendations, with very little change.

Many annexation controversies are fueled by a desire on the part of a city to capture a particular revenue-producing development that lies just beyond the boundaries of the city. This element was present in the Harrisonburg-Rockingham struggle. The Valley Mall, located within the annexed area, contains approximately 40 percent of all retail space in major shopping areas in the Harrisonburg area, and about 50 percent of the retail sales volume within the annexation area, according to the Commission's report. This one shopping mall had contributed about half of all the sales tax revenue in Rockingham County. Annexations can be particularly divisive if a city has an opportunity to annex a major part of the county's tax base without at the same time receiving a comparable proportion of expenditure needs.

The course of the Harrisonburg-Rockingham County annexation case seems little different from what it might have been under the traditional annexation law in Virginia. It was a long dispute, partly because an earlier Harrisonburg suit had been caught in a statewide moratorium. Harrisonburg was awarded most of the land area it sought, a result consistent with the history of annexation prior to 1971. The participation of the Commission on Local Government was new, of course, but it is not clear whether the Commission was an important factor in the outcome. The Commission did provide a mediator for a short time, but unfortunately the parties were not able to come together. The Commission's analysis, prepared as a recommendation for the annexation court, was in no way unusual. The final award by the trial court was very similar to determinations under the old statute. On appeal, the Virginia Supreme Court said:

> Under the legislative scheme, when a county cannot qualify for immunity, it remains a matter of proof which local government can better serve an area proposed to be annexed, and the question must be resolved by the traditional necessity-and-expediency analysis.[2]

Thus, the standards for annexation seemed to remain essentially unchanged for all counties except those made immune by the statute.

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[2] *County of Rockingham v. City of Harrisonburg*, 224 Va. 62, 77, 294 S.E.2d 825, 832 (1982).

FREDERICKSBURG—SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY

While this dispute bears considerable resemblance to that in Harrisonburg-Rockingham, the differences may be more significant. The City of Fredericksburg, slightly smaller than Harrisonburg, failed to grow significantly during the 1970s. Spotsylvania County, which is smaller than Rockingham County, was the fastest growing Virginia county during the 1970s. Since the county more than doubled in population during that decade, it substantially increased its commitment to public services.

Fredericksburg might be described as a struggling city with a modest tax base. Over the past few years, the effective rate of its real property tax usually has been at least 50 percent higher than that of Spotsylvania. By 1981, the gap had closed a little because of increasing expenditures in Spotsylvania; the effective rates that year were $.91 in the City of Fredericksburg and $.63 in Spotsylvania County. Leaders in the city were concerned about a stagnant tax base, while their counterparts in the county were worried about providing services to a rapidly growing population with suburban needs.

In Spotsylvania County, as in Rockingham, a major component of the tax base was located near the city's boundaries. This area, growing because of its proximity to Interstate 95, included the Spotsylvania Mall. The mall, which contributes greatly to the county's retail base, includes five major stores that have moved there from the city since 1979. The financial significance of the mall made it a central factor in the bargaining between city and county.

In 1981 Fredericksburg indicated an intention to begin annexation proceedings. Spotsylvania County then seized the initiative by filing for partial immunity. At the same time, the county also requested the Commission on Local Government to assist in the negotiation of a settlement. With the help of a mediator, the parties reached agreement in about nine weeks. The agreement covered land area, compensation, joint utility arrangements, and a twenty-five-year moratorium on additional annexations.

The Commission recommended approval of the settlement. Its report is noteworthy in three respects. First, it is as long as the Harrisonburg report, even though one is a sharply contested adversary proceeding while the other involves a local agreement. Second, the Commission was careful to say that it was not reaching a judgment about the equity of the agreement. Third, the Commission recommended against approval of the twenty-five-year moratorium. The Commission reasoned that, if Spotsylvania continued to grow at the rate it had during the past decade, the county would be eligible for total immunity before the end of the moratorium, thereby giving the county "complete and perpetual immunity." Thus, to impose a moratorium now would result in a "premature inflexibility" that is inconsistent with the interests of the state to promote and preserve viable local governments. County officials, however, adamantly maintained that there would have been no agreement without the moratorium. When that issue was presented to the annexation court, it declined to accept the recommendation of the Commission. The court said (1) an annexation court has limited and not general jurisdiction, and its jurisdiction does not extend to the immunity question; and (2) even if an annexation court did have the general jurisdiction to decide the immunity question, it would not do so on the basis of speculation about something that might or might not occur.

The outcome of the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania case seems to offer the strongest affirmative argument thus far that the new annexation statute is changing annexation in Virginia. Some of the principals involved in those negotiations believe that the partial immunity suit, brought as a result of provisions in the new statute, was instrumental in persuading Fredericksburg to seek a settlement. Many also believe that the agreement might not have materialized without the assistance of the mediator appointed by the Commission on Local Government, also created by the new statute. Given what has happened in other areas of the state, however, it is not clear that the outcome in the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania case would have been any different under the old statute.

WILLIAMSBURG—JAMES CITY COUNTY

In 1980, the City of Williamsburg had a population of 9,870, and James City County had a population of 22,763. James City is growing at an annual rate of about 4 percent, while the Williamsburg total remains almost constant. The community's character has been heavily influenced by two major institutions, Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary, which are located primarily in Williamsburg but also have holdings in James City County. The two institutions have contributed an unusually large number of professionals to the community. Growth in the county has been led by the expansion of the Williamsburg Pottery and the development of the Anheuser-Busch brewery and theme park.

One major factor in this annexation controversy was quite different from the previous cases. In this instance, there was no single revenue-producing development located near the city waiting to be annexed. Harrisonburg had reached out for Valley Mall, and Spotsylvania County had tried to protect Spotsylvania Mall. In the Williamsburg area, however, there was no comparable focal point for the dispute.

Several other factors made this annexation dispute somewhat more limited than the others. Since there was no major tax gem near Williamsburg's border, it had to recognize that any gain in its tax base through annexation might be matched by accompanying needs for services in the annexed area. Thus, for Williamsburg, a big annexation was not necessarily better than a small one. Furthermore, Williamsburg was not desperate to reverse its financial fortunes. Because the city obtains so much revenue from tourism, only 31.5 percent of its total local revenue in fiscal 1982 was derived from property taxes.[3] This fact decreased the pressure on Williamsburg to increase its property tax base.

Given the forces mentioned above, the city did not insist on adding a wide area. According to the final agreement,the county gave up 1.9 percent of its population and 4.1 percent of its total assessed property values that are subject to local taxation. In addition, the settlement included a fifteen-year moratorium on future annexations; a substantial transfer from city ownership to county ownership of water lines that are located in the county; and transfer of some jointly owned property to the county.

The settlement process was lengthy. Discussion began in January 1980. When Williamsburg and James City County announced in May 1981 that they had reached an agreement in concept, they were the first localities in the state to settle an annexation dispute. But translating that general accord into a specific agreement took a long time, a fact that perhaps reflected the general feeling that annexation was not such a pressing issue in the community.

Were the provisions of the new annexation statute important to the resolution of this case, and did they affect its outcome? In this author's opinion, probably not. Williamsburg made a traditional case for its annexation request; James City County did not seek partial immunity; the parties did not use a mediator; and the report of the Commission on Local Government does not contain any unusual analysis. Both the city and the county were motivated by a desire to avoid the expense of litigation and the divisiveness of adversary proceedings. The latter was especially important in this community because of the existence of a joint school system.

CHARLOTTESVILLE—ALBEMARLE COUNTY

This case started out as a typical annexation controversy and ended up in a way that no observer would have considered likely. The ultimate resolution was one that made the annexation statute inapplicable to the actions of the parties. In spite of that, or perhaps because of it, the case can teach us a good deal about the realities of annexation.

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[3] Virginia, Commission on Local Government, *Report on the City of Williamsburg-County of James City Annexation Agreement*, 1983, p. 16.

The City of Charlottesville, with a 1980 population of 39,916, is larger than the cities in the previous cases. It grew only 2.7 percent between 1970 and 1980. Albemarle County, in contrast, increased its population by 47.6 percent during that decade, bringing the total population in 1980 to 55,783. The county is unusual in that five of six election districts border on Charlottesville; this means that nearly everyone on the county's board of supervisors had an intense interest in the outcome. The community has an active professional and business segment (partly because of the location there of the University of Virginia), and the professional leadership supported accommodation without litigation.

After Charlottesville indicated its intention to annex part of Albemarle County, the parties began negotiations. They made little progress, however, until a revenue-sharing agreement was suggested. The county and the city quickly agreed upon the proposal in concept, and soon thereafter they reached accord on a detailed plan. That plan calls for the annual creation of a revenue fund, with each jurisdiction contributing an amount equal to .37 percent of the value of its taxable real property. Distribution from this fund is based on a formula that gives equal weight to population and to tax effort; one party's share increases as its population and tax effort rise, relative to the other party. The formula is one that promises to be useful for some time because it is so sensitive to changes in need. The agreement will terminate only if the two governments mutually agree to end or change it, if they consolidate, or if Charlottesville ceases to be an independent city.

The revenue-sharing agreement is an ingenious one that has clear advantages for both parties. For the City of Charlottesville, the advantage was an immediate and guaranteed infusion of funds. Albemarle County paid Charlottesville about $1.3 million for fiscal year 1983, the first year of operation. If the city had proceeded with an annexation suit, it would have faced long delays as well as uncertainty about the final result. For Albemarle County, the plan was attractive because it provided long-term relief; the city may not bring an annexation suit for the duration of the agreement. The county's future liability is limited by a provision that the annual transfer payment cannot exceed .1 percent of the real estate tax base in the county. Thus, the county has obtained permanent immunity from annexation at an annual cost that will not exceed $.10 per $100 of real property in the county.

Because of the far-reaching consequences of the agreement, both in legal and policy terms, county leaders concluded that a referendum on the proposal was necessary. Supporters of the referendum told county voters that approval would mean an immediate increase of $.10 in the real property tax rate, but that annexation would probably prove to be much more expensive. In a referendum that surprised some cynical observers, more than 60 percent of the voters approved the plan. The agreement went into effect in 1982.

In a narrow sense, the changes in the 1980 annexation statute were not important in the Charlottesville-Albemarle County case because the parties found a solution that made the statute inapplicable. Since no annexation occurred, no Commission review and no judicial approval were required. In a broader sense, changes in the 1980 statute possibly may have affected the way negotiations were conducted, although, in this author's opinion, it's difficult to support that possibility.

STAUNTON—AUGUSTA COUNTY

Of the five controversies discussed here, all are completed, or virtually so, except for the case of the City of Staunton and Augusta County. This case has taken on new interest because it has become intertwined with the question of city-county consolidation and could have major implications for other communities.

Staunton is a small city, having declined from 24,505 in 1970 to 21,857 in 1980. The real property tax base in 1981 was $18,522 per capita, a figure that placed Staunton in the lowest 26 percent of all localities in Virginia. Most of Augusta County is rural although the population grew from 44,220 in 1970 to 53,732 in 1980. The land area of Augusta is the second largest of all counties in Virginia.

The annexation situation is a complicated one because Augusta County is subject to annexation by two cities, Staunton and Waynesboro. Finding equitable and acceptable solutions to annexation issues is difficult enough with two parties, and it is far more challenging with three. Augusta was worried about what the two cities would do, and the county was impressed with Spotsylvania County's success in using to its advantage a claim for partial immunity. Consequently, Augusta brought suit for partial immunity against both cities. Each city then brought an annexation suit. The Commission on Local Government recommended denial of the partial immunity claim and later approved a substantial portion of Waynesboro's annexation suit.

Events subsequently have taken a different turn in Staunton. Negotiations between Staunton and Augusta County, which appeared headed for a deadlock, were revived by an imaginative proposal to tie annexation to the possibility of consolidation. A consultant was hired to recommend a plan for a consolidated, two-tier government. If the consolidation is adopted, a general-government tier will cover the entire city-county area, while a special-services tier will be established for an area that is almost double the area of the present City of Staunton.

Each jurisdiction will have a referendum on the consolidation proposal, and the results will determine the fate of annexation as well. If consolidation is approved, the annexation issue is moot. If the consolidation proposal is defeated, however, the parties have agreed on the annexation that automatically will take effect. If only the City of Staunton fails to ratify the consolidation, the area to be annexed will be a small one. If only Augusta County fails to ratify, the annexation area will be a large one. If both jurisdictions decline to approve the consolidation, the annexation area will be larger than in the first instance but smaller than in the second. The alternative annexation arrangements provide an incentive for voters to support consolidation, because a negative vote may lead to a less favorable annexation settlement for the voter's jurisdiction, whether that is the city or the county.

As this article is written, it is unclear whether the Staunton-Augusta initiative will be successful. It is an ingenious attempt, however, and one that is all the more remarkable because of the highly negative atmosphere that typically surrounds an annexation dispute. Past study groups in Virginia sometimes have mentioned the desirability of local consolidation, but state laws have not provided adequate incentives to accomplish that goal. If the Staunton-Augusta County consolidation proposal works, it will be a noteworthy example not only for Virginia but also for the nation.

THE NEW ANNEXATION STATUTE: WHAT HAS IT CHANGED?

Passage of the new annexation statute, which became effective in 1980, followed many years of intense discussion. From the first moratorium on annexation in 1971 until approval of the legislation in 1979, annexation was one of the dominant topics in Virginia politics. This intense discussion resulted in a statute that gave nine urban counties permanent immunity from annexation. Most of the other statutory changes, affecting the remainder of the state, fall into one of three categories: the standards for showing the need for annexation, the doctrine of partial immunity, and the creation of the Commission on Local Government.

The earlier statute required that the court be persuaded of "the necessity for and expediency of annexation." This gives enormous latitude to judges in the making of policy determinations. The scope of judicial discretion sparked an early battle over whether it was an unconstitutional delegation of authority to the judiciary, but the Virginia Supreme Court upheld the law. The new statute leaves the wording intact. A number of changes were made in the standards for determining "necessity . . . and expediency," but those changes thus far have not proved to be important. Both the Commission and the courts, apparently assuming that the 1980 statute largely codifies existing case law on the standards of annexation, have rendered decisions that are quite consistent with annexation decisions under the old law.

The partial immunity section was added to the statute to give a county the opportunity to protect an area of value to the county if the county could prove that it was providing adequate urban services to that area. Some observers think that partial immunity will have a significant impact upon annexation, but the evidence thus far is inconclusive. Some officials in Spotsylvania County, as mentioned earlier, believe that their partial immunity claim was instrumental in persuading Fredericksburg to negotiate. On the other hand, in the only contested partial immunity claim that has gone as far as the Commission, Augusta County lost its claim to Waynesboro. The statute gives wide latitude to the Commission and courts to consider the equities in each annexation case; it is doubtful that the addition of a partial immunity suit to the basic annexation suit will affect those determinations.

The new statute's creation of the Commission on Local Government may have more significance than the previous two provisions. The Commission has two major functions: to encourage settlement of annexation disputes and to make recommendations to the courts prior to litigation. To date, the Commission has been more successful with the first than the second.

In encouraging settlements, the Commission provides information, maintains an office for contact about all kinds of annexation problems, and appoints mediators for negotiating parties. While each of these activities may prove helpful to some localities, mediation is the activity with the largest impact. A mediator has a stake in settlement per se, rather than in how particular issues are resolved. Therefore, a mediator can help by encouraging frequent meetings, discouraging negative behavior, and providing a line of communication between the parties. Both Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County credit the mediator with an important role in its settlement. Even in the Harrisonburg-Rockingham County Case, the mediator provided by the Commission apparently helped to make some progress toward an agreement, although it proved inadequate for a settlement. Officials from other communities also have praised the work of mediators provided by the Commission.

Prior to the 1971 moratorium, there were practically no settlements of annexation disputes; since the new statute took effect in 1980, there have been few contested annexations. What has caused this great change? The offer of mediation could possibly be a major factor. Also, local officials may have decided (partly as a result of the debate surrounding passage of the 1980 statute) that annexation by litigation is just too costly and divisive. It's interesting to note that of the four virtually completed cases discussed here, two did not have a mediator, and yet they both ended in settlement.

In making its recommendations to annexation courts, the Commission has followed a traditional approach to the need for annexation. Its reports have not contained much analysis that is significantly different from the earlier efforts of annexation courts. This makes it difficult to know whether the Commission is leading the courts, or whether the Commission is anticipating what the courts would probably do anyway.

In a couple of instances where the Commission has made somewhat novel recommendations, the results have not proved to be helpful. In the Fredericksburg case, the Commission invited the courts to disallow a twenty-five-year moratorium that was central to the agreement. The court declined the invitation. In several cases, the Commission has recommended that the city be required to adopt land use taxation. Since that policy is optional for localities, and since its soundness is disputed by both experts and elected officials, it is surprising that the Commission has recommended that annexing cities be required to adopt it.

There is a good reason for the Commission's lack of success in charting a new annexation path. Virginia's statute has always given great latitude to the courts in making annexation policy, and there is a long list of relevant judicial precedents that the Commission cannot ignore. At the very least, it probably will be years before the Commission can have a major impact upon court decisions.

A distressing lack of candor seems to exist in official discussions about annexation around the state. In committee hearings, commission reports, and court opinions on the subject, one may hear about needed space for development, desirable population mixes, the need to extend services, and the imperative for growth. But among local officials, all of these are dwarfed by one consideration—tax base. Discussions about potential tax base are nice, and they can justify arguments about a city's needed space for development. But existing tax base is the real issue. This point was made in the Charlottesville case: When Albemarle County made a revenue-sharing proposal, the city abandoned the subsidiary arguments and focused on that proposal, which would give it immediate revenue.

It may be that the strongest argument for annexation in most areas lies in tax equity, not urban services or the growth imperative. Yet the statute and the decisions made pursuant to that statute are almost silent on this subject. While one can find some discussion about a city's obtaining a fair share of a region's future growth, there is no analysis of the relative wealth of city and county at the time of annexation. Surely "fair share" has different meaning for a poor city surrounded by a prosperous county than it does for a wealthy city adjacent to a struggling county.

The issue of tax equity was certainly present in the cases discussed in this article. Four of the five cities discussed here had a higher real property tax rate in 1981 than their county counterparts; the rates of the four ranged from 44 percent to 130 percent higher than the corresponding county rates. On the other hand, all five of the counties in these cases had a greater real property tax base per capita than the adjacent cities, with the proportion ranging from 13 percent to 45 percent larger than for the cities.[4] Since these figures tell only part of the story, however, a more sophisticated analysis would be needed for each community. A substantial argument can be made for annexation by some cities, but much of that argument remains unarticulated.

The real issues surrounding annexation are further obscured by reliance upon decision-making by judges, which tends to make the question of annexation appear to be one of fact or law, rather than one of policy. The annexation process in Virginia, if it is to be continued, might be improved by paying greater attention to the critical question of equity.

CONCLUSION

Virginia's new annexation statute, which became effective in 1980, provided complete immunity from annexation to nine urban counties. Throughout the remainder of the state, the criteria for deciding annexation cases has remained essentially unchanged. The most important innovation in the statute was the creation of the Commission on Local Government. The Commission's ability to provide mediation services may have a major impact upon the annexation process, although thus far it does not appear to have wielded great influence through its formal written reports.

One obvious result of the new statute is that it has reawakened local governments' interest in annexation. So far more than thirty cities and towns have engaged in negotiations, indicated an intention to start proceedings, or expressed interest in information that is essential for annexation. Some cases have been completed during the three years since the statute went into effect, and more are in progress. Most of these cases probably will be resolved within another three years. When this round of annexation controversies comes to a close, Virginia must again face the essential question: What are the benefit and harm of annexation, and how do we want to protect both local and state interests in the future?

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[4] Virginia, Department of Taxation, *The 1981 Virginia Assessment/Sales Ratio Study*, 1983, tables 5 and 7. A broader analysis of local fiscal capacity is attempted by the staff of the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission in *Study of State Mandates and Local Financial Resources* (preliminary briefing, June 13, 1983).

CONFERENCE ON ALTERNATIVES TO LITIGATION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

July 26-27, 1984, Charlottesville

The Institute of Government will present a conference on **ALTERNATIVES TO LITIGATION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR** in Charlottesville on July 26-27. Cosponsored by the Virginia Association of County Administrators and the Local Government Attorneys of Virginia, the conference is designed to help local government officials learn about effective methods for dealing with conflicts.

Litigation has become increasingly common in the past decade, resulting in overcrowded courts and increasing costs. Perhaps more troubling, the individuals involved in a dispute tend to lose control as it enters the formal litigation process, and they must hope for a talented attorney and sympathetic jury to address their grievance.

To deal with these problems, alternatives have been developed in recent years. Lawyers as well as local officials are finding ways of negotiating differences and using third-party mediators in order to maintain control of the conflict and find resolutions that satisfy both sides.

At the UVA conference, several issues will be covered, including intergovernmental disputes, boundary-line and land-use disputes, and neighborhood mediation centers. "Skill-building" sessions, in small groups, will be featured, giving participants an opportunity to learn effective negotiation and mediation skills. In addition, an approach to assessing the costs and risks of litigation and its alternatives will be explained.

The opening address at the conference will be by A.E. Dick Howard, professor of law at the University of Virginia. Others on the program include Peter L. Szanton, vice-president of EnDispute (a firm specializing in designing alternatives to litigation); William R. Drake and Michael Lewis from the National Institute for Dispute Resolution; and representatives from the Institute for Environmental Negotiation at the University of Virginia, Public Mediation Services, the Virginia Commission on Local Government, the Virginia Municipal League, and the state Attorney General's Office.

The conference will be at the new Hilton Hotel Conference Center in Charlottesville. To get a complete program, registration forms, or more information, contact Russell Linden, Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903/phone (804) 924-0955.

Erratum: The March 1984 News Letter incorrectly reported (p. 39, col. 2) that the average annual salary paid city and town managers in Virginia in 1983 was 10 percent below the national average. In fact, the average annual salary paid to city, town, ***and county*** *managers in Virginia in 1983 was 10 percent below the national average for that same group.*

Persons or institutions may be placed on the mailing list to receive copies of the News Letter by sending a written request to News Letter, 207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903. The complete mailing address should be printed or typed, and the Zip Code should be included.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS LETTER

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POWERS & STRUCTURES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA

In 1634, the Grande Assembly of the Colony of Virginia created 8 counties (originally called shires, as in England). Travel and trade were by water and population was dispersed along the rivers and clustered on the plantations. County governments grew in number until the boundaries were set and the state's area was included in 100 counties. (The number has dropped to 95 today, due to the incorporation of some counties as cities.)

Though the Assembly encouraged the location of towns, centers of trade, it was 1722 before the first town charter was granted to Williamsburg. Early towns were the forerunners of our present-day cities.

> VIRGINIA IS UNIQUE - THE ONLY STATE IN THE NATION WITH A STATEWIDE SYSTEM OF INDEPENDENT CITIES WHICH ARE COMPLETELY SEPARATE FROM COUNTIES. Connecticut and Rhode Island do not have counties. There are independent cities in other states (i.e., St. Louis, Baltimore, and Denver), though they are exceptions. VIRGINIA'S 41 CITIES ARE CARVED OUT OF THEIR SURROUNDING COUNTIES, AND ARE SEPARATELY CHARTERED BY THE STATE. This separation upsets some national state-local data, and creates competition and legal problems between neighboring governments with a system of complicated annexation laws. However, there are advantages to not having a level of government between the state and the cities. It saves tax dollars and simplifies the ballot for voters..

Virginia is a "Dillon's Rule" state. Local government powers are defined very carefully in the Virginia Code, Title 15.1, since local governments have only such powers as are specifically granted to them, plus those necessary to implement or carry out an approved function. Judge John F. Dillon of the Iowa Supreme Court promulgated this concept of limited local power in Clark v. City of Des Moines, 19 Iowa 199, 212, 87 Am. Dec. 423 (1865). Dillon's Rule also states that "Any fair, reasonable, substantial doubt concerning the existence of power is resolved by the courts against the corporation, and the power is denied." The "corporation" is the local government. Cities and counties actually may not have the power to do some things that local people think they should do.

A considerable number of bills in each session of the Virginia General Assembly seek authority for local governments to undertake actions that in the "home rule" states would not require legislative approval. (Home Rule states are those which permit local governments to change their own charters and/or powers without legislative action.) An article by Paul G. Edwards (in Morris and Sabato, Virginia Government & Politics) points out that local problems may not be understood by legislators from other parts of the state. Negative votes in the General Assembly on such local problems as trash disposal reports, dog license fees, or control of vagrants have inconvenienced local governments for decades, and led to innumerable proposals in the legislature to allow localities to govern themselves, subject to review by state government. There is a hint in some literature that, in spite of their protests, local officials in some Dillon's Rule states are comfortable using their limited authority as an excuse for not dealing with some of their problems. Whether this is true in Virginia or not is tested whenever the "home rule" bills are debated in the legislature.

Virginia law does not permit elected school boards. Over 90% of school board members in the United States are elected. In Virginia, all are appointed by the local governing body, or (in many counties with the "traditional" form of government) by a school board selection commission, appointed by the circuit court. The rationale is that unless a school district is formed with separate taxing authority (which is not possible under Virginia law), the decisions made by the school boards must be financed by state and local government: Therefore, the circuit court or the board of supervisors acting for the state, or the local government chartered by the state, should appoint the school board. Voter approval of bonds for school construction is still required by law in most cities and counties.

Local Constitutional Officers Most counties and cities of Virginia elect five officials called constitutional officers, so named because their positions are specified in the Virginia Constitution. They are paid in part by funds appropriated by the General Assembly, on the recommendations of the state Compensation Board, and elected by the voters of each jurisdiction.

-Sheriffs - elected by local voters, 4-year terms.
-Commissioners of the Revenue - elected by local voters, 4-year terms
-Treasurers - elected by local voters, 4-year terms
-Circuit Court Clerks - elected by local voters, 8-year terms
-Commonwealth's Attorneys - elected by local voters, 4-year terms

A few chartered cities, and counties with alternate or modified forms of government, have eliminated some of the offices, such as treasurer, and/or commissioner of revenue, replacing one or both with a department of finance (with an appointed head, supervised by the administrator and board or council). Some jurisdictions have redefined the responsibilities of the constitutional officers (with approval of the legislature) to separate their duties from those of the professional departments. Incumbents and supporters resist the down-grading or elimination of these offices that formed the nucleus of courthouse political power in previous decades. The News Letter (see Section C) on "Virginia's Local Executive Constitutional Officers in Historical Perspective," ends with references to Jacksonian accountability of elected officials to the citizenry, and notes that Virginia is not unique -- other states have elected officials that seem out of sync with modern professional government. The article suggests that voters may appreciate that accountability even more, given "the prevalence of the bureaucratic model, with its emphasis on replacing elected administrators with professionals chosen by and responsible to elected policy makers." The News Letter of May 1982, "...A Contemporary Profile," quotes a survey that shows a high percentage of constitutional officers had experience to qualify for their jobs, and most are reelected. "One may take more than a little comfort from the fact that constitutional officers do feel responsible to the public by virtue of election."

General Powers of Virginia Local Government Counties enjoy a historic privileged status. They were the original local government units, and they have funding advantages that carry over from early days. County sheriffs and their expenses are underwritten by the state, and calculated on an entirely different basis from the funds available to municipal police departments. Except for Henrico and Arlington counties, almost all county roads have been built and maintained by the state since 1930. Fairfax and Chesterfield share some cost. The 1979 "annexation bills" addressed this inequitable treatment of cities, offering them some balancing funds, specially needed in recent decades of flight to the suburbs and diminished urban tax base. Funds for this assistance must be included in each biennial budget.

In other states, counties are arms of state government, a separate and intermediate layer coordinating the local governments in their geographic area, and providing some services. They do not take the place of municipal governments. (Example: county governments in New Jersey and other states operate health and welfare and other services for the cities, towns, and unincorporated areas within their borders.

From the first, Virginia counties were assumed to be the unit of local government serving a rural area. Cities were chartered as separate jurisdictions to accommodate urban populations. Today, the distinctions are less clear. Virginia has several urban counties with "city" population densities, principally in Northern Virginia. The cities of Chesapeake, Suffolk, and Virginia Beach include considerable undeveloped land, and encompass former cities, towns and counties.

POWERS OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT - The broadest grant of authority is that contained in the "general police power," in which "any county may adopt such measures as it may deem expedient to secure and promote the health, safety and general welfare of the inhabitants of such county, not inconsistent with the general laws of this State."

POWERS OF CITY GOVERNMENT - The Uniform Charter Powers Act specifies additional powers that may be extended to cities and towns in their charters -- "all powers...and all other laws...which are necessary or desirable to secure and promote the general welfare of the inhabitants of the municipality and the safety, health, peace, good order, comfort, convenience, morals, trade, commerce, and industry of the municipality."

AUTHORITY: THE CODE OF VIRGINIA, (Title 15.1) Powers that may be delegated to counties, towns, and cities are listed in the Virginia Code, Title 15.1. Applying these powers to specific situations introduces the dynamic tension of Dillon's Rule, opens the actions of local governments to scrutiny by the courts, and "clutters" the General Assembly with local bills. When does a locality overstep its jurisdiction? What powers must be specially requested? What powers may be granted? Local governments are never mentioned in the U. S. Constitution -- they are creations of the state, and the state retains the ultimate authority to grant powers and to take them away. Regardless of what a charter or act of the legislature may say, local government powers can be changed or rescinded merely by adding to any law a phrase such as "notwithstanding any other provision of the law to the contrary." Since Virginia is not a "home rule" state, charter changes must be submitted to the General Assembly, and cannot take effect without their approval.

Elected officials take an oath of office as prescribed in the Constitution, Article II, Sec. 7, and they may be required to post bond. Councils and boards must conduct public hearings on the budget, after a summary and hearing notice is published in the newspaper with general circulation in the area. All board and council meetings are open to the public. A journal of proceedings is maintained as a public record, and individual votes on all ordinances and resolutions are included. Closed executive sessions may be held on personnel matters, sale or acquisition of real property, investments, legal matters, matters which will be the topic of an advertised public hearing, and other specified items in which confidentiality is permitted.

Forms of County Government Under the "traditional" form of county government, as it is now called, members of the Board of Supervisors are elected to four-year terms from magisterial districts of approximately equal population, in accordance with the "one person, one vote" principle. Almost all (87) of Virginia's 95 counties still have this basic form of government, though they have hired administrators to act on behalf of the Board of Supervisors. Under the traditional form, the administrator assumes the post of clerk of the board and is responsible for performing the staff work for the 3-11 member board of supervisors. All appointments (employees, boards, and agencies) are made by the board of supervisors, except those made by the circuit court or the constitutional officers. The county executive is not empowered to hire, fire, or supervise departments or other staff, or to coordinate the activities of the county government, unless the board of supervisors specifically delegates these functions to him/her. The board functions in both the legislative and executive capacities, performing local government duties as well as some in the name of the state. Supervisors are responsible for preparing the county budget; levying county taxes; appropriating funds; approving bills (claims) and ordering payment (referred to as issuing warrants); constructing and maintaining county buildings and facilities; enforcing the county's comprehensive land use plan and related ordinances; making and enforcing ordinances for police, sanitation, health, and other regulations permitted by state laws; and providing for the care and treatment of indigent and handicapped citizens.

The governments of the remaining counties (Albemarle, Prince William, Henrico, Fairfax, Arlington, Scott, Carroll, and Russell) are variations of the traditional form. Specific powers are delegated to the appointed administrator, thus reducing the executive responsibilities of the Board of Supervisors. If you live in one of these counties, check with your administrator and/or with the Virginia Code to see the specific differences.

Urban Counties, with a population exceeding 90,000, which are not adjacent to a city having a population of 200,000 or more, may adopt either the urban county manager or executive form of government provided by the General Assembly in 1960 for Fairfax County. This form of government gives the board of county supervisors the authority to assign duties among departments and to establish departments as needed. This has been particularly important in the consolidation of sanitary districts to facilitate planning and administration of sewer and water services in a congested area. No new towns may be incorporated within an urban county.

City and town governments receive their charters from the General Assembly.

In 1722, Williamsburg received its charter as a separate corporation, and other cities followed suit (there are 41 independent cities today). Cities have different needs in order to accommodate a concentration of people, so their charters give them greater latitude in deciding about services and the taxes to support them. Those with less than 10,000 population are considered 2nd class cities and share their commonwealth attorney, circuit court clerk, and sheriff with their neighboring county.

CITY GOVERNMENTS IN VIRGINIA ARE ALL COUNCIL-MANAGER GOVERNMENTS. This form of government originated in Staunton, Virginia. The council is the legislative and policy-making body, composed of councillors elected at-large or from wards for terms specified in their charters (usually four years, with half elected each second year). Councillor elections are on the first Tuesday in May, unless the city charter provides otherwise. The manager is in charge of implementing policy as chief administrator, and appoints most department heads. Each city's charter shows the structure and the dove-tailing of duties with the constitutional officers.

-- In other states, council-manager governments may have "weak" or "strong" mayors. A "strong" mayor is one who has administrative powers shared with the executive, and may even be paid as a fulltime employee of city government. Virginia's mayors would all be classified as "weak," meaning that they have no separate administrative or political powers. Their relative effectiveness is a function of their particular abilities and personalities. Depending on the stipulations in the charter, the mayor may be elected to a 4-year term, or chosen from the membership of council for a two-year term. In either case, mayors serve as chairpersons of the council.

-- If you live in a city or town, what are the powers of the elected mayor and councillors of your community?

Town governments are chartered, but they remain a part of their parent county. They may have their own town council and regulate some of their own activities, but the town population is also represented in county government. A town is formed when residents of a particular area want (and are willing to tax themselves to pay for) services that their county is not prepared to offer. Town residents pay county taxes in addition to their town levy. Larger towns generally select the council-manager form of government, and smaller towns may choose the mayor-council form, which gives the mayor more responsibility for administration. Towns of 5,000 or more population may apply for city status. See the Institute of Government News Letter "Town-County Relations in Virginia," for more insights on town government.

Regional planning districts are a layer of coordination created after the Hahn Commission's recommendation in 1966. The entire state is divided into 22 districts, each with an advisory commission composed of elected members of local governments in the district and interested citizens. The 22 regional planning district commissions are served by planning staffs that assist local governments in sharing capital and service programs, and to prevent overlap and duplication, particularly in federal and state-funded activities. Planning districts have no taxing power, and depend on basic funding from the state and assessments from local governments in their districts. Natural resources (i.e., water), traffic, health care, and other services do not stop logically at city and county lines. Coordination can provide economies of scale. Planning districts have taken on new significance in recent years of financial cutbacks, by helping local governments pool their efforts, personnel, and facilities on programs that might not be cost-effective for one jurisdiction. (See B 20 - 21, and map #7)

Service districts or authorities have been created (with General Assembly approval) within or among local governments for the management of resources such as water (and sewers), and for the construction of bridges, water treatment plants, transit systems, low-income housing, and many other facilities. Some may have separate contractual powers, depending on how they are set up. In many/most instances, these legal entities were created to circumvent the debt restrictions imposed on local government by the state, enabling localities to borrow to respond to capital needs.

The 1966 legislation also visualized service districts that might grow from the planning districts if all the local governments in a district consolidated services, creating a new and larger element of government. To date, none have been formed in this way, but many planning district offices have coordinated grants or money from member localities for selected area services.

SMAs are Standard Metropolitan Areas, designated by the federal government to identify major cities and the areas that are interrelated with them. Virginia has ten SMAs: Charlottesville, Danville, Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol (Tennessee and Virginia) Lynchburg, Newport News-Hampton, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Portsmouth, Petersburg-Colonial Heights-Hopewell, Richmond, Roanoke, Washington, D. C.-Maryland-Virginia (see B 22 for the names of all the local jurisdictions included in each). This designation recognizes the regional aspect of the population and growth patterns of these urban areas, which contain 75% of the population of the Commonwealth. Note: These areas were originally called Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs).

The Virginia Municipal League and the Virginia Association of Counties are the sources of information for local officials. Both organizations work with the Institute of Government at the University of Virginia on the publication of handbooks for officials, and on conferences for newly-elected office holders. These publications may be purchased from the Institute of Government.

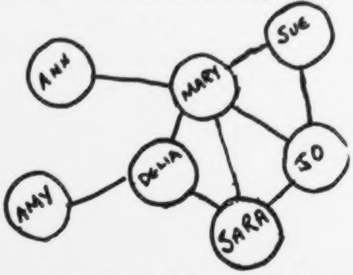
Virginia's unique system of independent cities has also produced a unique system of annexation. The usual pattern in other states is that cities extend their influence into the unincorporated areas that surround them, and when the voters of a nearby area want the urban services, they petition and/or hold a referendum to become part of the city. Since Virginia's cities are not part of their surrounding counties, the counties resist the annexation of land into the city, because it then is lost to the county tax base. Competition is exacerbated between city and county by the annexation process, which is a legal struggle -- the city offers money for the land it needs, the county may reject the offer or modify it, and a 3-judge court makes the decision. The residents of the affected area have little say in the matter. Since the case may be decided on the basis of which jurisdiction will offer the services appropriate for the area, there has traditionally been duplication of water mains and sewer lines in the city's fringe areas where both city and county attempt to serve the residents. Disputes may be bitter and legal fees consume millions of dollars.

In an effort to stop the waste, legislation has made it possible in recent years for counties and cities to negotiate settlements, even to share revenue without annexing land. This last option makes it possible for the city to share in the growth of the area of which it is the hub, even though the growth of tax base takes place outside its boundaries. (See News Letters)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION & CHARTS

Charts can be drawn to show many different kinds of relationships in a business or social group.

Charts can show who interacts with whom. A sociogram is a chart with lines between names of individuals who relate to other individuals in specific or general ways.



Government organization charts show levels of responsibility and who reports to whom. A local government is a hierarchy, meaning that each employee reports to a boss, who reports to a boss, etc. Responsibility comes down from the top, the voters and taxpayers -- to officials the voters elect to make policy -- to employees who carry out the policies. The elected supervisors or councillors serve as legislators, passing ordinances and making policy on matters that are within their power to decide. In every county, city, and town in Virginia, they also have the responsibility for hiring and supervising the administrator, manager, or executive), who is in charge of the day-to-day running of the local government. A well-drawn chart shows clearly which people or positions are elected and which are appointed, and who makes the choices. Two sample charts are shown on the next page. Compare them with our local government chart.

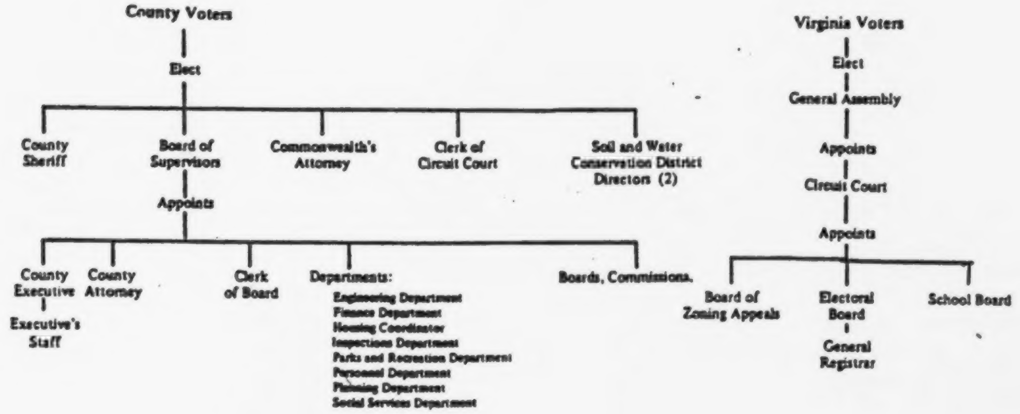
The working relationship between the manager and the elected body often determines the effectiveness and efficiency of the city or county government. If elected officials do not trust the manager to do his/her job, they may spend too much time and attention on the details of how to accomplish certain objectives, and undermine the authority of the manager. If they fail to make clear policy and to back their policies with proper funds and authority, they may cripple the manager's ability to accomplish his/her job. Colleges and graduate schools of public administration across the nation train managers to accomplish the tasks of local government, and harness community resources (government and non-government, personnel and facilities) to implement the policies determined by the elected officials. Note: In the past decade, an increased number of short-term or part-time services have been contracted out to specialists, consultants, or private companies, so that local government can avoid the greater expense of hiring additional fulltime employees. Another recent trend is returning some activities and facilities to the private sector (local organizations and volunteers) to manage.

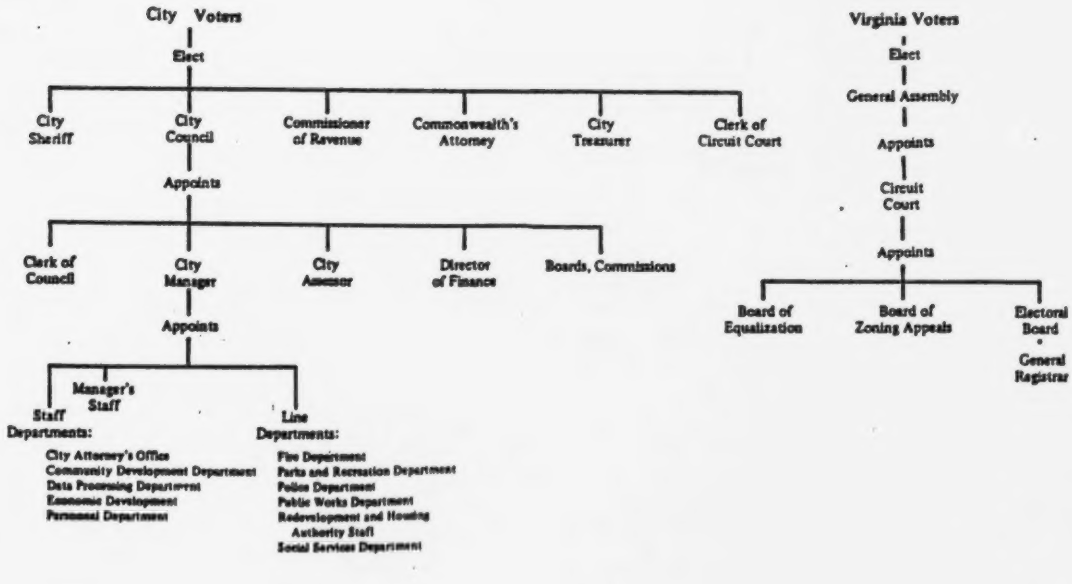
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION CHARTS

One the next page, there are two sample charts, one county and one city. Can you see how they are different? Compare our local government chart with the appropriate one. Make a list of the boards and commissions, and fill in the names of all elected officials and department heads in our local government.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION CHARTS

Here are two samples, one county and one city. Compare our local government chart with the appropriate one. Make a list of the boards and commissions, and fill in the names of all elected officials and department heads in our local government.


County Voters
Elect
County Sheriff
Board of Supervisors
Commonwealth's Attorney
Clerk of Circuit Court
Soil and Water Conservation District Directors (2)
Appoints
County Executive
Executive's Staff
County Attorney
Clerk of Board
Departments:
Engineering Department
Finance Department
Housing Coordinator
Inspections Department
Parks and Recreation Department
Personnel Department
Planning Department
Social Services Department
Boards, Commissions.
Virginia Voters
Elect
General Assembly
Appoints
Circuit Court
Appoints
Board of Zoning Appeals
Electoral Board
General Registrar
School Board


City Voters
Elect
City Sheriff
City Council
Commissioner of Revenue
Commonwealth's Attorney
City Treasurer
Clerk of Circuit Court
Appoints
Clerk of Council
City Manager
City Assessor
Director of Finance
Boards, Commissions
Appoints
Manager's Staff
Staff Departments:
City Attorney's Office
Community Development Department
Data Processing Department
Economic Development
Personnel Department
Line Departments:
Fire Department
Parks and Recreation Department
Police Department
Public Works Department
Redevelopment and Housing Authority Staff
Social Services Department
Virginia Voters
Elect
General Assembly
Appoints
Circuit Court
Appoints
Board of Equalization
Board of Zoning Appeals
Electoral Board
General Registrar

OUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Student ______________________ __Per__

1. The form of our local government is ______________.
2. Under this form, the legislative function is the responsibility of ______
3. Administrative policy is the responsibility of ______________________________
4. Day to day operations are the responsibility of ______________________________
5. The power of local government in Virginia comes from ______________________
6. The powers of city and county government are spelled out in the __________
7. Cities and towns are granted power through a ______________________________
8. All city governments in Virginia have the form known as ____________________
9. This city government form was first introduced in ________________________
10. How long is the term for city councillors and county supervisors?__________
11 Charter changes must be approved by ____ ___________and____________________
12. In a "weak mayor" government, the mayor is selected by ____________________
13. In the "strong mayor" form, the mayor is selected by ______________________
14. Most counties in Virginia have the _____________form of county government.
15. Modified and alternate forms of county government give some powers to ____ ___________, and some also change the responsibilities of _______________
16. List the constitutional officers, their responsibilities, and terms of office:

17. Name the members of our board of Supervisors or council. Are all elected at once, or are terms staggered? Indicate when their terms expire?

18. Our board/council meets at ___ P.M. on the __________________of each month, at (place)_____________________.

19. Our school board members are appointed by _____________________ for 4-year terms. List the current members, and indicate when their terms expire.

20. Our school board meets at ___P.M. on the ______________________of each month, at (place)__________________________.

21. Is there a time set aside for the public to speak at these meetings?

22. What are the qualifications for voter registration in Virginia?

23. When is the registration deadline for each election?

24. Where should eligible people go to register in this district?

25. Describe how a voting machine is used:

26. Who is running for what offices in the next election?

27. Tell one good thing and one bad thing about a ward system.

28. Tell one good thing and one bad thing about at-large voting.

29. Tell one good thing and one bad thing about mixed ward systems.

30. Tell one good thing and one bad thing about party elections at the local level.

31. Tell one good thing and one bad thing about non-party elections at the local level.

32. What is the principle source of local government revenue?

33. Can property owners protest their tax assessments? How?

34. The local tax rate is $____.____ for each one hundred dollars of assessed valuation.

36. How much would the taxes be on real estate assessed at $30,000? (Multiply the assessed valuation by the rate. The answer will be between $275. and $450., depending on your local tax rate.)

37. What other sources of revenue does your local government have? Make a list and check each one that you or your family pay.

38. Look again at the chart you made showing the services of government. Which ones are provided by your local government?

39. List here the issues/problems that our local government is likely to be addressing during the coming year.

40. Identify any jobs in local government that might interest you -- either elected or appointed. What do you need to do to qualify for such an opportunity?

41. Our local government (is/is not) part of a service district. Services provided are .

42. Our regional planning district office is in ____________. Our district includes

LOCAL MEETING OBSERVER'S REPORT

Name ____________________

Attend 2 meetings in succession. Stay for full meeting or at least 2 hours. Report due at beginning of class the next day after the meeting.

Was the meeting held at the time and place customary for this group?
Time ___________ Day ______________________ Place ______________________
Was the meeting announced in the newspaper?__ radio?__ TV?___
Was the agenda listed or were agenda items described in pre-meeting publicity?
Identify media and items:

Were members of the press at the meeting? Did they stay till the end? Did they show particular interest in any items? Which ones?

Does the public appear to be welcome and expected at these meetings? Was there adequate seating? Could all see and hear? Did the chairperson explain to the audience what action was called for on each item, and the background and any legal constraints or requirements?
Was there time identified/announced for "Matters from the Public," when any citizen can be heard on any topic? Did anyone speak?

How many members of the public attended the meeting? Did they appear to be there for a particular agenda item? Which one?
Was a public hearing scheduled on this item?
Did they seem to feel that they had been heard? (describe on back)

Were copies of the agenda available to all attending the meeting?

What decision-making aids or procedures did you see or sense in action?
Commission/committee recommendation ___ staff analysis ___
staff recommendation ___ outside "expert" recommendation ___
reference to long-range plans ___ public input ___
on-site inspection ___ maps, charts, films, other A-V ___

If you were a reporter, what headline would you write for this meeting?
What other points would you include?

If you heard/saw radio/TV coverage of this meeting on late news, what was included?
What was left out?

Additional credit for articles appearing in the next few days: paste them on a poster, suitable for the bulletin board, and add notes about anything omitted or items you do not think were reported accurately.

ON THE BACK OF THIS PAPER:
1 - List the members of the board/council at this meeting.
2 - List other officials in attendance who provided information.
3 - Make a chart showing what action was expected/taken on each item on the agenda, and what public participation was included.

Ex: Rezoning, Central Ave	Public Hearing	Joe Petrol, lawyer for gas station 14 neighbors, against gas station
	Decision	re-zoning denied for gas station

4 - List items that you expect to see on the agenda for the next meeting.

WARD SYSTEM OR AT-LARGE REPRESENTATION

WARD SYSTEM - A city or county is divided into sections approximately equal in population. Each voter votes only for the representative(s) from his/her ward or magisterial district. This is the system in Virginia's counties. It is sometimes criticized because each supervisor may be more concerned with the needs of his/her own district than with the balancing of causes and expenditures in the entire county. Where political elections are permitted, the parties sometimes exercise some unifying force.

AT-LARGE SYSTEM - Candidates run for office from the whole area. Each voter casts a vote for each vacancy. This is the system in 33 of Virginia's 41 cities and towns. At-large elections tend to favor majority group candidates, and in many Virginia cities, blacks have not been elected to a proportional share of public offices. As a matter of policy, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) regards at-large elections as discriminatory, though some black leaders testified against the ward system in one recent court case in Virginia.

MIXED WARD SYSTEM - Some candidates run for seats representing only their own wards, others run for at-large seats. A mixed system might include 4 councilors representing the 4 wards, plus 3 elected at large from the whole city. Some jurisdictions have looked to a mixed system as the way to have the benefits of both ward and at-large elections, then found that the at-large members unbalance the geographic representation, and that the increased size of the governing body has diminished the impact of each ward representative.

AT-LARGE SYSTEM WITH WARD RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT - Candidates run for the seat designated for their home ward, but the election is citywide. The candidate preferred by the ward may be defeated by votes from the rest of the city.

Factors that influence the choice of an election system include the population distribution, the geographic size and distances between parts of the jurisdiction, the concentration of minority groups that feel separate representation would enhance their power, and the feelings of the citizens about which system would result in more satisfactory government. There may not be a best answer or one that fits all or similar communities. Attempts to solve local problems of low voter or minority participation by changing to or from one system or the other, have not always produced the desired results. In any system, skillful politicians can trade votes, work in coalitions, or make political deals.

NONPARTY LOCAL ELECTIONS have been important in parts of Virginia, since the Hatch Act forbids federal employees to be political party leaders or candidates. In most of the state, party candidates and independents vie for local offices. National political parties depend on local elections to maintain the "grass roots level" of their organization-- to raise funds, manage campaigns, and to find and encourage candidates for local, state and national office. Those who favor nonparty local elections note that there usually is no need for a party position on trash collection, zoning, street repair, or other local issues.

Draw up a list of ward and at-large arguments, from your own ideas and from the ideas suggested on this sheet. Since there also may be a difference in the way elected bodies make decisions, be ready to discuss this as well.

THE ELECTION PROCESS

1 - Should every member of a local governing body have broad-based support in the entire community to win public office? Since most voters have friends and contacts in wards/districts other than their own, should they be able to vote for the persons they feel are most qualified, regardless of their home neighborhoods?

OR, should different neighborhoods have representatives of their own particular choosing, people whom they feel comfortable approaching with questions or requests?

2 - Traditionally, minority power in government has been diminished by drawing district lines that split minority votes into segments of otherwise majority districts OR by packing all or most minority residents into a limited number of districts whose representatives then may be outnumbered on the governing body. Other members of that body may actually feel relieved not to have to be concerned with their problems --"they have their own representative..."

Should ward lines be drawn to guarantee seats for particular religious, ethnic, or racial minority groups?

OR, do religious, ethnic, or racial wards tend to keep minority persons in particular neighborhoods? Is this identification of a ward with a religious, ethnic, or racial group good or bad for the community? for the minority?

3 - From what you know of your own community, are new leadership and independent candidates more likely to surface for ward elections, where campaigning efforts are more focused and apt to be less expensive?

OR, since at-large elections allow a voter and a party (where party elections are permitted) to try for balance on a governing body, can at-large elections encourage candidates who represent or reside in different sections of the community?

OR, if your community is closely split in party affiliation, is it likely that minority candidates may be the losers on both/all party tickets in at-large elections?

THE GOVERNING PROCESS

The more members of the body there are, the greater the number of votes necessary to pass an ordinance. A ward representative must convince other ward representatives to vote for his/her project. Ideally, councillors serve the entire city or county, and should advocate equal treatment to all segments of the community. In reality, some ward representatives are not so public-spirited. At-Large members may consider the greater good of the community, or they may be guided more by the wishes of the segments of the community that they feel won them the election. The predicted minority vote in the next election may determine an at-large member's concern with issues of importance to minority groups in the community.

STUDYING LOCAL PROBLEMS

Teacher Instructions

KNOW YOUR SCHOOL GROUNDRULES. Some school divisions may require that you consult the principal or other administrator before you discuss the local government unit with local government officials. Invite your supervisor to go along, but be sure he/she knows what help you will be requesting and how you plan to conduct the unit. Check first with other teachers and coordinate your plans and requests to avoid pestering officials.

1 - See A 15, suggestion #5, for a list of materials you might request. Another idea: some government teachers and classes have found a project and discussion topic goldmine in the community's long-range planning booklet. Discuss with officials a list of problems that students might research to give them a feel for the issues of local government. Appropriate suggestions might include facts on controversial decisions; pro and con arguments on local issues; public opinion on some aspects of local government; job opportunities, training and experience qualifications for local government positions; or plans on which officials would like public input. Make a list during your discussion. (If you tell the official ahead of time that you will be looking for a project list, one may be waiting for you when you walk in the door.)

2 - Discuss the lists in your classes and assign teams to investigate each one chosen. There is no harm in teams from several classes working together. The results are apt to be better, and you'll have a couple of experts in each class to help with current events discussions. Give team members a date when they will share their information with the class, and a date 3 - 5 days earlier when you expect them to meet with you to outline their presentation, their charts, transparencies, or other A-V, and the sources of their information. Be sure that decision-makers, time constraints and deadlines for resolution of the problem are clearly identified.

NOTE: The work on individual or team reports can be going on outside of class, while classtime is being spent on the history and power of local government in Virginia, the structure charts, and other background information.

3 - Do not try for closure or decisions on topics and reports. Use "who would support?" and "who would oppose?" questions on the test -- as well as "List 3 reasons why" and "3 reasons why not" -- and essay questions that ask for expressions of personal points of view backed up with data. Test questions could be taken directly from the reports -- if students have made question outlines a part of their presentation -- or you could ask each team to hand in suggested questions. (Be sure to keep the questions from each class separate from other classes!) If there is a local government issue that is not understood by the public, students might design a public information program, perhaps with slides, tapes, and other A-V materials, that could be offered to service clubs and group meetings, after practice sessions with other classes. Stay flexible -- and be prepared to offer credit for student effort and enterprise, but be firm about balanced presentations on controversial topics, and clearance with school and government officials.

The following report form can be given out to students when they sign up for local study topics. It will help them organize their research and their presentation. It can be the outline for their pre-report discussion with you.

LOCAL PROBLEM ______________________ Team Names ______________________

How did you find out about this problem?

Does this problem affect any members of this team or their families?

Describe why the problem is important:

In the library, check to see if there is any literature that would help you identify the causes, responsibilities, and possible solutions to the problem. The more you learn in advance, the more useful your interviews with local officials are likely to be. Are there local or national studies that you can read before you consult the officials concerned with the problem?

Have any recent events, political, private, or neighborhood organizations or people brought the problem to public attention in the newspapers, radio or TV? If so, you can check with the reporters or files for names and how to locate them (address or phone).

From what you have read/heard, would it be useful to interview them?

Who are the officials concerned with this problem?
Name______________________________ Phone ______________
Where did you find this information?

On the back of this paper, write a list of questions you should ask when you interview an official about this question/problem. Be sure your questions and research will give you enough information to briefly describe 1)the history of the problem, 2)the extent and effects of the problem, 3)the alternative solutions and their costs, and...4)the urgency or recommmended timetable for dealing with it.

Have any local special interest groups lined up in favor of one solution or another? Identify the group and position:

What maps, diagrams, charts, videotapes, go-see trips, (other?) would you recommend to help people understand this problem?

How can you help each student understand the problem and form an opinion on the alternatives open to government to deal with the problem? Design an interesting and informative presentation for your class. Write up an outline on a separate piece of paper and be prepared to discuss it with your teacher.

SETTING PRIORITIES ON LOCAL PROBLEMS

If you cannot salvage enough time to let your classes do OUR LOCAL BUDGET, there are shorter exercises that can address some of the issues.

A 2-DAY ACTIVITY

Preparation: See your local officials for a list of 10-12 budget requests that require new money. They probably have great numbers of problems appropriate for this exercise, and can give you a list and dollar costs for a dozen or more very easily.

One plan is published in Joint Council for Economic Education, Analyzing Tax Policy, pp. 69-73. (Your school should have a copy of this workbook.) Divide the class into groups of 2-3 students and give them a list of at least 10-12 local needs beyond the normal budget, complete with pricetags. Tell them the budget will stretch to permit the expenditure of only one half the total money represented on the list. This is a forced choice exercise, dealing only with new programs. It does not deal with basic appropriations. Let student groups discuss their choices and use the decision-making process described in their textbooks (or on p. 73 of the workbook) for one class period.

The next day, ask for reports from the groups. Write all items on the board, and record the votes received for each. Write a separate list of the criteria used by the groups to reach their decisions. Discuss why they chose the items they chose. Evaluate the decision-making criteria and the choices, the small group effectiveness and the class participation.

If you want to keep the exercise completely theoretical, use the list of 12 problems in the JCEE workbook, pp. 71-72.

"OUR LOCAL BUDGET"

A Political Process Exercise
Based on The Fairfax County Game
With Complete Directions for Adapting It for Your Community

HOW WILL THE GOVERNING BODY MODIFY THE BUDGET PROPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATOR (OR EXECUTIVE OR MANAGER)? WHAT EFFECT WILL PRESSURE GROUPS HAVE ON THE DECISION-MAKING AND THE ELECTION THAT FOLLOWS?

TIME REQUIRED: At least 10 class periods are recommended, with advanced preparation during the preceding 2 weeks. Additional activities on G 29-30 could expand the time requirements to 20 or more classes, OR, BY INSERTING LOCAL PROBLEMS, INTEREST GROUPS, DATA, AND INTERRUPTERS IN THE EXERCISE, THE ENTIRE LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNIT COULD BE TAUGHT WITH AND AROUND THIS ACTIVITY. Budget- making involves all the structure and process of local government, and includes priority-setting and decision-making practices. It is a natural vehicle for local government study.

Introduction - The purpose of this activity is to involve students in a simulation of local government process and local government decision-making, to arouse student interest in the role of the individual and special interest groups, and to help students clarify their attitudes about local social and political issues. Students assume the roles of members of the Board of Supervisors (or councillors) and members of special interest pressure groups. All "experience" the political realities of local government.

OBJECTIVES OF THE EXERCISE:

After completing the activities, students should be able to:
- State several ways local government affects their everyday lives.
- Describe and use credible arguments to support realistic local priorities.
- Describe the roles and political realities of the Board or Council member.
- Describe the roles and political realities of local special interest groups.
- List the major elements of a local government budget.
- Use and describe the function of compromise in decision-making.
- Plan and take part in logical oral presentations.
- Work more effectively in small groups.

The teacher revises and assembles student materials appropriate for the particular community (instructions on next page), sets the timetable, acts as advisor, and leads the critique discussions at the conclusion of the exercise. This exercise (unlike those that involve a courtroom) can be done successfully without a great deal of attention to protocol and meeting format. (This exercise sends students out into the community to gather information and opinion. It compliments the Model General Assembly, Section E, which teaches legislative and committee processes and Robert's Rules of Order, in addition to state issues and politics.) If you have used a role play on Congress, you might try the more compelling state and local ones instead.

OUR LOCAL BUDGET EXERCISE - START THE PLANNING AT LEAST TWO WEEKS BEFORE YOU CONCLUDE YOUR PREVIOUS UNIT -- ASSIGN ROLES AT LEAST ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE:

1 - Read through this guide. Decide whether some or all of your classes will use this activity to develop a deeper understanding of local government and problems. Identify leaders who will keep groups on track.

2 - Decide whether you will use the proposed budget provided (for an urban county) or whether you will ask a local official to provide one closer to your own local budget. Your student "administrator" should be able to enlist the help of an official to prepare a similar, simplified, category budget, and a suggested tax rate, with some examples of tax bills and data on how much a 5¢ (or other) increase would change them.

3 - Decide whether you will use the special interest groups provided here, or whether you want to tailor the list to fit the groups in your community. (If you tailor descriptions too specifically, you may be pressed to involve the real groups in your exercise!) Duplicate copies of the summary statements about the groups to give to all participants.

Will you assign students to the interest groups or offer them a choice?

4 - Decide whether you will use the vote totals provided (G 36), or whether you will adjust the numbers to reflect the total votes in your locality. (If you are changing the materials provided, you will need to make new vote slips for the bloc chairpersons to draw.) All participating students should know the total vote for the locality.

5 - Plan the calendar for the exercise. Edit and duplicate materials for distribution BEFORE the final section of the preceding unit. Correct board/council & executive/administrator/manager designations, and allow extra time when you think your local groups or issues might need it. Fill in exact dates or use the calendar only as a guide. Be realistic -- there is never time for everybody be heard or to consider every angle!

AT LEAST ONE WEEK BEFORE YOU BEGIN THE EXERCISE, USE PART OF A CLASS PERIOD TO ASSIGN ROLES AND DISTRIBUTE THE CALENDAR AND OTHER ADVANCE INFORMATION.

6 - Select (or have students elect) 5 members of the Board of Supervisors or City Council. Use the "Ward System or At-Large Representation" handout and choose representation at-large or by wards/magisterial districts--by home address or quadrant of the class. The board elects a chairperson, who distributes the Budget Calendar.
- Board/Council meets briefly and appoints another student to serve as executive, administrator, or manager. Teacher gives this student a copy of "Manager Materials" and coordinates with other teachers an appointment with the local administrator to obtain local data and ideas.

7 - Other students select (or are assigned) to special interest groups:
  - Conservative Taxpayers Group
  - Business Interest Group
  - Education Interest Group
  - Ecology Interest Group
  - Liberal Human Relations Group
- Give all students a copy of the Special Interest Group summaries (G 35).
- Ask groups to elect their own chairperson, who then draws from an envelope a share of the voting bloc slips to determine the group's popular support.
- Each group's voting strength may be kept secret, or flaunted. Groups may operate separately or form coalitions.

A class calendar might include the following -- with or without specific dates. It should be edited to suit your particular plan, and posted or distributed.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS BUDGET CALENDAR

5 to 10 days before Day 1
- Elect Board of Supervisors - select chairperson
- Name County Administrator - give him/her green budget info sheets
- Organize Special Interest Groups - distribute summary statements

Day 1 - FIRST COUNTY BUDGET MEETING - Administrator presents budget and answers questions. Public Hearing date set.
- Supervisors go into executive (closed) session. Discuss budget.
- Special Interest groups caucus to plan lobbying and statement for presentation at the public hearing..

2&3- Supervisors "office hours" in the classroom - Special Interest Groups have 5-10 minute appointments with individual supervisors to present their points of view.

4 - PUBLIC HEARING ON THE BUDGET - Special interest groups deliver written statements in brief (2-4 minute) presentations, questions by members of the board. Other public reactions.

5 - Supervisors meet in executive session to draft a final budget, with the same categories and such additional line items as necessary to define the local programs. The page should show the administrator's proposed budget, the amount of the change, and any change in tax rate that will be necessary to fund the expenditures.
Special Interest groups meet to evaluate their lobbying.

6 - BOARD OF SUPERVISORS MEETING - VOTE ON BUDGET AND SET TAX RATE. Chairperson explains/justifies, line by line. Administrator posts the votes of each supervisor on each major category.

7 - Special Interest Groups meet to draw up statements on their reactions to the budget and the coming election.

(Optional - if the votes are split and hotly contested, how about having a Candidate Forum for Board of Supervisors election? Each candidate responds to questions, justifying his/her budget votes.)

ELECTION OF BOARD OF SUPERVISORS -- Top 3 vote-getters win.
8 - General discussion of the exercise.

INTERRUPTERS TO ADD PROBLEMS & INTEREST TO THE BUDGET PROCESS

Announce privately to the Board of Supervisors that a dangerous condition exists in several public buildings (asbestos ceilings that are crumbling, a bad roof on the high school, or some other crisis situation)....
OR
Write on the board the news flash that the jail is over-crowded and $$ will be needed to match state funds for constructing an addition....
OR
Write up an official-looking document saying that the federal government orders the county IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT OF THIS ORDER to build a wall around the dump and clean up toxic run-off that has been found seeping into a nearby stream. The official delivering the document to the administrator or

to the board (privately or in a public meeting) tells the board that it may cost as much as $2 million to clean up the mess, and they will need to locate another dumpsite.... You could complicate this by including the fact that the source of the toxic material is suspected to be the plant owned by a member of the board, which also is the largest employer in the community. Decide how this information should be released to the public -- by the board, a leak in the press, or inside information provided to the Ecology Interest Group.
OR
Pass the word in a Special Interest Group caucus that a finance official has been seen unexpectedly loading up his car and a moving van. Is there money gone from the county accounts? Should an emergency investigation be launched? How much will it cost?
OR
The state has just sent a reminder that tentative long-range capital plans ($700,000 per year OR??) are due in the Department of Planning before the end of the month. What should be on it? All items require a majority vote.
OR
Some other unexpected financial problem of your choice.

Evaluation of "Our Local Budget" Exercise

While the Board of Supervisors is in executive session, Special Interest Groups may meet to discuss the following questions with the teacher.
How realistic were your demands? How willing were you to compromise?
Did you form any coalitions or enhance your postition in other ways?
How effective do you feel you were in stating your position and negotiating with the supervisors? in person? in meetings?
How successful do you think you will be in influencing the supervisor's budget? What would you do differently next time?
What groups in this community might take comparable positions?

Board of Supervisors may meet while Special Interest Groups are planning their strategies for the election, to discuss their roles with the teacher:
Do you think the positions you took were very realistic?
How would your vote be different if you were representing a rural magisterial district? a suburban district? an urban district?

At the conclusion of this exercise, the entire class should consider questions such as the following:

- How realistic was the simulation?
- What do you know now about local government and about political processes that you did not know before? What things surprised you most?
- Are there dangers in assuming that the real budget process would be similar in every detail to what you have experienced in this exercise?
- What do you think would be different in the real world?
- Would you like to run for elected office some day? What kinds of statements would you include in your platform? What kind of constituents would you want to have? What qualifications do you think should be required/desired in candidates for local government office?
- Refer to student objectives (opening page of this exercise) for more ideas.

STUDENT ADMINISTRATOR'S INSTRUCTIONS

1 - Read over the sample (Fairfax) budget and "Administrator's Justification."
2 - Plan questions you'll need to ask an official to get comparable information about your own local government.
3 - If other classes are also doing this exercise, ask your teacher to help you coordinate one meeting with the local administrator to give information to all the student administrators.
4 - Visit the administrator -- take with you the suggested category outline and a notebook and pen. Ask the administrator to help you with numbers and information about your own government.
5 - Write up your justification statement (see model next page).
6 - Make copies of your budget and statement for the board and for the special interest groups. Make a transparency showing the category amounts, to help you with your presentation.

(Fairfax Data)

	Previous Year's Budget		PROPOSED BUDGET
Schools	$140,000,000		$155,000,000
Buildings & Equipment		$45,000,000	
Personnel			
Teachers & administrators		90,000,000	
Custodial Services		4,000,000	
Materials		10,000,000	
Plant Operations		6,000,000	
Public Safety	18,000,000		20,000,000
Police		15,000,000	
Fire		5,000,000	
Justice	1,500,000		2,000,000
Courts		500,000	
Penal Institutions		1,500,000	
Parks & Recreation	11,500,000		13,000,000
Purchase of Parkland		8,000,000	
Operation, Parks & Recreation		5,000,000	
Health & Welfare	17,500,000		19.000.000
Hospitals		10,000,000	
Welfare-Payments & Services		9,000,000	
Waste Disposal	5,000,000		7,100,000
Trash		2,000,000	
Sewers		5,000,000	
Air Pollution Control		100,000	
Libraries	2,500,000		2,900,000
County Administration	4,000,000		6,000,000
TOTALS	$200,000,000		$225,000,000
Total Increase over previous year's budget			$25,000,000

Tax Information: The main source of income for this county is the property tax. The population is increasing rapidly, while the amount of land remains the same, thus the value of property is rising, and the county income from property taxes is rising at the rate of 10% per year. This increase means that the county budget can increase 10% a year without increasing the property tax rate. If the new budget were $220,000,000, no increase in taxes would be necessary. However, each $1,000,000 that the supervisors increase the total budget over $220,000,000, automatically will cause a 1% increase in the tax rate. Each $1,000,000 decrease in the budget under $220,000,000 would decrease taxes by 1%. The county executive's proposed budget requires a 5% increase in taxes. How much difference would that make in dollars to the average property-owner in the county?

JUSTIFICATION OF THE COUNTY EXECUTIVE'S BUDGET

Honorable Board of Supervisors
Fairfax County, Virginia

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The County Executive's proposed budget, which you have just received, is presented for your consideration. You will note that it calls for a total of $225,000,000, an increase of 12.5% or $25,000,000 over the previous year's budget. This increase has been caused by three main factors:

1. The continued rise in the cost of living, which means that equipment, materials, land, and salaries for government employees cost significantly more than the same items during the previous year.

2. An increase of 4.5% since last year in the number of people living in the county.

3. An increase in the demand for services in our increasingly wealthy county.

The $25,000,000 proposed increase would require a 5% increase in taxes. This increase is necessary if we are to provide minimum improvements in the services that the county government provides.

What follows is a justification for this increase. I will discuss each major item in the order in which it is listed on your copy of the proposed budget.

The proposed budget for schools, as you will note, would require an increase of $15,000,000. Actually, this is $10,000,000 less than the School Board has requested. Two-thirds of this $15,000,000 increase will go to raise the salaries of teachers and administrators. This was negotiated by the teachers' association and the amount will be difficult to change. $3,000,000 of the increase is the result of rising costs. This leaves only $1,000,000 to improve the school's program. The schools requested a great deal more than this, and this figure will eliminate or cut a significant number of new programs. However, I feel that the county simply cannot afford to give the schools any more money, since we have so many other needs.

The Public Safety budget would be increased by $2,000,000. There are three principal reasons for this:

1. The police department wishes to purchase $500,000 worth of riot control equipment, in case this may be needed in the future.
2. An additional fire station is needed in a rural area where housing developments are planned. The county zoning law requires that these houses cannot be built until the fire station is authorized.

3. It will be necessary to employ additional police and firemen, because of the county's growth in population, and to give all police and firemen a raise in salary.

The cost of justice would increase $500,000. This amount is necessary to modernize and air condition the county jail. This budget would maintain the court system at its present level of operation, even though two additional judges were requested to speed up the judicial process.

The majority of the $1,500,000 increase for parks and recreation would be spent to purchase a large tract of land in the county for use as a park. This land would otherwise be developed into high density housing. The remainder of the increase would provide improved recreation programs in areas of high population density.

The $1,500,000 increase for health and welfare reflects only a very small improvement in welfare services and no increase in welfare payments. The majority of the increase is the result of the rise in the cost of hospital services.

$2,000,000 of the $2,100,000 increase in the waste disposal budget would go to improve existing sewerage treatment plants and to build a new sewer line for the proposed housing development in the area where the new fire station would be built. The $100,000 for air pollution control is a new item in the budget. It will allow the county to employ three air pollution inspectors and to pay the county's share of the Metropolitan Washington Air Pollution Study Committee. It is hoped that in some future year a fullscale air pollution control agency will be funded.

The library budget increase of $400,000 would be used to purchase additional books for our expanding population, to purchase an additional bookmobile to serve developing areas of the county, and to set up a central processing system.

The 50% increase in the budget for county administration will provide the following:

1. New office equipment
2. Increased travel allocations
3. 100 additional personnel - to serve our rapidly growing population.
4. A 15% salary increase for the members of the Board of Supervisors, the county executive, and agency heads.
5. Salary increases for county employees other than those previously mentioned.

BUDGET WORKSHEET

Record the amounts approved and put a check mark below the name of each supervisor who voted FOR the approved amount.

BUDGET ITEM	SUB-TOTALS	CATEGORY TOTAL	FAVORABLE VOTES BY SUPERVISOR				
Schools		____	_	_	_	_	_
Buildings & Equipment	____						
Personnel - teachers and administrators	____						
custodial personnel	____						
Public Safety		____	_	_	_	_	_
Police	____						
Fire	____						
Justice		____	_	_	_	_	_
Courts	____						
Penal Institutions	____						
Parks & Recreation		____	_	_	_	_	_
Purchase of Parkland	____						
Operation, Parks & Recreation	____						
Health & Welfare		____	_	_	_	_	_
Hospitals	____						
Welfare Payments & Services	____						
Waste Disposal		____	_	_	_	_	_
Trash	____						
Sewers	____						
Air Pollution Control	____						
Libraries		____	_	_	_	_	_
County Administration		____	_	_	_	_	_
TOTAL		____	_	_	_	_	_

Change from Executive's Proposed Budget ____________

% Increase or Decrease in Property Taxes ________

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

Conservative Taxpayers Group: This group believes in the general philosophy that "the government is best which governs least." It generally opposes increased urbanization, new expenditures, and higher taxes. The group is a strong supporter of the police department and generally backs the "law and order" theme. A favorite target of the group is the school system. Their objections are that schools spend too much money and teachers' salaries are too high.

Business Interest Group: This group believes in the general philosophy that growth is good. It generally favors improved government services, good schools, expanded sewerage facilities, and almost anything else which may improve the image of the county/city and stimulate business growth. The group opposes excessively high taxes which may discourage new business from locating in the area. It favors planned and orderly development, and stresses the goal of improved employment in the area through business expansion and the free enterprise system. It usually opposes increased expenditures for welfare programs because it does not want to encourage welfare recipients to locate in the area. Included in this group might be home builders and real estate associations, and, perhaps, the Chamber of Commerce.

Education Interest Group: This group includes those organizations which are usually very supportive of good schools and school improvements. Such groups are the Parent-Teacher Associations, special parent groups, and teacher associations. Where industry may work with the schools to support technical education programs, business people also may be part of the group. They are likely to favor higher taxes when necessary for school improvements, libraries, and teacher salaires. If budget cuts are required, this group is likely to feel that cuts should be made in non-school items.

Ecology Interest Group: This group is made up of conservationists who are concerned with the effects of urbanization upon the environment. They will usually support increased expenditures for parks and strong controls on pollution of air, land, and water. They urge recycling of trash. They generally favor low density population and oppose developments which result in rapid increases in the growth of population. The group will likely support the improvement of existing facilities for sewerage and waste disposal, but may not support the addition of new sewerage systems which would encourage population growth.

Liberal Human Relations Group: The primary concern of this group is with improving the social fabric of the community and attacking the causes of unrest. They feel generally that there are segments of society, especially the poor, for whom the government should provide better services. They would usually support higher taxes in order to provide better benefits and programs for the poor, day care for the elderly and for children of working parents, provisions for the handicapped, legal aid and better penal institutions. They would often agree with the ecology group's desire to clean up the environment. They might oppose large increases in school expenditures if they felt that this would cause other programs to be cut. They would be less inclined to increase expenditures for police than some of the other groups.

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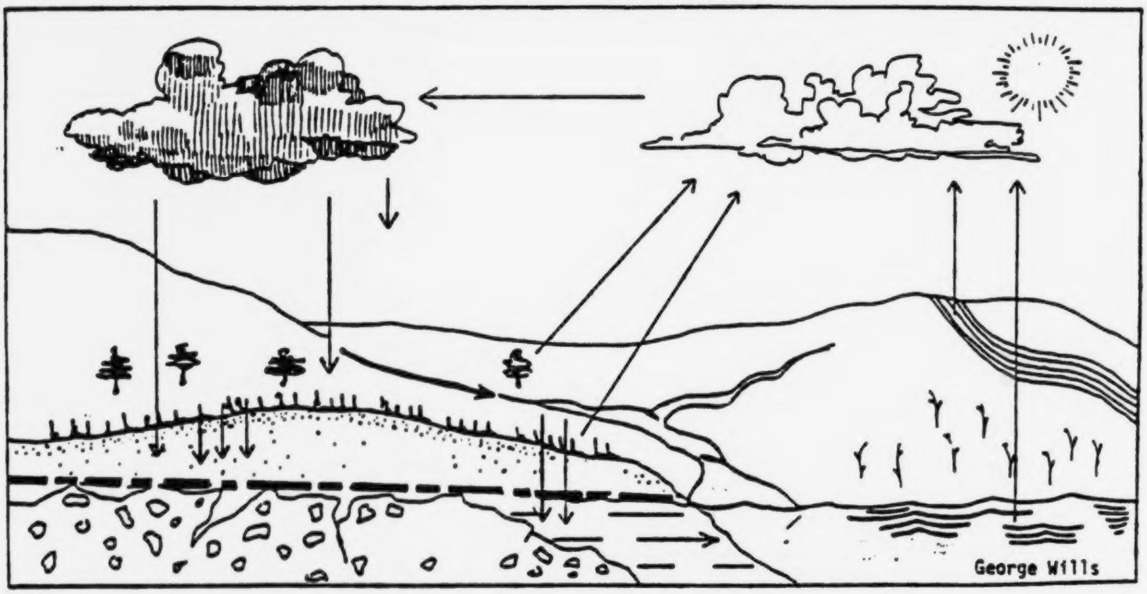
VOTING BLOCS

If you are using the Fairfax vote totals of 122,000 - make a copy of this page and cut out the squares. Mix them in an envelope and have the chairperson of each special interest group draw 7 squares to determine the group's voter strength.

If you are using your own community's vote totals, make a new sheet in a similar way for your interest groups to draw.

The whole class should know the total vote you are using, but special interest groups may keep their total secret. They may also combine to form coalitions. The number of votes each group represents will help determine its clout in meetings with the supervisors.

10,000 VOTES	10,000 VOTES	10,000 VOTES	10,000 VOTES	10,000 VOTES
10,000 VOTES	5,000 VOTES	5,000 VOTES	5,000 VOTES	5,000 VOTES
5,000 VOTES	5,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES
2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES
2,000 VOTES	2,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES
1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES
1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	1,000 VOTES	-0- VOTES



The many processes by which water moves—including precipitation, runoff, percolation, groundwater flow, evaporation, and transpiration—are collectively called the hydrologic cycle. Water travels continuously through the atmosphere, rivers, oceans, and aquifers in this never-ending cycle.

H - VIRGINIA'S WATER RESOURCES

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To The Council on the Environment and Keith J. Buttleman, Director, who saw this project as a way to acquaint teachers and 12th grade students with efforts to restore the Chesapeake Bay, and awarded a grant that funded part of the cost of developing this unit.

May the next generation be good stewards of Virginia's resources!

This section is the culminating unit for the notebook Resources for Teaching Virginia Government. It contains cross-referenced material that will be more useful if it is kept with the previous sections (A through G) in a notebook.

A Government teacher once said: "the book that can be updated and the publisher that will send out a newsletter to keep it current will have my vote for the resource of the age." THIS IS IT, but the keeper of the notebook must put the new pages in when they appear each spring.

For ideas on how to use it all, see ....

the QUARTERLY, a newsletter to accompany and update
RESOURCES FOR TEACHING VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

Watch the mails — and be sure to return your preferred mailing address to:

TEACHER RESOURCE SERVICE
INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
MINOR HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22903

*It will continue as long as the Teacher Resource Service is funded at the Institute of Government. It's for you! Use it! Share ideas! Remind your legislators each year to be sure it is included in the budget -- to help you teach about our state and their job, Virginia government.

PLANS & IDEAS FOR USING SECTION H

This material is designed to be used with other sections of the notebook, RESOURCES FOR TEACHING VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT.

- -See general ideas in Section A.
- -Use water information to augment the economic and political decision-making and group activities in Sections B and D.
- -Use the water issues in the model General Assembly in Section E.
- -Use water information with the tax and budget materials in Section F.
- -Use water information with the Local Government activities in Section G.

Section H information shows how all three levels of government CAN work toward common goals. You may find all three in your newspapers at any time.

TEACH SKILLS with Section H -- Point out distinctions between fact and value claims--Ask local officials for more maps, graphs and charts of water supplies, water use, drought statistics and flood frequency charts -- Use the group activities and decision-making activities -- Assign position papers and promote debates.

TEACH FEDERALISM & DIVISION OF POWERS with Section H. Identify the particular responsibilities of each level of government and how they reinforce each other.

TEACH CITIZENSHIP with Section H -- Identify and interview local officials concerned with area waters -- survey public information and reactions -- assemble information and make it available in the community -- enlist muscle-power for local activities such as Virginia Water Project.

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1 - FIRST: READ THROUGH THIS SECTION TO SEE WHAT IS HERE AND TO PICK OUT ACTIVITIES APPROPRIATE FOR YOUR CLASSES AND YOUR AREA.

2 - CHECK MATERIALS IN YOUR SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LIBRARIES: When were they written? This is a fast-moving topic -- materials more than a couple of years old may not reflect recent population projections or scientific advances in water treatment or detoxification of pollutants. School and community libraries should both have the following booklets of the Virginia Water Resources Research Center at VPI-SU (Address is on page H 75):

A Groundwater Primer for Virginians (1984) A 22-page booklet with fine diagrams, maps, and descriptive materials on Virginia and the groundwater problems and opportunities for the future.

Virginia's Waters (1985) An overview and description of each of Virginia's drainage basins, including the significance of the river in the history of the Commonwealth, statements on quantity and quality of water, and the likely demands of the area served. This is a useful addition to the Planning District Worksheet activity in Section B.

For more precise information, contact the State Water Control Board for a copy of the latest Water Quality Inventory, which includes a detailed description of sources and pollution of every river segment and lake in Virginia. Check with science teachers. Your library can request a copy for you.

For information on the Chesapeake Bay, contact the Council on the Environment and the Chesapeake Bay Foundation.

3 - PLAN TO USE STUDENT WORKSHEETS in Section H -- adapt them or make up your own. Send students to find information about the real situation in your area. Worksheets that ask for public and student opinions also stimulate family interest and help students to notice news stories about water in the local media, thus increasing class discussion and community participation.

4 - START WITH LOCAL INFORMATION & ACTIVITIES: Make a classroom set of "Local Responsibility for Virginia Waters." Read and discuss it or share the information with the class in a manner of your choosing. Then hand out copies of pages on local water supplies, controls and conservation efforts -- to be filled in outside of class, from sources indicated. While students conduct their research and interviews, class time can be devoted to state and federal responsibilities and programs.

See the coach and members of the debate team in your school -- the topic for this year is a national water policy.

Consider a student report on the findings of the "Report of the Commission on Virginia's Future." The findings on Environment and Natural Resources are included in this Section H.

Current information about Virginia's water problems and legislation is provided in the monthly publication "Water News." Subscriptions are free in Virginia, and class sets can be provided of any issues/articles if 6-weeks notice is given. Plan ahead.

The activity, "Water Emergency" at the end of this section has its own teacher instruction sheet. Don't ask your students to do this activity without adequate preparation.

While Section H topics may be "covered" in lectures, individual and class activities and resources are described here to engage students in inductive, analytical, simulation or other group activities in the community -- specific objectives of the Standards of Learning. If your immediate area does not have some of the problems described, you might split the class into regional committees for their investigations and write to officials to augment the information in this section and in the materials listed.

COMBINE THESE MATERIALS MANY DIFFERENT WAYS. USE THEM AT DIFFERENT TIMES DEPENDING ON YOUR COURSE PLAN AND WATER EMERGENCIES, LEGISLATION, OR OTHER WATER EVENTS IN THE NEWS. Each segment has its own worksheets and suggested activities. Start by reading through the entire section. For the next several years, there will be legislation proposed in the General Assembly to accomplish some of the tasks described in this section. When those bills are announced or debated, use the materials in Section H for background and class activities. This information also can be used by students to develop their own proposals and suggestions, which you might encourage them to share with state and local government officials. Why limit their creativity to ideas already written by other people?

USING SECTION H TO MEET OBJECTIVES OF THE STANDARDS OF LEARNING

The following suggestions are only a starting point. Notebook materials can be used many ways to teach more about Virginia state and local government and to encourage student activity in the classroom and in the community.

12.1 The student will participate in civic activities. Worksheets suggest questions students can ask local officials and candidates.

12.2 The student will demonstrate a rational approach to social science through the use of decision-making skills. Ask for opinions. Follow with discussion, debates, guest panels, opinion papers, as well as group and individual community action. Help students analyze decision-making.

12.3 The student will recognize the uniqueness, worth, and dignity of self and others through the use of interpersonal skills. Several pages suggest activities involving groups and interpersonal skills.

12.4 The student will analyze the basic rights and responsibilities of American citizens and describe the historical evolution of the interpretation of these rights. Water rights have been regarded as property rights. What of public rights and concern for the environment?

12.5 The student will explain the role of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government at the federal, state, and local levels.

12.6 The student will explain the concept of separation of powers, including checks and balances, and its importance in a democratic system. Water is the subject of federal, state, and local legislation. Federal, state and local agencies execute the laws. Court decisions settle disputes. This issue involves all branches and levels of government.

12.7 The student will analyze the Virginia and United States Constitutions, the documents which preceded their adoption, and the evolving interpretations of these documents. The Virginia Constitution, Article XI: Conservation, details a new government responsibility, to protect its "atmosphere, lands, and waters from pollution, impairment, or destruction, for the benefit, enjoyment, and general welfare of the people of the Commonwealth." This is a landmark statement.

12.8 The student will define free enterprise, identify its characteristics, and explain its operation. Supply and demand in local water pricing policy is a useful study. Should rates encourage conservation?

12.10 The student will identify and analyze the factors affecting decision-making at all government levels in the United States. Pressure groups, media, public opinion, and fiscal policy considerations are easy to spot in current controversies over the protection and use of our resources.

12.12 The student will demonstrate data-gathering skills. Individual and small group projects in these pages use library and interview activity, a refreshing change for a teacher who traditionally uses lecture formats.

12.13 The student will state characteristics and functions of United States political parties. Water is a political issue in some areas. Informed students might participate through interest in environmental questions.

THE STATE OF VIRGINIA'S WATERS

> "A man-made drought and economic stagnation loom on the horizon for Virginia's most populous areas. The Virginia State Water Study Commission has determined that water demand will significantly outrun water access in the northern, tidewater, and valley areas of Virginia over the next two decades. The immediate future holds accelerated costs of water treatment as increased withdrawals raise the ratio of pollutants in the water supply."

This statement by The Honorable James H. Dillard, II, Delegate from Fairfax, summarized the problem addressed in 1981 by the State Water Study Commission. The report called for a detailed survey of Virginia's water use and described possible changes in water law and the need for coordinated administration.

Five years later, statistics on water flows and water use are becoming available. Population growth continues to compound the predicament of Tidewater and capricious rainfall periodically causes problems for other areas of Virginia. Pressure is mounting for changes in the law and for some of the specific proposals outlined in the 1981 report. Nationwide, strides have been made in identifying toxic substances and educating the public on the need for protection of our waters. Congress is discussing state enforced deadlines for Clean Water Act compliance and cuts that will increase state funding responsibility, and Virginia is already funding a considerable share of the cost of restoring the Chesapeake Bay.

In 1984, the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future recommended that the State Water Control Board (SWCB) be established as the water resource planner and manager, resolver of conflict, and coordinator of surface and ground water distribution. In 1985, Governor Robb asked the SWCB to design a new water management plan for the 1986 legislature. A recent survey shows that many citizens and groups favor coordinated administration that would include:

- PROTECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WATER SUPPLY in times of plenty and times of drought,
- PROTECTION OF WATER QUALITY, above and below ground,
- TREATMENT FACILITIES planning, financing and monitoring,
- PUBLIC EDUCATION, CONSERVATION PRACTICES AND POLLUTION REDUCTION,
- LONG-RANGE PLANNING for residential, agricultural, and industrial users, and protection of potential reservoir sites.

Virginia's traditional laissez-faire principle kept the state out of the regulatory business in the 1800s and early 1900s, but modern industry, agriculture, and urban populations require guaranteed delivery of millions of gallons of water each day, and there seems to be no alternative to a stronger role for state government to provide the water or to regulate the providers. We can not afford to leave water regulation to the courts because they can only assess damages after the losses are established, after the wells are dry, after the aquifers are contaminated, after industry has departed and farmers are ruined. As federal funding cuts return responsibility to the states, money and direction from Washington may be less available to fund capital needs such as treatment facilities. Virginia will have to take more active charge of its waters and develop a management system that will serve all our people and our needs into the 21st century.

SOME BASIC WATER FACTS AND QUESTIONS

1 - SUPPLIES ARE FINITE. We have the same amount of water today as we have always had. It just keeps recycling. Most of the precipitation falls into the oceans. which cover 3/4 of the earth. Water also falls onto the land where it is used by living things, seeps into the ground, fills lakes, runs into streams and rivers, and evaporates. The hydrological cycle doesn't distribute water evenly around the earth. Periods of "normal" or adequate precipitation, drought, and floods are unpredictable.

2 - IN THE STATE, AS A WHOLE, WE HAVE ADEQUATE WATER. We are more fortunate than many states because a tremendous amount of water flows through Virginia every year. Much of our 42" annual precipitation (rain and show) is lost to evaporation, but the remainder seeps or runs into groundwater supplies or our surface water systems: the nine major river basins, thousands of miles of streams, hundreds of inland lakes and wetlands, the Chesapeake Bay, and thousands of miles of shoreline and salt marshes. Our water, generally, flows down the mountains and out of the state, except for the New River and a few smaller streams that bring water from West Virginia or North Carolina into Virginia. Our precipitation patterns vary from month to month and year to year, and often from one community or one side of the mountain to another. How much of it runs off and how much seeps into the groundwater supply is determined by the composition of the material above the ground and the nature of the soil. There have been periods of drought and flooding in different areas of the state and varying degrees of intensity down through the years.

3 - WHO "OWNS" THE WATER? It depends on where it is at the time! In 1985, in Virginia, if the water is above ground, one set of common law understandings controls its use. If it is below ground, either of two different sets of common law understandings may control its use...unless it is in certain areas that are regulated by a law that applies to a few users of the water in that area. (Many people may be confused.)

Water ABOVE Ground: Riparian law identifies rights of landowners to share water on or bordering their land. Disputes are handled by law suits between riparians. There is no provision for planning water use, no priority for municipal use, no clear understanding of a riparian's "share" (an obvious problem in drought years), and no provision for water for nearby non-riparians (those who do not own land on the waterway). Most of Virginia uses water from rivers and above ground sources.

Water UNDER Ground: Virginia courts say that water UNDER the land (also called groundwater) is for 1) "reasonable" use on the land above, OR 2) by its owner, with no restrictions. In either case, there is no requirement for sharing, "reasonable" is not defined, nor is there any connection to the law governing water that escapes to the surface, or to others who share the aquifer and the land above it.

Is water a resource that should belong to all the people of Virginia? Do all residents of a state have a right to expect clean water to be available for them? Would sharing take away an economic advantage that is already part of the land value, an advantage that the area may wish to protect for the future? Who should decide? What is the role of government?

4 - POPULATION GROWTH HAS INCREASED DEMAND FOR WATER, AND INCREASED POLLUTION. Our burgeoning population has multiplied the need for a dependable water

supply for residential and agricultural use as well as for the industries that provide jobs. This requires a wiser use of groundwater and surface sources, more storage capacity, more reservoirs, and more treatment plants to return usable water to our rivers and streams.

5 - LAND-USE DECISIONS AFFECT OUR WATER SUPPLY. At almost every planning commission, city council and board of supervisors meeting in Virginia, pressure is applied by highly sophisticated developers to boards and commissions which until recently decided largely with rural issues.

6 - EACH DROUGHT PERIOD SPREADS ITS EFFECTS TO MORE PEOPLE AND BUSINESSES. Droughts in 1977 and 1980-81 demonstrated that Virginia's agricultural and industrial economy and quality of life depend on reliable fresh water supplies. Crisis control actions do not usually correct underlying problems, and may pit one area or one interest against another.

- If you were a farmer who depends on irrigation to water your fields, what would you do if your water supply was low and dirty and you were not permitted to pipe water from a nearby river that was full?
- If you owned a small manufacturing plant that employed a number of people in your community, what would you do if your spring-fed pond could not supply the water you need for your production process?
- If you were responsible for the water supply for a small city, what would you do if the reservoirs were drying up and there was no rain?
- If you were a conservationist or a bass fisherman, what would you do if the water in a natural area were drained for other uses?
- Do you think state or local government would be asked to step in, to allocate water? or to establish procedures and emergency boards or other mechnisms to decide? Should decisions be made under such conditions or should priorities be established ahead of the crisis?

7 - CONSERVATION IS NOT ENCOURAGED BY MOST VIRGINIA WATER RATES. Only a few localities use an escalating rate system to discourage waste and inefficient water use. Has the price of water changed in your area in the last ten years? What does your community do to encourage wise water use? Are there building codes that require water-saving appliances and plumbing? Do big water users pay less per gallon? How would you find out?

8 - CONSTRUCTION AND PAVING INTERFERE WITH NORMAL RUNOFF PATTERNS. Some parts of the state have had several "hundred year floods" in the last decade. In open land and agricultural areas, water spreads out and seeps into the aquifer (underground supply), but it may become a destructive torrent when it washes over a shopping center parking lot into a pipe or a stream that has been squeezed or diverted. Urban runoff is also a pollution problem, since it usually contains oil and manmade pollutants, lead, mercury, cadmium, zinc, copper, chromium and other toxic substances, organic matter, and ordinary dirt.

9 - CONSTRUCTION, PAVING, AND POLLUTION ENDANGER UNDERGROUND WATERS. About 80% of Virginians use some groundwater every day, including approximately 1.5 million residents whose entire domestic water supply is from private wells or springs. Seepage cannot occur through cement, asphalt, or buildings, so the recharging of a groundwater supply in an area of growing population becomes more difficult -- while at the same time more water is being pumped out. However, the

most serious concern of all is contamination, since most toxic chemicals do not break down or filter out of water as it seeps down through the ground. We do not know what substances may be inching their way into our aquifers from old waste dumps, abandoned or improperly-drilled wells, mines, highway runoff, and trash filled sink holes. There is new awareness of the problems of failing septic systems — improperly located, improperly maintained, or no longer containing the sewage due to changing conditions of land or drainage. (A decision to permit residential development in some parts of the state allowed septic systems where the soil did not percolate, or where the water table was so high that sewage ran out on the surrounding land when it rained OR sewage ran directly into the underground water, the aquifer.) In Tidewater, saltwater intrusion that may be irreversible can occur when wells are drilled too deep or when too much water is withdrawn.

> The National Governor's Association and the Conservation Foundation have recognized contamination and depletion of groundwater as a widespread and urgent national problem, and a Groundwater Policy Forum has been created to head off massive groundwater pollution. Few states have comprehensive efforts, and Virginia is not one of them. Proposals currently under discussion (1985-86) may form the basis for such a plan for Virginia.

10 - SURFACE WATER IMPOUNDMENTS MAY NOT BE ADEQUATE FOR THE FUTURE. Most communities in the state rely on water flowing through the area to provide them the quantities they need: they divert it, use it, and return it (often dirtied) to the river or stream. In fast-growing areas, reservoir sites may already be scarce and expensive. Acquiring and protecting them ahead of time requires money and often the "taking" of land by eminent domain. Logical sites may even be located in other jurisdictions, and require state leadership to spur local cooperation. Areas of concentrated population have had to impound water behind dams to have it available in drier times. Since most areas have only a 1 - 3 day surface water supply in storage, a major drought would also draw down the groundwater supply. What storage capacity does your area have?

11 - SHOULD SURFACE WATER AND GROUNDWATER BE CONSIDERED ONE IN THE LAW AND IN ADMINISTRATION? Groundwater is brought to the surface by nature and by man, and surface water runs or seeps into the groundwater supply. The problems that affect one may become the problems of the other, and some "cures" for one may even cause problems in the other. We use whichever supply suits us and our area at the time. Each is regulated to some extent, but by completely separate Virginia laws, based on different premises. Should we have a comprehensive water plan would consider both as parts of the same resource?

12 - WHAT HAS VIRGINIA DONE ABOUT POLLUTION ABATEMENT? The State Water Control Board was begun in 1946, making Virginia one of the first states to start a statewide water pollution control program. Sewage and waste were pouring into 35 of the state's 53 rivers and streams. See the contrast in 1980, after eight years of Clean Water Act regulations and funds:

	1946	1980
million pounds of pollutants generated per day	6.5	7.5
removed through treatment	11%	95%
million pounds of pollutants discharged to VA waters	5.8	.38

Since 1980, more pollutants are being generated per day, and the 95% removal through treatment has risen only a fraction, so the pollutant discharge is on the rise. What will happen if funds are cut? How will we replace wornout, leaking pipes, and build treatment plants to accommodate our growing population?

13 - THE TIME-BOMB SOLUTION TO POLLUTION IS DILUTION When water QUANTITY is a problem, water QUALITY becomes a greater problem. A small amount of some unappetizing or harmful substance may not be obvious or threatening in a large body of water, but when the water level is low, that same amount of pollutant may be toxic and very difficult to wash away from the site.

Water quantity affects water quality.

Example: The waste from three cows might not dangerously pollute a fast-moving river or a large reservoir, but it could foul a small slow-moving stream, and produce significant changes in even a large pond. Such wastes can cause eutrophication, turning the water green with algae and making it unusable. Note: Cows still wade in many streams in Virginia, though it is against Best Management Practices for pollution control.

Question # 1: Our local governments spend millions of dollars of our money - and federal funds from all or us - to build a treatment plant to clean our used water before it goes back into the river. Downstream, a farmer saves the cost of a fence, a pump, a pipe, and a trough and lets his cows wade in the river to drink. What can be done?

Question # 2: Suppose the polluter upstream is an industrial plant, the largest employer in the area. Can the plant be made to clean the water (how clean?) before it returns it to the river? What if they say it would be too expensive and they'll just have to move the plant to another area or another state? Suppose a boss in the company (or a member of his family, or his lawyer, or close friend) is on the board of supervisors, or in the state legislature? If you were in charge of keeping the river clean, what problems might you have? What kinds of testimony do you think is heard in Congress when they discuss enforcement of deadlines for ending pollution?

Question # 3: Suppose the pollution is hydrocarbons produced by cars and trucks, industries and power companies, all decreasing Virginia's air quality and raising the likelihood of damage from acid rain. Sulphurous air is now obscuring vision in the mountain areas during much of the summer, trees and plants are showing damage, and fish are at risk in our streams. Predictions are that air quality and acid rain will worsen in the coming years. What should we be doing? How would you find out?

Question # 4: Applying more fertilizer, insecticides, pesticides, or herbicides than the instructions say will not make things grow better, but will create toxic or nitrogen-filled runoff, algae-filled reservoirs and rivers, and further pollute waterways like the Chesapeake Bay. How do we help people to use these chemicals more wisely?

Pollution increases with each increase in population. Just to maintain present water quality levels will cost more: IMPROVING it (and several places need it) will cost even MORE.

14 - MANY AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS, NATURAL AND MANMADE POLLUTANTS ARE NOT READILY REMOVED FROM WATER. They remain in the water, defying filtration and destruction, OR they combine to create other hazardous

substances, which are carried into Chesapeake Bay or into our groundwater and spread in unpredicted directions to taint wells and water supplies over the coming years. Where in the world is it safe to dump poisonous materials? We are just beginning to alter some of them chemically, to burn or recycle them. How long can we wash them away to some unknown, next or final destination.

> Example: In California, water was diverted to irrigate land which contained toxic minerals. The runoff poisoned birds and animals in a nearby wildlife refuge and endangered area residents. The irrigation is stopped, but the clean-up will take decades and millions. Who pays?

15 - THERMAL POLLUTION - THE UNSEEN KILLER Power plants and some industrial users withdraw millions of gallons of water for cooling purposes, and then return it to our lakes and streams at a different temperature. Some aquatic life — plants, fish, and animals — may not survive the change. Do we care? How much? What are we willing to give up in our society so that wildlife is not endangered?

16 - FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND FEDERAL FUNDS HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN SOLVING VIRGINIA'S WATER SUPPLY AND POLLUTION IN THE PAST. WILL THE PROGRAMS BE AVAILABLE IN THE FUTURE? Will debt-ridden federal budgets curtail the water supply and wastewater treatment funds for states? Will Virginia have to pay more of the costs? How much can be passed on to water users? At what point might the cost of water chase away industries we need to employ our people?

17 - WHAT COOPERATION WITH OTHER STATES IS IMPORTANT TO VIRGINIA'S FUTURE WATER SUPPLY? We have several interstate and inter-governmental agreements to protect our shoreline and water supplies: regional flood controls and power projects, waste dump siting, and our commitment to revive the Chesapeake Bay. What other types of cooperation are necessary?

18 - VIRGINIA IS A CONSERVATIVE STATE AND DOES NOT REGULATE THINGS THAT COULD BE LEFT UNREGULATED. Change may be a political liability and persons who advocate it may not be reelected. Virginia regulation tends to be a collection of small intrusions rather than major redefinitions of law and responsibility. By not establishing administrative responsibility for managing water, we have left much of this valuable resource untended except in the courts after damage has been done -- and court decisions are more likely to be based on legal technicalities and narrow points of law than on public policy considerations. At the present time, Virginia has police powers to use in a water crisis but no comprehensive plan to prevent a water crisis.

Whoever can dig the deepest well and buy the strongest pump can take and use the water in most places in the state, regardless of the needs of others in the aquifer. Should the right to pump be protected? Should individuals and businesses be denied some of their current freedom to use and waste water?

Will we lose industries to states that can assure water supplies? Which farmers may be wiped out by drought while water flows freely a few miles away? Which wells (and aquifers?) will be exhausted or tainted? How many tax dollars will be used in legal struggles between localities over water rights?

How can we provide appropriate water for residents, agriculture and industry, as well as the animals, birds, and fish that contribute to our quality of life and our economy? How will Virginia decide?

Water News

Virginia Water Resources Research Center • Blacksburg, Virginia
Vol. 16, No. 8 • August 1985

POLL SHOWS VIRGINIANS WILLING TO MAKE ENVIRONMENTAL EFFORTS

The majority of Virginians rate the quality of their air and drinking water as good or excellent and almost all believe that government should control the way business and industry use natural resources. These are some of the findings of a statewide environmental quality poll conducted by the Gallup Organization during June for the Water Center.

"The survey is part of the Water Center's citizen education program for groundwater protection and was designed as a field test of Virginians' knowledge and opinions about their environment," explained Water Center Director William R. Walker. "The Environmental Protection Agency and the Water Center provided funding for the survey because the quality of any state's environment depends on the concern and awareness of its citizens."

The total of 1,628 citizens polled in the random telephone survey was divided among the four main physiographic regions of the state -- Coastal Plain, Piedmont, Valley and Ridge (including the Blue Ridge), and Cumberland Plateau. "The survey was conducted and weighted according to actual state statistics of region, sex, education levels, and income brackets," explained Gary Selnow, Virginia Tech assistant professor of communications studies who designed the questionnaire and worked with Gallup statisticians to analyze the results. "The margin of error is plus-or-minus three percent for each of the results of the poll."

Edward Born, the Center's assistant director for publications, discussed some of the specific results of the poll. "One thing indicated by the survey's results is a willingness on the part of the people of Virginia to do more as individuals to prevent certain types of pollution. For example, 81.9 percent of the respondents believe that the small amounts of paint, varnish, pesticides, and other toxic substances left in supposedly empty containers can contaminate the environment when those containers are put in a landfill. Most would support a 'returnable container' program whereby they would pay a deposit on a container and get it back when they took the container to a collection center for safe disposal."

When asked about the "bottle bill," which would require a deposit on all soft-drink and beer containers, 75.9 percent of the respondents who had heard of the proposed legislation voiced support for it. The poll also revealed that only 43.1 percent of Virginians have heard of the bill, which has been proposed in various forms for the past 11 years and defeated each time in the state legislature.

Government control of the use of natural resources by business and industry was rated somewhat or very necessary by 92.7 percent of those polled. Virginia's government was described as good or excellent in protecting the environment by 56.6 percent; the environmental concern of the state's businesses and industries was rated good or excellent by 50.8 percent.

When the respondents were asked to rate the quality of air and drinking water in their parts of Virginia, air was categorized as good or excellent by 73.9 percent and water by 71.6 percent. The pollution of lakes and streams was the only environmental problem rated by the majority as moderate or severe. "There appears to be a difference of perception between the general public and the State Water Control Board over the quality of the state's surface waters," Born said. "Out of more than 27,000 miles of streams and rivers in Virginia, only 296 miles are rated as severly polluted by the board."

When given a list of substances that can cause groundwater pollution problems, the respondents rated trash and garbage in public landfills and dumps as the greatest problem. "The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency considers human and household wastes from septic systems and petroleum products leaking from underground storage tanks to be the most threatening substances on the list used in the survey," Born said.

Ten-and-a-half percent of the respondents personally know someone whose well water has been contaminated with bacteria and seven percent know someone with chemically contaminated well water. "The percentages are low but they are startling when translated into numbers of people. They mean that a least 400,000 Virginians know someone whose well has been bacterially contaminated and more than 200,000 know someone whose well has been chemically contaminated," Born explained. The poll also revealed that, of the respondents who get their drinking water from wells, only 55.2 percent have had those wells tested for bacterial contamination and only 42.2 percent for chemical contamination.

WITH ALL THIS EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT OF OUR RESOURCES...

WHY DOES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONTINUE TO KILL OR DELAY A PROPER MANAGEMENT SYSTEM FOR OUR WATER RESOURCES?

WHY DID THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY KILL THE "BOTTLE BILL" AGAIN IN 1986?

WHAT OTHER VALUES AND FORCES ARE BEING HEARD?

IS YOUR VOICE BEING HEARD?

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP PREVENT POLLUTION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT?

ARE THERE THINGS YOU MIGHT DO TO HELP IN YOUR COMMUNITY IF YOU HAD A GROUP ORGANIZED? OR IF YOUR CLASS WORKED TOGETHER?

CHARTS & MAPS USEFUL FOR STUDYING VIRGINIA'S WATER RESOURCES

Students vary in their ability to use charts and maps for information. These skills are included in the Standards of Learning (12.12) and they should be a part of every appropriate unit.

The maps in Section B include many that will be useful in relation to a study of water: River Basins, Population, Industry, Minerals. There are several charts on water use and expenditures in Section H.

Send to the Virginia Water Resource Research Center, 617 North Main Street, Blacksburg, VA 24060-3397 for a large and colorful Groundwater Map that includes information on Virginia's groundwater resources in each part of the state.

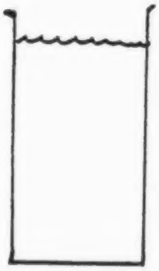
And watch THE QUARTERLY, from the Teacher Resource Service, for information on new ones!

Can your students explain the relationships between water supply, pollution, and conservation? Try them on this chart:

CONSERVATION = SAVINGS

SAVINGS ON TAXES TO FINANCE STORAGE & TREATMENT FACILITIES

SAVINGS ON YOUR WATER & SEWER BILLS

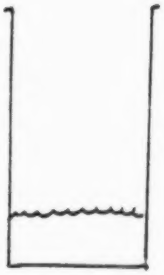


WATER LEVEL UP

POLLUTION DILUTED

IS CONSERVATION

NECESSARY ?

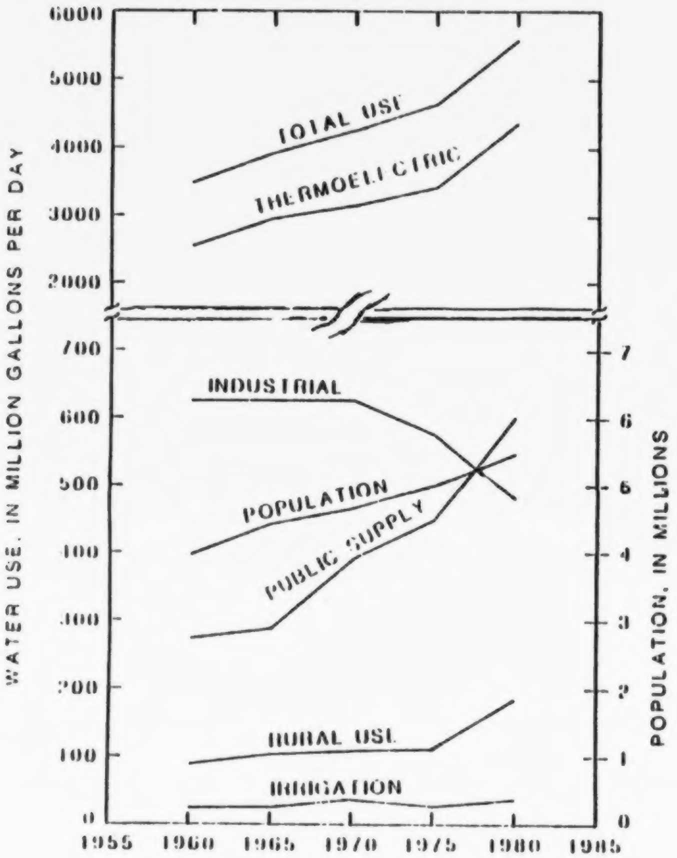


WATER LEVEL DOWN

POLLUTION CONCENTRATED

CONSERVATION CRUCIAL !

TRENDS IN WATER USE AND POPULATION IN VIRGINIA, 1960 - 1980



Source: State Water Control Board

NO....they don't add up !

Think about it. What happens to water AFTER it is used?

Some of it evaporates back into the atmosphere.
Some returns to the surface or ground water supply it came from most reently -- often dirtied.
Some of it is redirected to other sources on the surface or underground -- often dirtied.

IT'S ALL USED AGAIN AND AGAIN. THE CHALLENGE IS TO HAVE
ENOUGH OF IT
WHERE YOU WANT IT
WHEN YOU WANT IT, AND
CLEAN ENOUGH TO USE

THEN RETURN IT CLEAN ENOUGH FOR SOMEONE ELSE TO USE !

Which of these uses do you think would return re-usable water to the same source?

Which of these uses would result in losing the most to evaporation?

Which of these uses would be likely to increase the most in the next decade? (Note the chart is foreshortened -- the top two lines are really a separate chart.)

Write a statement about each line telling what information it reveals about trends between 1960 and 1980.

TOTAL AGGREGATED WATER USE IN VIRGINIA, 1980

Write statements that you can document with the information on this chart.

	GROUND WATER Mgal/d	SURFACE WATER Mgal/d	TOTAL Mgal/d
Public Supply (served 3,864,000 persons, 72 percent of population)			
Domestic..........	78	367	445
Commercial, irrigation (golf course and nursery), general industry and all other non-domestic use................	39	112	151
Total...........	117	479	596
Rural, Self-Supplied (served 1,482,000 persons, 28 percent of population)			
Domestic..........	148		148
Livestock.........	3	26	29
Total.............	151	26	178
Irrigation..........	8	19	28
Thermoelectric......			
Fresh..............	1	4330	4331
Saline............		4036	4036
Total.............	1	8366	8367
Industrial, self-supplied			
Fresh.............	111	356	467
Saline............	<0.5	81	81
Total.............	111	437	548
Grand Total:			
Including thermoelectric.........	389	9328	9717
Total fresh....	389	5211	5600
Total saline...	<0.5	4117	4117
Excluding thermoelectric.........	388	962	1350
Total fresh....	387	881	1269
Total saline...	<0.5	81	81

Which uses do you think return clean water to the river, aquifer, or lake?

Which users return the water directly to the source?

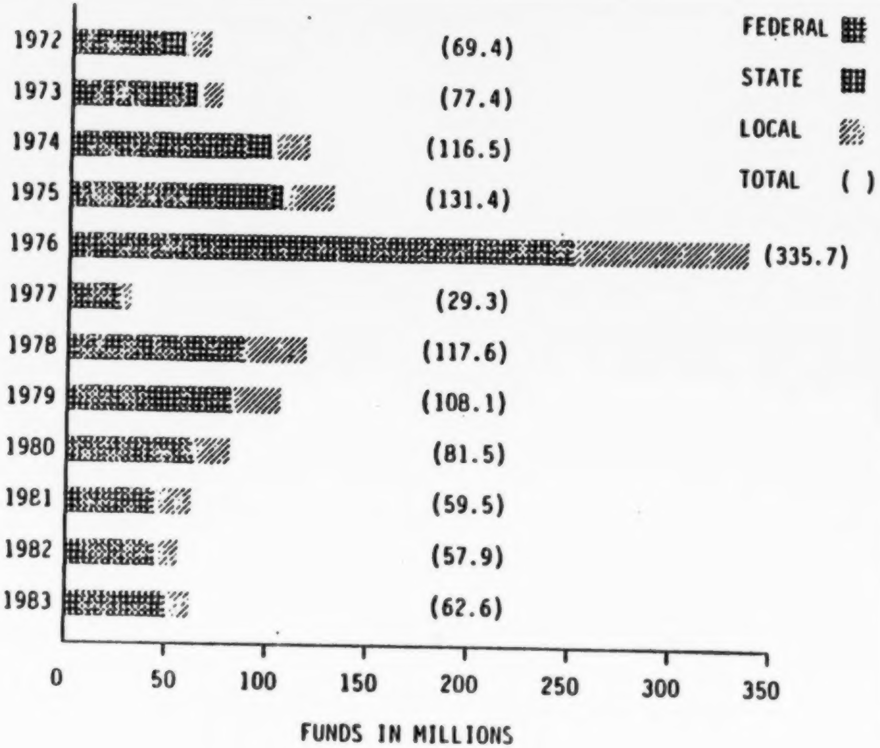
What does Mgal/d mean?

NOTE.--Partial figures may not add to total because of independent rounding.

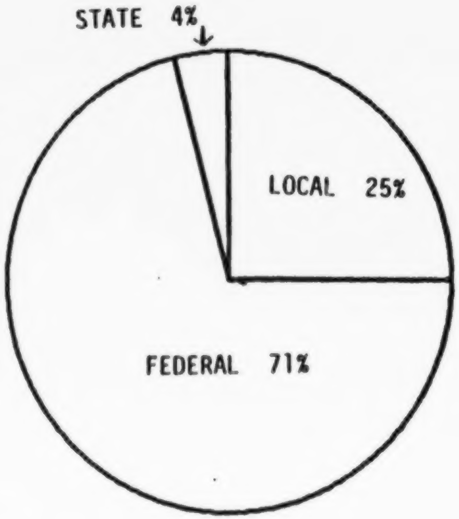
< Less than.

VIRGINIA SEWERAGE CONSTRUCTION GRANTS - FY 1972 - 1983 *

Charts from State Water Control Board - Water Quality Inventory, July 1984



MUNICIPAL FACILITY INVESTMENT, 1958-1983.
CAPITAL INVESTMENT FOR MUNICIPAL WASTEWATER FACILITIES. BY SOURCE OF FUNDS.



FEDERAL:	$ 998,566,830
STATE:	52,078,160
LOCAL:	351,476,144
TOTAL:	$1,402,121,134

*Figures are sums actually spent in Virginia, pursuant to Section 201, Clean Water Act as amended.

H 18

88 PROJECTS REMAIN ON THE PRIORITY LIST OF THE VIRGINIA STATE WATER CONTROL BOARD.
ESTIMATED COST: $1.093 BILLION, INCLUDING $702 MILLION IN FEDERAL GRANT FUNDS.
EPA EXPECTS VIRGINIA'S CONSTRUCTION NEEDS WILL EXCEED $1.549 BILLION BY FY 2000.

FOUR GOOD REASONS TO

1 IT PROTECTS YOUR WATER

Used motor oil poured in backyards, streams and rivers, down sewers or placed in trashcans can eventually end up polluting Virginia's water.

Research shows that each year over 4,400,000 GALLONS of used oil are disposed of improperly by do-it-yourself oil changers in Virginia alone.

Just ONE GALLON of oil can form an oil slick of nearly eight acres in size.

And as little as ONE QUART of oil, when completely dissolved or dispersed in water, can contaminate up to 2,000,000 gallons of drinking water, depending on individual taste and odor sensitivity.

In addition, the toxic substances and known carcinogens found in oil can produce chronic harmful effects in plants, animals and aquatic life.

Storm sewer openings lead to the nearest creek, river, or lake, and oil poured into them thus pollutes our water.

Oil dumped in sanitary sewers goes to the sewage treatment plant where it can disrupt and increase costs of plant operation.

A heavy rain will cause oil spread on a driveway or field to rise to the surface and float away, again causing pollution problems.

Oil dumped in the trash goes to landfills where the oil may seep into groundwater.

The best way to protect your water from the pollution of used oil is to take it to your closest used oil collection site for recycling.

2 IT PRESERVES YOUR ENERGY RESOURCES

The energy value of improperly disposed of used oil is lost forever. By recycling, this energy value can be reclaimed in two ways – by *reprocessing* it as heating oil for industry, or by *rerefining* it back into lubricating oil.

For example, by reprocessing, the 4.4 million gallons of Virginia's used oil wasted each year could be used to heat the equivalent of 6000 Virginia homes for an entire year.

In rerefining, 2½ quarts of new motor oil can be extracted from one gallon of used oil. And, rerefined oil is produced using only ¼ the energy of refining from crude oil.

From the 4.4 million gallons of used oil disposed of improperly each year in Virginia, 2.75 million gallons of clean lubricating oil could be rerefined.

3 IT'S ILLEGAL TO DUMP YOUR OIL

Discharge of oil into or upon the waters of the Commonwealth is prohibited. Violators can be held liable for the cost of cleanup, and failure to report a discharge is subject to civil penalties. In addition, some localities have strict ordinances prohibiting the disposal of used oil onto land.

4 IT'S EASIER THAN YOU THINK

Collection sites have been established at local service stations near you to accept used oil collected from your autos, motorcycles, boats, lawn mowers and tractors.

These facilities are being provided at no cost to you as a public service.

Drain used motor oil into an unbreakable sealable container, such as an empty plastic milk carton.

Protect used oil from debris and water as contaminated oil can't be accepted for recycling.

Piggyback the return of your oil with other trips during service station business hours. Containers left overnight may be vandalized.

Examine the list of collection sites inserted in this brochure for the location nearest you. If the list of sites is missing, call 1-800-552-3831 toll-free for site locations.

AND REMEMBER...

You may not have stopped to think about it, but the cost of wasted and improperly disposed of used oil is extremely high. It's high in terms of reduced quality, and thus quantity, of our water, and it's high in terms of a lost energy source.

RECYCLE YOUR USED OIL

TEN TIPS FOR CHANGING OIL

1. If possible, change the oil after the car has run for awhile. The old oil will drain out more quickly and completely if it's hot.
2. Block the wheels and apply the parking brake before getting under the car.
3. Remove the drain plug on the bottom of the oil pan, allowing the old oil to drain into your drain pan.
4. Use a filter wrench to loosen the old filter, then spin it off and drain as much oil as possible out of the filter into your drain pan.
5. Wet the rubber seal on the new filter with oil, then spin it on. DO NOT USE A FILTER WRENCH to tighten the new filter. Tighten it snugly with your fingers. Replace the drain plug and make sure it's tight.
6. Add the new oil. (Most cars take 5 quarts, but check the owner's manual.)
7. Start the engine. The oil pressure warning light will be on, but should go out after a few seconds. Let the engine run a few minutes.
8. Turn the engine off and check the oil level. Also check around the filter and drain plug for leaks.
9. Write mileage and date of oil change on a doorjamb sticker or in a record book, plus type and brand of oil installed.
10. Pour the used oil into an unbreakable container such as a metal gas can or a plastic milk jug and RETURN USED OIL TO A COLLECTION CENTER!

RECLAIM CLEAN WATER
RECYCLE USED OIL

LOOK FOR THE FOLLOWING YELLOW & BLACK SIGN AT LOCAL SERVICE STATIONS:

RETURN
USED OIL
HERE

FOR INFORMATION, CALL 1-800-552-3831
VIRGINIA USED OIL RECYCLING PROGRAM

For more information on Virginia's Used Oil Recycling Program and collection sites near you, contact:

Virginia Office of Emergency
and Energy Services
310 Turner Road
Richmond, Virginia 23225
(804/323-2891)

or

State Water Control Board
2111 North Hamilton Street
P. O. Box 11143
Richmond, Virginia 23230
(804/257-6343)

or, call this toll-free number statewide:

1-800-552-3831

[This brochure & related materials funded by a grant to the State Water Control Board by the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency under Section 208 of the Clean Water Act (P.L. 92-500)]

THE JOB'S NOT FINISHED 'TIL THE OIL'S RECYCLED

Oil

AND HERE'S WHY...

BE WATER WISE ALL AROUND THE HOUSE.

Fill 'er Up

In many machines, a full load of clothes uses the same amount of water as a half load. Since most machines use 40-60 gallons of water, make every cycle count. Unless you load the machine to its rated capacity, you're not receiving full value from the water and energy you're using. The perma-press cycle uses 1/3 more water than regular settings.

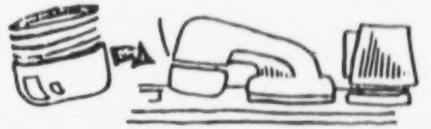
If you've invested in a water-saving washing machine, remember to use the proper water-level setting.

Use dish pans or plug the sinks when washing dishes by hand. Don't let the water run continuously when washing or rinsing.

Load the dishwasher to capacity. Operating it partially filled wastes water and energy.

Kitch[illegible]rvation

An inexpensive aerator a[illegible]ned to the kitchen faucet will save water.



Plug the drain or use a pan when washing vegetables. Later, the water can be poured on houseplants.

Use the garbage disposal sparingly. Accumulate the waste and dispose of it all at once by flushing with cold water—or better yet, save all the waste for composting.

Keep a jar of drinking water in the refrigerator, rather than letting the water run in the sink until you get cold water. Or, to avoid opening the refrigerator door, keep ice water in a picnic jug on the kitchen counter.

Remember—
Your hands are the best conservation devices.

Use them—
To turn off the water when it's not being used, to fix leaks, to install water saving devices, and more.

Be water wise.

For more information, contact
Virginia Water Resources Research Center
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
617 North Main Street
Blacksburg, Virginia 24060-3397
Phone (703)961-5624

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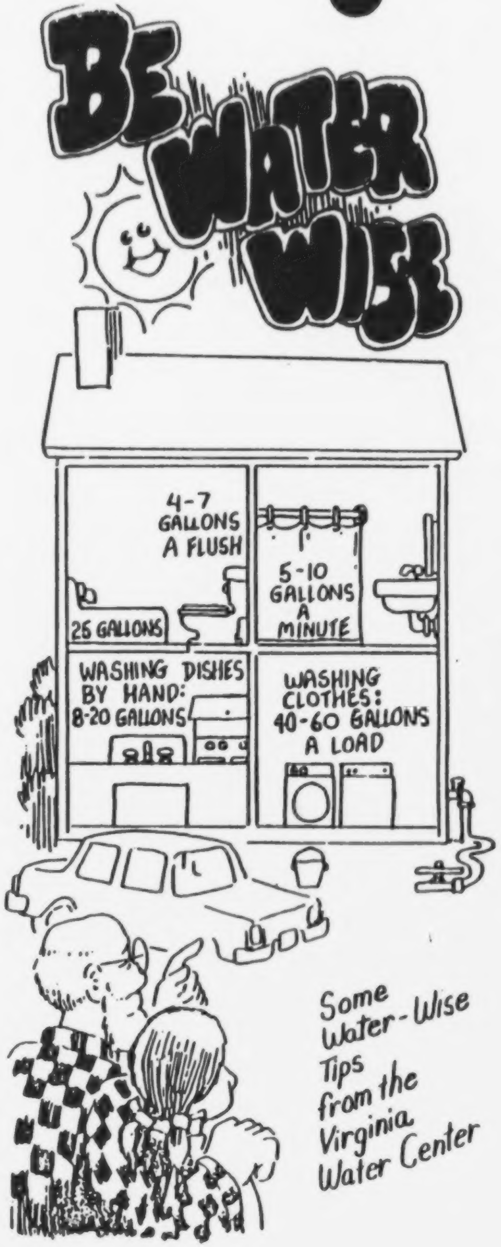
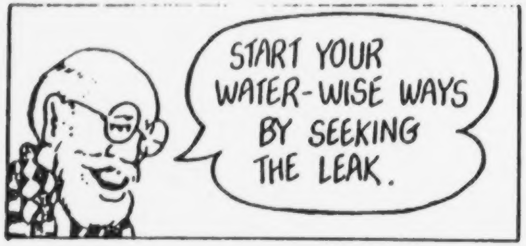
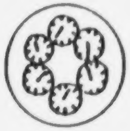

BE WATER WISE
4-7 GALLONS A FLUSH
25 GALLONS
5-10 GALLONS A MINUTE
WASHING DISHES BY HAND: 8-20 GALLONS
WASHING CLOTHES: 40-60 GALLONS A LOAD

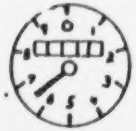
Some Water-Wise Tips from the Virginia Water Center


START YOUR WATER-WISE WAYS BY SEEKING THE LEAK.

Take Me to Your Meter

First, turn off all water faucets and taps and don't flush the toilet. Next, find your water meter. It should look like one of these—





If any dial moves within a half hour, you have a leak somewhere.

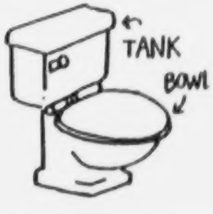
Drip . . . Drip . . . Drip

Check your water line connections and faucets for leaks. If necessary, tighten the connections.

Replace all the worn-out washers. You need only a screwdriver, pliers, and the right size washer.

Beware of the Strong, Silent Type

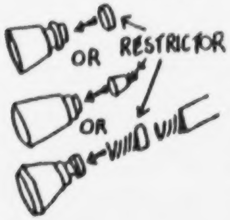
A toilet leak can waste hundreds of gallons of water a day. Listen for an ominous "HSSSS" sound. Since many leaks are silent, put a few drops of food coloring or a dye capsule in the toilet tank and wait 15 minutes. If the color shows up in the bowl and the toilet has not been flushed, you have a leak to repair.



Investigate new flushing devices that replace the ball cock and float. Many of these devices also have built-in leak detectors.

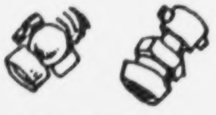
BETTER YOUR BATHROOM WATER WAYS.

Sing Shorter Songs



Shorten showers. A shower uses 5-10 gallons a minute. Use a kitchen timer as a reminder. Consider installing flow restrictors and water-saving shower heads. They are inexpensive and easy to install.

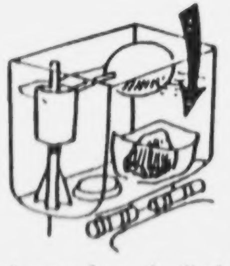
Turn off the water while shampooing or soaping up. A flow cut-off valve can be added to the shower head or purchased as part of the unit.



If you prefer tub baths, 1/4 of a tub should be enough. Put the stopper in the drain right away, rather than waiting for the water to warm up.

Toilet . . . Water Closet . . . Commode

Whatever name you use, the toilet is the single largest water user in the home, accounting for 40 percent of a household's water use.



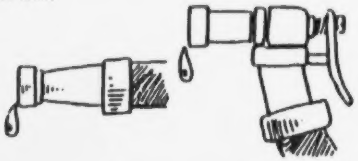
If it's agreeable to family members, flush only when necessary--2 or 3 uses, or when there's solid waste.

Cut off the top of a plastic bottle, weight down with some stones, and place in the toilet tank away from the flushing mechanism. When you flush, you save the amount of water in the bottle.

WATER WISELY OUTSIDE.

Close the Hose

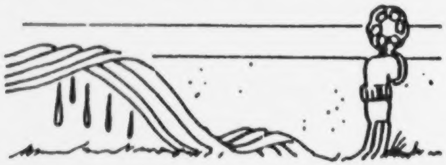
When washing the car, fill a bucket with warm, soapy water. Sponge the entire car. Then rinse. Do not leave the hose running. Use a cut off nozzle for easy shut off.

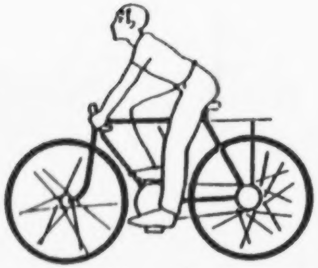


To Sprinkle or Not to Sprinkle

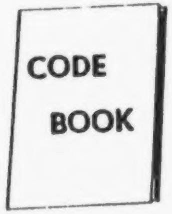
Lawns do not need regular watering. Less frequent waterings with sprinklers that spray low, broad drops will allow the water to seep into the ground, promoting deeper root systems that better withstand dry weather. Avoid watering too heavily because the soil cannot absorb too much water all at once and the extra will just run off. Leaving the hose running for 4 hours will use about 1,500 gallons of water. Use a timer to avoid overwatering.

Mulch flower and vegetable gardens, shrubs, and trees to hold more moisture in the soil and to control weeds. In the garden, a soaker hose is the most efficient way to water because it puts water close to the roots and reduces evaporation.

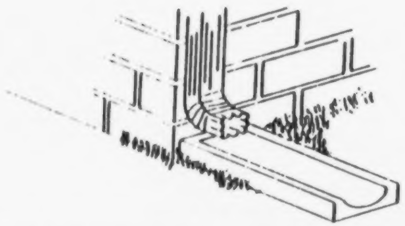




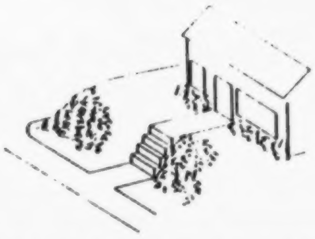
6. Reduce your driving. Use a carpool, mass transit, bicycle, or walk. This not only saves you money but reduces pollution from automobiles.



7. Home sewage disposal systems should be located, constructed, and installed according to regulations. Maintenance and prompt correction of problems are important.



8. Direct roof water onto a grassed area. Be careful it does not flood your or your neighbor's basement. Roof drains should not be connected into a sanitary or storm sewer system.



9. Watch for soil erosion around your home. Seed to grass, install sod or plant ground cover to protect the site.

Information to help you improve water quality may be obtained from the local Cooperative Extension, Soil and Water Conservation District, or Soil Conservation Service Offices. They can tell you what variety of grass or plants to use, where to get soil tests, and the local agency responsible for water quality.

Virginia Cooperative Extension Service programs, activities, and employment opportunities are available to all people regardless of race, color, religion, sex, age, national origin, handicap, or political affiliation. An equal opportunity/affirmative action employer.

Issued in furtherance of Cooperative Extension work, Acts of May 8 and June 30, 1914, and September 30, 1977, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. W. R. Van Dresser, Dean, Extension Division, Cooperative Extension Service, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061; M. C. Harding, Sr., Administrator, 1890 Extension Program, Virginia State University, Petersburg, Virginia 23803

Best Management Practices
for
The Urban Dweller

BEST
MANAGEMENT
PRACTICES
FOR
POLLUTION
CONTROL

Prepared for and under a grant from the
State Water Control Board, Commonwealth of Virginia
(State Water Control Board Information Bulletin 532)

Extension Division
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Publication 4WCB2 April 1980

BMPS FOR THE URBAN DWELLER

Suggestions to Reduce Urban Nonpoint Pollution

Rolland Z. Wheaton and Edward B. Hale[1]

Storm runoff from urban areas poses serious threats to State waters. There is evidence that urban runoff (nonpoint source) is as harmful to the water quality as the municipal sewage plant discharge (point source). When rain falls and runs off, it picks up pollutants from the air, land surfaces, streets, and sewer systems. Best Management Practices (BMPs) can be used to reduce the pollutants in the runoff water.

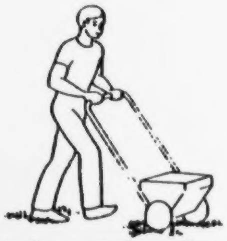
Following is a list of some common urban pollutants, their sources and effects on water quality.

1. *Sediment* is the result of soil erosion. It carries nutrients, pesticides, and other pollutants. The large volume may plug sewers and drainways, fill reservoirs and cover fish spawning grounds.
2. *Nutrients* come from fertilizer washoff and decomposition of leaves, grass clippings, and so forth. The nutrients of greatest concern are nitrogen and phosphorus which can lead to large algae growths in lakes and ponds.
3. *Pathogenic Microorganisms* from fecal wastes represent a health hazard. Primary sources are bird and animal droppings and septic tank overflows.
4. *Toxic Substances* include heavy metals, asbestos, pesticides, and other chemicals. They may prevent the use of the water, cause fish kills or enter the food chain causing long-term damage to aquatic organisms.
5. *Oxygen Demanding Substances* include all organic materials. As they decompose, they deplete the oxygen in the water, often resulting in fish kills. Animal droppings, septic tank wastes, leaves and grass clippings are examples of these materials.
6. *Petroleum Products*, especially gasoline, oil and grease, are found in the street and parking lot runoff. These products are particularly damaging to aquatic organisms.
7. *Chlorides* are present in the street runoff, mainly due to deicing chemicals. At high levels they can be damaging to plants and aquatic organisms.

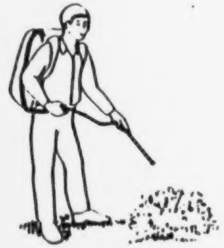
What Can the Individual Do

Each individual should be aware of the pollutants, their sources, and their water quality effects. Construction activities, a major source of sediment, are regulated under the State Erosion and Sediment Control Law. Local governing bodies are responsible for application of BMPs in Urban Areas. If you are concerned about pollution, contact your local governing body.

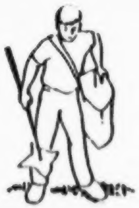
There are many BMPs that each individual can use. Here are a few:



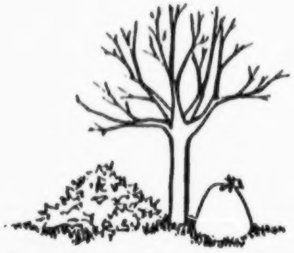
1. *Fertilize your lawn and garden according to needs as shown by soil tests. Try not to apply fertilizer when it might be washed off by heavy rains.*



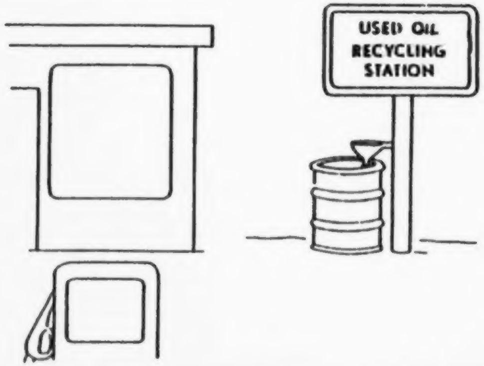
2. *Apply pesticides according to the labels on the containers.*



3. *Pick up litter and animal wastes before they wash into the storm drains.*



4. *Recycle grass clippings and leaves by mulching or composting. If this is not possible, collect and dispose of them according to local provisions.*



5. *If you change your own oil, dispose of the used oil at a recycling depository. Check with your local service stations for locations of such facilities. DO NOT dump the oil into a storm drain.*

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LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIRGINIA'S WATERS

Prior to 1940, providing water for domestic and industrial use was largely the responsibility of local government. Population and industrial growth and water quality and supply problems brought more state involvement. Today, the State Department of Health (SDH) regulates the safety of local public water supplies and makes some attempt to monitor private supplies, though that is particularly difficult in rural areas. SDH budgets and procedures are stretched, particularly since we now know that protection of our groundwater quality is not as simple as we once believed. Local governments make small contributions to SDH, but most funding is state and federal.

The State Water Control Board (SWCB) monitors water quality in the rivers and streams of Virginia and works with local and federal officials to clean up pollution. The SWCB prepares a Water Quality Inventory, available on request.

THE MAIN POLLUTION CONTROL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS THROUGH LAND USE PLANNING. Significant water policy decisions are made by local governments at almost every meeting, when they approve building, decide on land use in the watershed and allocate land for reservoirs, require run-off controls, or ban industries that are big water users or polluters. Since water resources are an important determinant of the capacity of an area to sustain growth and economic development, they are key components of local land use planning.

SPECIAL AREA PROBLEMS: Some parts of the state (mainly mountain-valley areas and the Piedmont) do not have adequate and accessible groundwater. Their dependence on surface water means that they are hit first and hardest by periods of low rainfall, and as quantity is reduced, quality usually suffers.

In southeast Virginia, if the groundwater level is low because of drought or excessive draw-down, saltwater is likely to take its place. Since the quantity of fresh surface water is inadequate for its tremendous population growth, Virginia Beach is looking to Lake Gaston and an 85 to 100-mile pipeline for its future supply. A 1975 case may tie up the plan in courts for years, since the state granted local governments the power to control waters within their borders, even if the land surrounding the water is owned by another jurisdiction. This law is regarded by many as an obstacle to interbasin transfer (piping water from one drainage area to another). In addition, Lake Gaston is located on our border with North Carolina, which is suing to prevent the diversion of Lake Gaston water to Tidewater Virginia. Water engineers still search for affordable methods to remove the salt from water, but none appear to be practical at this time for the volume required.

WATER RATE STRUCTURES Special rates granted through the years to large water users have not encouraged wise water use and conservation. The SWCB's proposal to assist localities in setting rates was accepted though not funded by the 1981 General Assembly. It probably will have to be done in the future. Do rates influence use? Do rates influence waste?

LIMITED WATER RESOURCES HAVE NOT LIMITED POPULATION GROWTH Cities are located where water supplies are not dependable. Should communities be required to limit growth to the level of their water supply? How can local government assure a fair and economical distribution of the available water and maintain the quality of the water for all users, now and in the future? Water recognizes no city, county, or state lines. How can we coordinate the actions of local, state, and national government, and build the support and compliance of all components of society: individual and family water users, as well as farmers, business, and industry? What is our community doing about this?

WATER SUPPLIES IN OUR AREA

Name ______________________________

One official has stated that there is almost no part of Virginia that does not have a water problem - either drought, flooding, pollution, saltwater intrusion, or the exhaustion of the supply - at this time, in the past, or projected in the future. Some areas, such as Virginia Beach, have all of these problems. Look at the water maps and charts and locate the area where we live. How do you think it compares with neighboring areas? (Quantity and quality of supply? reservoirs? other?)

How does this area compare with the state as a whole? What are our problems, and how serious are they?

Answer the following questions, from what you know of our community. You also may ask your family, neighbors, friends, classmates, other teachers or local officials. If you intend to contact local officials, call during business hours and plan to share your answers with at least 6 other students, so that officials will not be bothered by too many calls. Be ready to discuss your answers in class, as well as the sources of your information.

1 - Does this area depend on individual wells? public water supply? both?

2 - If wells, then how many people in this area use them?
Is the groundwater supply dependable?
Has groundwater diminished or dried up at any time in the past ten years?
During a drought emergency, what did people do for water?
Have any measures been suggested to guard against a recurrence?

3 - What officials/offices manage water supply in this area?

4 - Are area jurisdictions cooperating to manage water? If so, which ones?

5 - Has there been a water shortage in this area in the past ten years?
Which years?

6 - Did water quality suffer as quantity was reduced?

7 - What measures were taken to conserve water?

8 - What measures were taken to increase water supplies?

9 - Who are the biggest water users in this area?

10 - Do these big users return clean water to the system?

If not, what are their reasons?

11 - Are there open waters in this area that are certified as swimmable?

12 - What is the source of the public water supply in this area? (i.e., river, lake, bay, or aquifer name)

13 - Is the quantity of water available from this source adequate for the needs of our community at this time?

14 - Is the quantity adequate for the needs predicted in the future?

15 - Have any measures been taken to assure supplies for normal rainfall years in the future?

16 - Have any special provisions or plans been made for dry years?

17 - Have any provisions been made in this area to control damages from flooding and run-off? How serious have these problems been in this area?

18 - Are impoundments necessary to accommodate seasonal supply and demand? If so, describe where they are located:

19 - Does this area have the capability to connect to other reservoirs and supplies without service interruption? Which ones?

20 - Is water supply a current topic of discussion in this area?

21 - Virginia's water supplies can certainly be made adequate for all our citizens, but the development of properly-located impoundments and other longterm solutions are and will be expensive. What recommendations have been discussed for this area?

22 - What approvals and funding are necessary? What is the expected completion date? What will this area have to do in the meantime?

WATER CONSERVATION IN OUR AREA

Name ______________________________

Decreasing water use is much more cost effective than expanding reservoirs and treatment facilities to handle greater volume. Conservation saves tax dollars and saves each of us dollars on our own water bills. Everyone benefits!

1 - Identify the agency of our local government that is primarily concerned with conservation of our soil and water resources? What is its name?

2 - Has there been any recent public education or media campaign to help local citizens use water resources more efficiently? How recently?

3 - Does your family customarily use any of the following conservation measures? If you adopted them recently, have you an estimate of the amount of money you saved on your water bills?

a. Check for drips. yes __ no __

b. Tighten all connections, replace washers, stop leaks. yes __ no __

c. Check/repair toilet tanks. Use water limiter (plastic bottle in the tank) so you don't use 5 gallons for every flush. yes __ no __

d. Shorten showers and use flow-restrictor shower heads. yes __ no __

e. Limit tub baths to 1/4 tubful of water. yes __ no __

f. Use water sparingly for yard and outdoor cleaning. yes __ no __

g. Use soaker hose in early morning or at night to water yard. Do not over-water -- prevent waste in evaporation. yes __ no __

h. Do a full load of clothes or dishes at a time. yes __ no __

i. Use dish rinsing or clothes rinsing water (grey water) for plants and other uses that do not require drinking quality water. yes __ no __

j. Wash dishes, hands, and other things in a little water in the sink or in a basin, rather than running water continuously. yes __ no __

k. Catch and use top-of-the-pipe water, as you wait for the hot or cold. Save cold drinking water in a refrigerator jar. yes __ no __

l. Use less cooking water and a lid to prevent evaporation and nutrient loss. yes __ no __

m. Use low-phosphate detergents that are easier to clean out of the water. (Check labels - Save the Bay!) yes __ no __

n. Catch and re-cycle the old oil from all vehicles, so it won't run into our surface or ground water supplies and pollute them. yes __ no __

CONSERVE WATER! ASSURE VIRGINIA'S FUTURE! AND SAVE ON YOUR WATER BILLS!

LAND USE PLANNING IN OUR COMMUNITY Name ____________________

One of the major administrative tools available to localities in Virginia is the power to regulate land use -- to decide when and where agriculture, industry, high or low density residential use or park land will be permitted. The availability of water is always a key factor.

1. How does your community handle these decisions?

2. Do you think that the public is aware of the land uses planned for different areas of your community?

3. How many kinds of land uses are included on your community plan? Name the categories:

4. Are copies of the land use map available on request?

5. Are planning commission vacancies advertised? Do appointments represent the major segments of the community?

6. Are planning commission meetings held at publicly announced times?

7. Is special notice given to owners of nearby property when a land use change or a variance is to be discussed? What notice does the law specify?

8. How is public input included at planning commission meetings? Are citizen committees ever used to give advice on the problems of particular areas?

9. Is site plan review a regular function of the planning commission?
   Are waterways treated specially by your planning commission?
   Is erosion control a major consideration?

(None Some All) of this community is served by a public water supply?

10. Do parts of this community have a water problem?
    Do parts of this community have an unusually high water table or percolation problems that would affect planning for septic systems?

11. Describe the problem (briefly):

12. Does our local government have its own water department? Or does it share area resources with a regional authority?

13. Who is in charge?

14. Is there a long-range plan to assure water supplies?

15. Are special land use controls needed for areas where water supplies are expected to be low? Identify the areas:

16. If an industry that uses large quantities of water wanted to locate in this area, could its managers be assured that their needs would be met?

17. If water is sometimes a problem in this area, list the people and organizations who might oppose the industry:

VIRGINIA WATER RIGHTS & WATER LAWS

Source of information: League of Women Voters of Virginia

Virginia's water laws do not recognize the interrelationship of ground and surface water; therefore the state has an independent set of laws for each.

SURFACE WATER IS REGULATED BY THE RIPARIAN DOCTRINE

Riparian owners have a common law right to use a reasonable amount of surface water bordering or crossing their property, though they do not "own" the water. The riparian doctrine, established by court decisions, indicates that a riparian may not cause unreasonable injury to other riparians using the same water source -- though a riparian may legally exhaust a water supply for household use or for watering livestock. Sharing is a basic aspect of the doctrine, but the riparian upstream has the clear advantage. In water-rich eastern states like Virginia, the Riparian Doctrine works satisfactorily as long as supply is adequate for all and conflicts are few.

Municipal use is not considered a reasonable riparian right. If riparians are harmed, the public system usually has to purchase their rights, either with their consent or by eminent domain. (Ex: The city of Richmond has rights to James River water, and Newport News to Chickahominy water.)

There is no fixed quantity of water assured to any riparian. It depends on rainfall and the volume used upstream. No record is kept of unused water rights or of prescriptive rights, which may be acquired when a person uses water unlawfully for 20 years without a challenge.

Under riparian doctrine, water may be used only on the land within the watershed of the particular stream. Exceptions have been allowed by Virginia courts when the water was deemed "surplus,"and present and future owners were not likely to be harmed. However, many people feel that it would be unlawful to pipe water from one watershed in the state to another (interbasin transfer) because of the difficulty of defining surplus water. Surplus in a year of plenty might not be surplus a few short months later, and they fear that loss of the water from the original watershed might hurt riparians or keep some job-producing industry from locating there in the future.

The only parties who can bring suit are the riparians. Disputes are settled through individual lawsuits, riparian against riparian, with little state expense or involvement. However, decisions may hinge on a technicality or a very narrow issue, not on what should be public policy. Recreation uses and wildlife are not represented, nor are such concerns as dilution of nonpoint pollution. In addition, riparian doctrine is no help in planning for the future, since no case can appear in court until after damage has been done.

If you were planning new water laws for Virginia, how would you allocate the supplies available for our citizens? Is water a resource that should belong to all the people or to the property owners who paid more for the land because it was there? How would you define the rights of the property owners? the fish and wildlife? sports and recreation? Are there such conflicts in our area? Should public systems be able to take or buy needed water for a growing population from privately-owned land or from another jurisdiction? What changes must be considered in times of drought? Who should decide?

CONFUSION ON RIGHTS TO GROUNDWATER
Source of information: League of Women Voters of Virginia

Virginia courts have not established one basis for dealing with questions of rights to groundwater in most of the state. The Absolute Ownership (English) rule of common law gives absolute ownership of ground water to owners of the land above it, which seems to include the right to use it, transport it, or sell it. The Reasonable Use (American) rule allows use of water only on the overlying land, though "reasonable" in this case does not require sharing, and may even result in depleting the neighbor's supply. Both these rules have been applied to Virginia water disputes, and it is not easy to predict what rights an "owner" may have. Whoever can drill the deepest well and buy the strongest pump usually will win the water. In some areas, groundwater is hard to distinguish from surface water, since streams flow both above and below ground, and many of our lakes and reservoirs are spring-fed. Who has the legal use of how much? Does the sharing concept of riparian law apply if the spring gushes out a foot short of the property line? Who decides?

THE GROUND WATER ACT OF 1973

In 1973, the Ground Water Act (GWA) introduced a state administered permit system for water shortage areas designated by the State Water Control Board as groundwater management areas. Thus far, only two areas have been designated: Southeastern Virginia and Virginia's Eastern Shore.

The Act requires permits for new uses of more than 50,000 gallons per day (gpd), except water for livestock, agriculture, domestic use, and (after an attorney general's ruling) municipal use. Existing uses are exempt so long as they are "beneficial" (the term is not defined). Permits cannot be granted if they would interfere with anyone having prior rights. (Those words prior rights indicate that the earliest user of the water in a certain area has the best claim. Western states call this the "appropriation doctrine," and it was not previously a feature of Virginia water law.) Can you think of water users who would need a GWA permit? Who would support or oppose their applications?

The GWA is presumed to limit use, but the grandfather clauses exempted existing uses, so that it had no effect on the situations that caused problems in the first place. The GWA does not resolve disputes (which must still go to court), and obviously, the decisions have no effect on the rest of the state. The GWA does add another array of questions:

> How long does a permit last? Who has the right to review or rescind permits? How does this relate to withdrawals of surface water that may be part of the same water source? How can the SWCB consider the total area's water management program if it has only limited control over the surface water in the area? Municipal use is not included, so how can a water management program serve populous areas?

Can you describe any situations that might be confused further by the GWA? Can you think of people or groups who would prefer to continue operating with the inconsistencies? What is a "grandfather clause"?

With $148,700 from EPA, the SWCB developed a strategy to improve septic systems, wood-preserving operations, leaking surface impoundments, landfills, storage, and disposal facilities. It will not deal with LUSTS (leaking underground storage tanks), which will be considered separately.

WATER SUPPLY -- WHO'S IN CHARGE?

Information from the League of Women Voters of Virginia

Virginia has no comprehensive water resources management plan at this time, 1985. We have a multi-agency approach to the protection and development of our water.

The State Water Control Board (SWCB) is the primary water resource agency, but thirteen other independent state agencies have significant authority over water matters:

State Corporation Commission (SCC)
The State Department of Health (SDH)
Marine Resources Commission (MRC)
Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Service (VSWCS)
Council on the Environment (COE)
Commission of Game & Inland Fisheries (CGIF)
Commission of Outdoor Recreation (COR)
Virginia Institute of Marine Sciences (VIMS)
Department of Conservation & Economic Development (DCED)
Virginia Port Authority (VPA)
State Department of Highways & Transportation (VDHT)
Department of Agriculture & Consumer Services (VDACS)
Virginia Resource Authority (VRA)

Do you think that fragmentation of authority may hinder planning?

The 1981 General Assembly mandated the SWCB to draw up an administrative plan for Virginia's waters, to collect data on stream flow and water uses, and to assist localities with rate schedules. Funds for the added responsibilities were not appropriated. In 1984, the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future identified this as a top-priority. In 1985, Governor Robb requested an increase in the SWCB budget and a plan for the management of Virginia's waters to be presented in January 1986. Advisory Committees have been appointed, the plan has been proposed and discussed at citizen forums around the state and will be addressed by the 1986 General Assembly. Watch the news!

The State Corporation Commission (SCC) regulates hydroelectric and certain other dams as well as public utilities such as water and sewer companies. The Attorney General has ruled that the SCC's authority over stream flow releases is greater than the other state agencies, including the SWCB

The State Department of Health (SDH) is the agency with major responsibility for water supply, especially through its implementation of the Safe Drinking Water Act, regulation of public water supply systems and regulation of waste disposals which threaten groundwater quality. Do SDH offices have adequate trained personnel? Are they subject to pressure from developers to loosen requirements? Can they protect our groundwater from leaky septic systems?

The Council on the Environment (under the Secretary of Commerce and Resources) manages Virginia's part of the 10-year campaign to restore the polluted Chesapeake Bay. Virginia is improving water quality and educating the public on the need for protecting the Bay. (The research and writing of this unit was partly supported by a grant from these funds.) Since most of our rivers flow into the Chesapeake, we must clean up many rivers to restore the Bay.

What do you know about the other agencies? Where would you find information?

PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZING ADMINISTRATION AND REGULATION OF VIRGINIA'S WATERS

Virginia has been working on water pollution problems since 1946, when the State Water Control Board began to regulate wastewater and runoff. Actually, we were one of the first states to have a pollution abatement program.

The 1977 General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for a study of water supply and allocation problems of Northern Virginia and Southeastern Virginia. The Water Study Commission proposed two bills: One passed that allows local governments to require the use of water saving devices. One did not pass that would have required permits for use of Potomac Basin water.

In 1978 and 1979, the Commission ordered studies of available groundwater in southeastern Virginia, a study of the legal and economic implications of changing Virginia's water allocation institutions, and the development of alternative provisions for a comprehensive new water code incorporating groundwater, surface water management, and water quality control.

The groundwater study was completed and reported to the public. Preliminary results of the other two studies were presented in the Commission's December 1979 report. The Commission was continued and further moves were suggested to protect the waters of the Potomac for Virginia use.

LEGISLATION PROPOSED IN 1980

In 1980, the State Water Study Commission Report summarized the water administration problems in Virginia and offered three alternatives for consideration by the people of Virginia and the General Assembly:

Alternative A The State Water Control Board would be commissioned to collect data on water users, in-stream flows, and to develop a planning assistance program under which the state would help localities with demand management strategies (water prices) and procedures such as permits. The Water Control Board also would prepare a state water administration plan. The added workload for the Water Control Board was estimated to cost one million dollars per year for the next eight years. Alternative A was ultimately approved by the General Assembly, though it was not funded until 1984.

Alternative B The riparian doctrine would have been modified to allow "harmless use," declaring that any beneficial use of water would be lawful unless it caused harm by interfering with valid existing uses, or by decreasing the market value of riparian land.

> *The words beneficial and harmless use were not defined legally. This was considered a major flaw.

Interbasin transfer of more than 100,000 gallons of water per day would have required approval of the SWCB -- with an appeal board of circuit court judges .

> *Some people oppose interbasin transfer and some criticized Alternative B for not dealing with technical and legal questions (e.g., definition of a basin, rights of way, and compensation).

Virginia's centralized public water systems (regional or municipal) would be established as valid riparian users of stream and river water.

*Some people believe that riparians should be compensated for municipal withdrawals of water. How much compensation? for how long?

Alternative C A new water code for Virginia was proposed with a new philosophical foundation: the belief that water resources belong to all citizens, and that maximum beneficial use of water is a public trust to be administered by the state. (*Some people said this represented an unnecessary expansion of government power. Do you think it is necessary?)

-- A part-time citizen board, with regional advisory groups would act as policy-maker for a comprehensive water management agency. The Water Resource Board would set priorities among users of water, and establish user fees for permits and user surveillance. The fees would provide compensation to "damaged" parties and be used to purchase and protect future reservoir sites.

-- Users of more than 5,000 gallons per day would have to obtain permits from the State Board. Initially, all existing users would be issued permits automatically upon application. Public water utilities could receive permits for up to fifty years to facilitate bond sales and capital improvements. All other permits would be for ten years. Interbasin transfer of water would be possible in a permitting process.

*The permit process was considered unnecessary in some parts of the state. Also, experience in Florida and other states was cited to document a fear that a new bureaucracy would be created to administer the permits.

-- The new water code would replace the Groundwater Act, which was felt to be deficient. Separate legislation was proposed to license well drillers, since improperly drilled and maintained wells are known to be a major threat to groundwater.

Licensing of well drillers has been proposed in each session of the General Assembly since this report. It has not been passed.

-- Existing water pollution control provisions were gathered and grouped into one chapter of the new code.

Copies of the 1980 report were sent to interested parties throughout the state. Sixty speakers, mainly representing governmental bodies, public agencies, and other organizations testified at hearings several weeks later. There was general agreement on a need for change and on the inadequacy of existing systems to cope with water user conflict, but many were unwilling to endorse Alternatives B or C without more time to study and understand them. Some speakers criticized interbasin transfer, any changes in riparian rights, unnecessary expansion of state government under Alternative C, and other points starred above. The Commission requested that Alternative A be adopted by the General Assembly and that the commission be continued to work on the other ideas with more public input. The Commission was continued.

SUMMARY OF BILLS
(Prepared by Legislative Services, Fall 1985)

The State Water Commission was established by the General Assembly to study all aspects of water supply and allocation and to coordinate legislative recommendations dealing with the Commonwealth's water resources. This year the Commission asked the State Water Plan Advisory Committee (SWPAC), a citizens group which advises the State Water Control Board, for its suggestions on ways to address water resource problems.

Legislation has been drafted to implement the SWPAC's recommendations and it is currently being studied. The Commission held hearings on these proposals to solicit the public's comments and suggestions. Summaries of the bills are as follows:

1. Virginia Water Withdrawal Act
   This would establish a system to regulate all withdrawals of water in excess of 300,000 gallons per month. A permit, which would be issued by the State Water Control Board, would be required for all uses of surface and groundwater in excess of that threshold. Agricultural irrigators using water from a pond, fed only by diffused surface water and holding less than 30 acre-feet, would not be regulated.

2. Amendments Pertaining to the Water Use Reporting Exemptions for Crop Irrigation
   State law enables the Water Control Board to collect information on water use in excess of 10,000 gallons per day. However, the Board may not require crop irrigators to report their consumption. That exemption would be rescinded, enabling the Board to obtain a complete data base on the use of Virginia's water resources.

3. Amendments to the Groundwater Act
   The Groundwater Act established procedures for protecting sensitive groundwater areas and directed the State Water Control Board to regulate large withdrawals of groundwater in those areas. The exemptions for agricultural and municipal uses would be rescinded, and the threshold for regulation would be lowered from 50,000 to 10,000 gallons per day.

4. Well Construction
   This would direct the Board of Housing and Community Development to adopt minimum standards for the construction of wells, if they are not currently regulated by the Department of Health, as part of the Uniform Statewide Building Code. These standards would help ensure the protection of human health and groundwater resources, and would be enforced by local officials.

5. Acquisition of Planned Reservoir Sites
   Amendments are proposed to clarify the authority of local governments and water and sewer authorities to acquire land for future reservoirs by using the power of eminent domain.

From what you know of Virginia's water problems and the public willingness to have the state regulate the use of natural resources, what do you think happened to each of these proposed bills? Give reasons for your answers. After you have reached your own conclusions, check public records, newspaper files of December 1985 and January 1986, and your own Delegate and/or Virginia Senator to find out what did happen to these proposals.

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NEWS LETTER

University of Virginia • Institute of Government

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WATER SUPPLY MANAGEMENT IN VIRGINIA

by

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Water supply problems and associated controversies have achieved unprecedented attention in Virginia in recent years. Drought-induced water shortages in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach area have resulted in controversial proposals to transfer water into the area from Lake Gaston on the Roanoke River. Years of debate and controversy in Northern Virginia ended only recently with the adoption of a complex agreement for regional water supply management. In the western part of the state, Roanoke and Montgomery counties have disagreed about the desirability of a federal water project to include water supply and other purposes.

Do these conflicts indicate that the period of favorable water resource conditions has ended? Does the state need to modify its water management program to help resolve such conflicts? While these questions have received much attention, most notably from a special legislative study commission, final answers have not been reached. This News Letter gives an overview of the current water resources situation in Virginia and presents information that may help in finding answers to these questions.

VIRGINIA'S WATER RESOURCES

Virginia, with an average annual rainfall of 43 inches, is traditionally classified as a water-abundant state. It is largely an "upstream" state; with a few exceptions like the New River, water generally flows away from rather than into the state. Most of the water available for use originates in the form of precipitation within the state's boundaries, which produces approximately 30.5 trillion gallons of water per year. A large portion of this water cannot be used, however. Some falls into inaccessible areas such as the Chesapeake Bay, and a lot of it evaporates or is transpired by vegetation. Only that water becoming part of either the surface runoff, which is most accessible in the form of streamflow, or the groundwater resource is available for use.

Over 90 percent of the state's total freshwater withdrawals for offstream uses comes from surface sources, but groundwater is a major source of supply in some regions. Groundwater availability is greatest in the coastal plain region, where extensive deposits of sand and gravel form highly productive aquifers, while availability is most restricted in the Piedmont and Blue Ridge regions. The only part of the coastal plain where current groundwater use represents a substantial part of the available supply within a large region is the area south of the James River.

Table 1 summarizes Virginia's water use at five-year intervals from 1960 through 1980. That table shows several interesting trends. First, even though the state's total withdrawals for offstream use have increased over the twenty-year period, per capita water use has decreased. Second, while industrial water use, the largest category, has increased, it has represented an ever-decreasing percentage of total withdrawals, a result of environmental controls and other factors. The increased use for public supply purposes reflects the population growth that the state's urban areas have experienced over the past two decades.

Each week national news stories reinforce the importance of state and local governments in our federal system. Strengthening these governments by research, consultation, and education is the mission of the Institute of Government of the University of Virginia.

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Director, Institute of Government
207 Minor Hall
Charlottesville, VA 22903
phone (804) 924-3396

Table 1
Fresh Water Withdrawals in Virginia, 1960—1980

	Amount of Withdrawals in MGD [a] (% of Total Withdrawals)				
Type of Use	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Self-Supplied Industrial Water[b]	3700 (90.6)	3700 (89.9)	4200 (88.9)	4300 (88.3)	4800 (85.6)
Public Supply	260 (6.4)	290 (7.0)	390 (8.3)	440 (9.0)	600 (10.7)
Rural Use[c]	88 (2.1)	100 (2.4)	100 (2.1)	110 (2.3)	180 (3.2)
Irrigation	36 (0.9)	27 (0.7)	35 (0.7)	20 (0.4)	28 (0.5)
Total Withdrawals	4100 (100)	4100 (100)	4700 (100)	4900 (100)	5600 (100)
Total Consumptive Use	120 (2.9)	130 (3.2)	150 (3.2)	71 (1.4)	230 (4.1)
Per Capita Use	1300 GPD[d]	1200 GPD	1200 GPD	990 GPD	1000 GPD

SOURCE: Data from U. S. Geological Survey Circulars 456, 556, 676, 765 and 1001 (1961-1983).

[a] Million gallons per day.

[b] Includes cooling water for thermoelectric power facilities but excludes hydro-electric power use.

[c] Includes domestic and livestock use.

[d] Gallons per day.

WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS

Identifying water supply problems requires comparison of water use and available supply. Such comparison is difficult because of the substantial amount of reuse that occurs along many streams. Nevertheless, certain comparisons can offer a useful perspective. For example, the state's average total withdrawal in 1980 (5600 million gallons per day) was approximately equal to the combined average flows of two of the state's rivers: the James River at Richmond (4854 mgd) and the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg (1072 mgd). Another interesting comparison is that the total consumptive use for the state in 1980 (230 mgd) generally equalled the average flow of the Occoquan River near Manassas (279 mgd).

These comparisons indicate that Virginia's tradition of water abundance continues on a statewide basis and provides potential for substantially increased water use to accommodate future growth.[1] But at the same time, recent controversies declare the existence of significant water problems at certain locations within the state.

These problems are due largely to distribution of water supply and water demand. Water supply is affected by variations in distribution over time since drought periods occur when the available supply is much below average quantities. Both water supply and demand vary in their geographic distribution. A major cause of Virginia's water supply problems has been the lack of coincidence between centers of water demand and supply. Development of large water demand in areas of relatively scarce natural supply would be unlikely to occur if water were a major factor in determining the location of socioeconomic activity, but studies show that other factors have a greater influence on growth.

One of Virginia's publicized water problems involves attempts to expand the public water supply in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach area, where existing supplies are increasingly unable to satisfy normal demand during significant droughts, such as those that occurred in 1977 and 1980-81.[2] The most recent shortages generated a series of lawsuits in response to a proposal for interjurisdictional groundwater development, resulting in strained relations among the area's local governments. The locality at greatest risk is Virginia Beach sinc it purchases water from the City of Norfolk, the region's largest water supplier. The Norfolk system obtains water from a series of impoundments, direct river withdrawals, and wells used to supplement surface sources during shortages. The Norfolk system includes components located both inside and outside the city's boundaries.

Several strategies are potentially available for addressing this situation. The first, drought management, involves accepting water shortage during drought as a periodical occurrence to be managed through a plan to restrict water use during droughts and to mitigate the adverse impacts of shortages. This approach minimizes investment in water supply facilities and is often advocated as deserving more attention in water supply planning. It has received no support within the Virginia Beach area, however, particularly because projected growth in the region would make future shortages occur more frequently.

A second strategy receiving increased attention is reduction in present or future water demand. In the case of Virginia Beach, this strategy has been implemented in part by building code modifications providing for the use of water-saving plumbing. Future projections and planning assume continuing suc water-saving measures to reduce wate demand. More stringent measures to reduce demand, such as restricting lawn watering, have been imposed only on an emergency basis.

A third strategy is to use existing supplies more efficiently through such means as optimizing use of reservoir storage or fully integrating the existing well capacity into the present supply system for use during droughts. This approach would be most effective if applied on a regional basis, incorporating all major water supply facilities; but such action would require a degree of interjurisdictional cooperation not currently in evidence in the southeastern region of the state. In fact, recent water supply plans make no provision for the continued sharing of surplus water among political subdivisions in that region because of perceived insecurities associated with the idea. Localities in Northern Virginia, in contrast, have joined with others in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area in a long-range regional water supply program based on cooperative management, which has largely eliminated the need for major water project construction there for a considerable time.

A fourth strategy is to expand the wate supply to a desirable level of dependabili by constructing new projects. Even though adoption of the other three strategies could reduce the need for much additional supply development, this strategy has continued to predominate water supply management. Virginia Beach has selected the transfer of water from Lake Gaston on the Roanoke River as the preferred approach. This choice appears to have been strongly influenced by a desire to avoid future interjurisdictional conflict, which has been so intense among the area's local governments in recent years. This desire is reflected in the decision not to consider interjurisdictional water surpluses and groundwater as continuing sources of supply.

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[1] For a more detailed assessment of water use and availability in Virginia, see L. A. Shabman, W. E. Cox, and D. D. Ledvina, "An Assessment of Water Use and Availability in Water Resource Regions of Virginia through the Year 2000," Department of Agricultural Economics Research Report AE-42, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA, 1981.

[2] The Norfolk-Virginia Beach water supply situation is analyzed in "Water Supply Study, Hampton Roads, Virginia," Norfolk District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Norfolk, VA, 1984.

VIRGINIA'S PRESENT MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Virginia's water supply management system is a relatively decentralized approach that consists of three essential components: (1) procedures for allocating water among competing interests by defining property interests in water, (2) regulatory measures imposed by different levels of government that constrain the exercise of property interests, and (3) programs for water supply development and related support services.[3]

Water Allocation

State government has traditionally exercised the basic water management responsibility of allocating available water supply among competing interests by defining water rights. But this authority is subject to limitations, especially in the case of interstate waters. Interstate conflicts over water use in some cases may be resolved in federal courts or, alternatively, through negotiated interstate agreement. Restrictions on state authority to allocate the waters of intrastate streams are less extensive and exist primarily in the form of federal powers under the commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution.

State authority to allocate water can take two general approaches. One, based on water-use legislation, functions through an administrative program responsible for creating and supervising private water rights. The other, a more passive approach, allows the judicial process to define and enforce water rights without the direct involvement of the executive branch of state government. Virginia primarily follows this latter approach. To define Virginia's water allocation law requires considering streamflow separately from groundwater.

Allocation of Streamflow. Streamflow is allocated in Virginia by the riparian doctrine, which is simply a collection of legal principles for resolving water use conflicts that have been established in the accumulated decisions of the courts. Water allocation under the doctrine remains a function of the state courts, and the only enforcement mechanism is the private lawsuit between parties to a specific controversy over water use.

Water rights under the riparian doctrine generally exist as a result of owning land that borders or is crossed by a natural watercourse. Under Virginia's current interpretation of the doctrine, use of water from a stream must be on riparian land, and it must be reasonable. To be considered riparian, the land must be in physical contact with a particular stream and within the stream's watershed. This exclusion of land extending beyond the watershed is generally interpreted as prohibiting interbasin transfers. However, the prohibition of use on nonriparian land is not enforceable if riparian interests have not been harmed.

The reasonableness concept defines the magnitude of the water right. "Reasonable use" is relative and depends on the individual circumstances of the particular situation; however, a general guideline is that a given water use must be compatible with other uses relying on the same source. Thus, sharing the available supply is a basic concept of the riparian doctrine.

The reasonableness concept does not necessarily prohibit all adverse effects that one water user can inflict on others—only those exceeding some reasonable level. The right of action does not arise until actual injury occurs; therefore, the riparian owner who is not using water or is not adversely affected by a reduction in streamflow has no basis for a legal action. This factor is the primary distinction between the reasonable use theory of the riparian doctrine and another known as the natural flow theory. Under the natural flow theory, legal action can be initiated at the time of streamflow reduction and is not dependent on the existence of actual injury arising from a reduced water supply. Although the Virginia Supreme Court has in some cases used language suggesting approval of the natural flow theory, a majority of the court's decisions indicate acceptance of the reasonable use theory.

The right to use water under the reasonableness concept may vary over time due to changes in water availability or other conditions. One potentially significant change in conditions occurs when new water uses are initiated, based on previously unused riparian rights. Such rights generally are not lost because of nonuse but continue to attach to riparian property; they make up a major source of uncertainty for water users in riparian jurisdictions since no record of water rights exists.

While the riparian doctrine grants a preference to domestic use by individual landowners over other competing uses, this preference does not apply to public water suppliers. In fact, Virginia follows the majority view that public supply is not a reasonable use if it conflicts with valid riparian uses. This position appears to be based on several factors. First, excluding public suppliers from the domestic category can be justified since they often serve commercial and industrial uses as well as domestic use. Second, the concentration of water demand through public suppliers can significantly disrupt individual water uses, which are the doctrine's focus. Third, public suppliers usually violate the riparian land restriction since they generally provide water to nonriparian landowners as well as those in riparian locations. This position means that public suppliers cannot displace riparian water users without purchasing their water rights, either through negotiation or use of the public supplier's power of eminent domain condemnation.

Public suppliers may use surplus water not being used by riparian landowners due to the doctrine's requirement that injury must occur before the right of legal action arises. Surplus water therefore can be used for public supply or other purposes not recognized by the riparian doctrine. Use under these conditions, however, has to be limited to a magnitude that causes no adverse effects on other users, whereas withdrawal under a riparian right allows some adverse impact, provided the effect is not unreasonable. A use dependent on surplus water is inherently uncertain because previously unused riparian rights may be exercised or existing uses may increase. However, the power of eminent domain provides a basis for resolving conflict resulting from these conditions.

A special category of surplus flow that has considerable potential for exploitation by public suppliers without established water rights is flood water. While courts in western states have recognized the right of riparian owners to continuance of these seasonal overflows because of irrigation benefits and sediment enrichment of land bordering streams, this area has not received attention in Virginia water law.

Water rights held in navigable waters are subordinate to the government's power to exercise control over such water. While public control generally has been limited to such purposes as navigation, flood control, and power production, a few states have included public water supply in this superior class of uses. This position has not been taken in Virginia, but cases do exist where municipal supply has attained a special status independent of the riparian doctrine. A primary example is the City of Richmond, where early legislative action by the state created special water rights in association with authority for canal construction along the James River. The city now holds these rights, which originally were vested in the James River Company in 1784. Although these special rights have been recognized as limiting certain riparian rights, the extent of their possible impact on the development of water supplies within the James River has never been fully resolved in the courts.

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[3] Virginia's water supply management system is described in William E. Cox, Leonard A. Shabman, Sandra S. Batie, and J. W. Looney, "Virginia's Water Resources: Policy and Management Issues," Departments of Agricultural Economics and Civil Engineering, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA, 1981.

Allocation of Groundwater. Virginia currently uses two separate groundwater allocation systems: (1) a legislative created control program within specially designated geographic areas and (2) a common law system in the remainder of the state.

The Groundwater Act of 1973 (Va. Code, secs. 62.1-44.83 through 62.1-44.106) authorizes administrative controls over groundwater use within geographic areas designated through procedures established in the act. Enacted in response to large-scale industrial pumping in the southeastern area of the state, the act focuses regulatory measures on those areas having problems such as excessive decline in groundwater levels or artesian pressures, well interference, or groundwater pollution. The State Water Control Board (SWCB) is responsible for designating the groundwater management areas; the only two thus far are the coastal plain region lying south of the James River and the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

A landowner within a designated management area generally cannot initiate or expand groundwater use without state permission in the form of a permit. The basic legislative criteria to guide the SWCB's decisions in granting a permit for a proposed well are that new uses must be for beneficial use, that undue interference with existing wells will not be allowed, and that those having prior rights of beneficial use will not be deprived.

The question of what constitutes either "undue interference" with existing wells or deprivation of those having prior rights is an important issue in additional groundwater development. Full use of aquifer potential may draw down artesian pressures before a new stable condition is reached, thus requiring some impact on additional wells. While the act does not explicitly address the issue of developing additional groundwater through compensatory arrangements between new and established users, general provisions authorizing cooperative agreements among users within an area may provide the basis for such action. This unresolved issue could become an important factor in the southeastern area.

The Groundwater Act exempts from the permit requirement "the use or supplying of groundwater for agricultural and livestock watering purposes, for human consumption or domestic purposes, or for any single industrial or commercial purpose in an amount not exceeding fifty thousand gallons a day" (Va. Code, sec. 62.1-44.87). While the act does not specifically exempt municipal use or public water supply, the Virginia Attorney General ruled in 1976 that municipal withdrawal for human consumption and other domestic purposes is exempt without regard to quantity.

Exempting municipal use from control under the Groundwater Act has given state government a minimal role in resolving conflict over groundwater development in the southeastern area of the state. Exemption of significant classes of use also creates water-rights uncertainty within designated management areas. The intent of the act is to replace the common-law system of water rights with a system of administratively created rights; however, questions concerning the continuing status of common law groundwater rights of parties not affected by the legislation, and their relationship to administratively created rights, have not been resolved.

In those parts of the state outside the two designated management areas, common law is the sole groundwater allocation mechanism. Because of the limited number of cases to reach the Virginia Supreme Court, common law groundwater rights have not been completely defined. In fact, the court has never explicitly accepted any particular groundwater doctrine because of its position that its decisions to date would have been the same under either of the two doctrines generally accepted elsewhere in the eastern United States—absolute ownership and reasonable use.

Under the absolute ownership doctrine, landowners have complete ownership and control over water underneath their land. The only limitation on using groundwater or interfering with its movement through land development is that waste and malicious injury to others generally is unlawful. Thus, the doctrine constitutes a rule of capture and creates essentially no enforceable water rights since no right of legal action exists for injury produced by the activities of others.

The reasonable use doctrine recognizes the right of each landowner to make any reasonable use of groundwater on the overlying land or to develop property reasonably, even though interference with the water supplies of others may result. Under this groundwater doctrine, landowners engaged in a "reasonable use," generally interpreted to mean any traditional onsite water or land use, are under essentially no constraints with regard to the impact of that use on others, and they can legally destroy a neighbor's supply. This concept of reasonable use therefore is fundamentally different from reasonableness under the riparian doctrine, where the rights of each party are determined with regard to the needs of the other users.

The absolute ownership doctrine places no restriction on the place of water use, but the reasonable use doctrine as it has developed in other states limits water use to the land from which it is taken. This limitation on place of use has seen considerable application in other states to constrain municipal water suppliers who were attempting to pump water from parcels of outlying land and pipe it into urbanized areas.

The Virginia Supreme Court has never decided a case involving interference between wells, but the issue has been discussed in cases involving coal-mining interference with groundwater supplies. Although the court's views in those cases cannot be taken as precedent, they suggest that the court leans toward acceptance of the reasonable use doctrine. Under this approach, landowners appear to be free to pump water for use on their own land without regard to the impact on others; the injured groundwater user appears to have no recourse but to sink his own well deeper. Should the pumping involve export of water for use at another location, however, the reasonable use rule probably could be invoked to protect nearby groundwater users.

Regulatory Constraints on the Exercise of Water Rights

Regulatory constraints on private water rights primarily take the form of permits and approvals that a water user has to obtain from different levels of government. These mandatory approvals often focus on construction of related facilities rather than on water use itself. The federal government's controls originally focused on protecting navigation, but they have expanded over time to include environmental protection as a major purpose. One of the current controls of greatest scope is the permit requirement in section 404 of the Federal Clean Water Act (33 U.S.C.A. Section 1344), which applies to construction within most of the nation's waters. Related legislation provides for evaluation of proposed project impacts on specific components of the environment such as fish and wildlife, scenic rivers, historical sites, and endangered species.

The Commonwealth of Virginia exercises somewhat less comprehensive controls over water development. The state regulates public water supply to protect public health, and it regulates the rates and quality of service of certain private water suppliers. Construction of dams is regulated by state government in some cases.

Local governments generally regulate water development through zoning and other land use controls that impose constraints on the construction of facilities. A more specific control in Virginia applies to water supply developments constructed by local governments outside their own boundaries. Approval of the host jurisdiction is required for such projects, subject to an appeal to a special court in the event approval is denied.

Support Services for Developing Water Supply

Local government has borne primary responsibility for developing water supply. State legislation authorizes local governments to carry out water development activities and to provide water supply to their citizens and others; to enter into contractual arrangements with one another to provide that supply; and to form regional water supply organizations such as water authorities.

The federal government assists local governments by allowing municipal water supply to be included in federal water projects, under contractual arrangements providing for compensation. In addition, federal financial assistance is provided in the form of loans and grants. The state government also provides financial assistance through the Virginia Water and Sewer Assistance Authority Act (Va. Code, secs. 62.1-197 through 62.1-223), and the SWCB assists localities with water supply planning. Both state and federal governments traditionally have accepted the responsibility for collecting, storing, and analyzing the extensive data needed to manage water supply development.

POTENTIAL CHANGES IN WATER MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONS

In 1977, the Virginia General Assembly, concerned over the ability of the existing management system to resolve potential water supply shortages in the northern and southeastern regions of the state, created the State Water Study Commission. A primary objective of the commission as originally created was to assist the SWCB in developing recommendations to address problems associated with existing institutional arrangements. When the commission could not complete its work and submit its report during 1977, the 1978 legislature continued the commission for two years and reorganized it to function more independently of the SWCB, although the agency was directed to provide staff assistance. After additional yearly continuances from 1980 through 1983, the commission was established as a permanent state agency in 1984, with the duty of studying water supply and allocation problems and coordinating related legislative recommendations from other sources.

The commission's recommendations have resulted in expansion of state water supply planning activities, but recommendations have not been formulated on several major institutional proposals for resolving water supply conflicts. The most comprehensive change considered is adoption of a statewide water-use permitting program.[4] This program would replace both the riparian doctrine and current common-law groundwater allocation procedures with administrative controls that would govern all water uses except small ones exempted from the permit requirement. The approach would be consistent with that taken in recent years by several other eastern states.

A second potential change, less broad in scope, is the establishment of a special institutional mechanism solely to address conflicts over water transfers among localities for public water supply purposes.[5] The proposed procedure would aim for negotiated solutions; but, where necessary, it would replace the riparian doctrine and other controls with a single decision process where all interests are considered. Because this process would apply only to the transfer of water across political boundaries, it would leave the majority of water-use conflicts to be resolved by current institutions. This proposal would require the water transferrer not only to compensate the water's area of origin for any injury, but also to share the benefits created by the transfer. Under the current system, payments are limited to actual injury. The proposal conflicts with the traditional view that water not being used is state property; however, the additional compensation would enhance the political feasibility of water transfers.

A third proposal is to modify the Groundwater Act to remedy current deficiencies. A primary change would be to eliminate all categorical exemptions except small uses below a specified magnitude, thereby establishing state control over municipal groundwater development in the southeastern region. This change would reduce the current ambiguity created by the concurrent existence of administrative and common-law groundwater rights.

How desirable are these proposed institutional changes? At a minimum, amendment of the Groundwater Act appears to be needed if the act is to accomplish its original objectives. In view of recent conflicts concerning development of surface waters, adopting one of the other two proposals also appears desirable. The current decentralized approach hinders the determination of a proposal's overall relationship to the public welfare, perpetuates controversy, and increases costs associated with conflict resolution.

While the comprehensive statewide permitting program is a more desirable approach where conflicts are numerous and involve a general cross-section of water users, the more selective approach is better where conflicts primarily involve a few major proposals for interjurisdictional public water supply development. The latter case more closely describes the current Virginia situation; but a more definitive analysis of future supply-demand relationships, including consideration of instream water uses and environmental considerations, may suggest the need for more comprehensive controls. The SWCB is now conducting studies to allow a more informed choice. Adoption of either of the two proposals would require establishing coordination mechanisms between the new water-use control and the existing Groundwater Act.

Significant opposition has been expressed to some of the potential changes by individual interest groups who perceive adverse impacts. Citizens and local governments in areas where water transfers might originate oppose the transfer management mechanism, which they believe will increase the probability of transfers. Implicit in some of the opposition is the assumption that water transfer is unlikely under existing institutions. However, additional water development, possibly including transfer, is an inevitable part of continued population growth. Opponents of institutional change must decide whether the existing or the proposed system will likely ensure more favorable conditions of transfer.

To be acceptable, an administrative transfer management process must be designed to approve only those transfers creating a positive net effect for the citizens of the state. The process must ensure that a proposed transfer will be prohibited if it is likely to produce substantial economic or environmental disruptions within its area of origin. The process also should provide for sharing with the area of origin the benefits from the transfer. These measures will ensure that transfers create mutual benefits rather than simply shifting water-related benefits among regions. Providing fair and equitable treatment to all regions will enhance the political feasibility of an institutional change that has substantial potential to improve water supply management and increase the welfare of Virginia's citizens.

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[4] See Virginia General Assembly HB 1420, 1981.

[5] See W. E. Cox and L. A. Shabman, "Virginia's Water Law: Resolving the Interjurisdictional Transfer Issue," 3 *Virginia Journal of Natural Resources Law* 181-234 (1984).

FIRST FELLOW IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT SELECTED

The Institute of Government and the Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia are pleased to announce the appointment of the first Fellow in Virginia Government, **Melanie J. Biermann**, an outstanding classroom teacher of government and world civilization in the Fairfax County Schools. Ms. Biermann will coordinate the Teacher Resource Service at the Institute of Government for the 1985-86 school year, working with a statewide advisory committee that includes social studies supervisors, scholars, and officials.

The Teacher Resource Service was started at the Institute of Government in 1982 under the leadership of Helen B. Snook, a former high school government teacher. The service received initial financial assistance from the University of Virginia and the State Department of Education, and funding from the 1985 Virginia Assembly has made it possible to continue the program.

The goal of the Teacher Resource Service is to provide current materials that will help teachers to increase Virginia state and local content and student participation in the 12th grade government course in high schools of the Commonwealth. As the service's coordinator, the Virginia Government Fellow will edit a new publication for government teachers to provide background material on current issues in state government and politics; prepare updated pages for the notebook developed at the Institute, *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*; and offer workshops and inservice programs for government teachers and school divisions in Virginia.

Ms. Biermann, the 1985-86 Fellow, is a native Virginian and a graduate of Lynchburg College. She received a master's degree in the classics from the University of Colorado and has done additional graduate work at the University of Virginia and George Washington University. During her eleven years with the Fairfax County Schools, she has conducted workshops for teachers, designed a self-guided tour of the Hall of Western Civilization for the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History, tested and evaluated educational materials for the World Bank, and conducted several summer tours of Europe for students. In addition, she has presented and published professional papers on state and local government, written a weekly news column for the Alexandria Port Packet, and served in managerial positions in several local political campaigns. Her classes have researched and lobbied for legislation in the General Assembly. Ms. Biermann will begin work at the Institute on August 1.

Teachers interested in applying for the 1986-87 fellowship will find information in the first issue of the Teacher Resource Service's newsletter, which will be mailed in September to the social studies departments of all Virginia public high schools.

INVITATION FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The editors invite interested authors to submit manuscripts to be considered for publication as future issues of the *University of Virginia News Letter*. While we cannot pay contributors, each author will receive twenty-five copies of the issue containing the published article.

Each issue of the *News Letter* focuses on a discussion of some particular public policy issue or concern and its impact on state and local government. Generally, we prefer articles that either (1) address situations within the state of Virginia or (2) shed light on a situation in Virginia through regional or other comparisons. A major goal of the *News Letter* is to give a balanced, informed presentation that is well written and has been well researched.

Our approximately 5,000 subscribers cover a wide spectrum, but they tend to be well-informed civic and community leaders, public officials, educators, professionals, students, and other citizens. Therefore, articles should be directed toward an intelligent but nonspecialized audience. Please avoid any academic jargon or complex statistical analyses. Prospective authors probably should review several recent issues of the *News Letter* before submitting a manuscript.

News Letter manuscripts generally are from 5,500 to 6,000 words—or about 23 double-spaced typed pages, including footnotes, which should be kept to a minimum. A manuscript may include tables or graphs, but preferably no more than two or three.

All manuscripts received are read by both editors and generally sent to an outside reader as well. A manuscript accepted for publication is edited, as necessary, to ensure that the article conforms to the *News Letter's* standards regarding readability, style, and length. After a manuscript is accepted for publication, the editors will get in touch with the author and discuss a possible publication date.

If you have a manuscript you think would make a good *News Letter* article, please send it for review to:

University of Virginia News Letter
Attention: Sandra H. Wiley, Managing Editor
Institute of Government
207 Minor Hall, University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

If you want to discuss a prospective article before submitting it, feel free to call Ms. Wiley at 804-924-0944. We would also be happy to hear from readers who would like to suggest possible topics for future issues.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
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AN ANALYTICAL PROBLEM FOR
ADVANCED STUDENTS OF POLITICS

Name ______________________________

1 - Read Article XI of the Virginia Constitution.

2 - Read carefully the summary of "The State of Virginia's Waters," other information on Local Responsibility for Virginia's Waters, University of Virginia News Letter: "Water Supply Management in Virginia" by William E. Cox, and other sources you can gather.

3 - Find and read information on Virginia population growth projections. (See Section B of the notebook, Resources for Teaching Virginia Government.)

4 - Read the summary of "Proposals for Reorganizing Administration and Regulation of Virginia's Waters" and the "Summary of Bills Proposed for the 1986 General Assembly."

5 - With the guidance of your teacher, select and interview one or more officials of local government, regional planning district, the Virginia General Assembly, and any other state officials available to you. Ask questions and make notes on their views on Virginia's water supply problems.

6 - Write an essay (2 - 4 pages) on the merits of the various proposals. Identify properly your own ideas and those from other sources.

Write a follow-up essay using what you know of Virginia politics to describe how and when you think the Commonwealth might solve more of its water supply problems.

Discuss your paper with your teacher and your class. Consider sending a copy to the officials you interviewed and/or those you think might be interested in your analysis.

Note: If this activity is used for an entire class, it might culminate with
- committee reports representing the positions of areas of the state,
- debates on the proposals or on the question of local versus state interests, or
- a seminar, inviting the officials interviewed and any others interested.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Virginia's Constitution and its Code are unequivocal—they declare a determination to protect and enhance the bountiful natural resources of the Commonwealth. Virginia does not need a new or revised statement of public policy.

What is required is a serious commitment to satisfy the commands of the Constitution and Code, backed up with well-designed programs and appropriate funding. Fulfilling this commitment by investing the necessary effort will provide for the future welfare and happiness of Virginia's citizens. If Virginians fail in this responsibility, their state will be deprived of its most distinctive and valuable assets, and the lives of all citizens will be diminished.

Virginia has been slow to respond to mounting evidence of serious environmental degradation. Signs of danger are beginning to appear all across the Commonwealth. Careless waste disposal is contaminating ground water; regional water shortages are beginning to be felt; Chesapeake Bay fishermen report sharply declining stocks of many species; rivers are increasingly polluted; and congestion aggravates land use problems in rapidly growing suburban counties.

15. **Virginia needs a newly defined Department of Natural Resources headed by a Secretary of Natural Resources.*** The state government structure for dealing with natural resources problems is too scattered. Many departments, agencies, and commissions, within both the executive and legislative branches, have responsibilities touching on Virginia's environment. Jurisdictional conflict and confusion have been the result.

WATER: QUALITY, QUANTITY, AND DISTRIBUTION

Virginia's abundant water supply has encouraged people to use water freely, with little concern that at some times and in some places demand will exceed supply. The public has not understood that an expanding population and a growing economy will reduce water quality and require greater effort and more funds to protect supplies and treat wastes. In general, water laws and the level of administrative and financial commitment reflect these assumptions of perpetual abundance and quality.

The Commonwealth is confronted with clear evidence of serious and spreading water problems. Failure to respond will be costly to Virginians. There are few priorities more urgent than to assure Virginia of the quality and quantity of water needed for man's specific uses and for sustaining a wholesome living environment.

Localized cases of ground water contamination have been reported across the state. For example, the residue from an eight month tire blaze in Frederick County now threatens both ground and surface water. Residents of the Lee County town of Jonesville have had their water supplies interrupted. Oil drilling operations are suspected to have introduced crude oil and drilling detergents into the spring that is the source of water for 5,000 customers, who have had to use water trucked in from Pennington Gap. Seepage from underground gasoline storage tanks imperils ground water sources across the Commonwealth.

Virginia's total water supply will remain well in excess of total demand. This fact has induced complacency and persistent government inaction. Unless these long-standing attitudes and old habits are discarded, the Commonwealth will face water contamination, bitter interregional disputes over water transfers, and a state government powerless to ensure adequate supplies of clean water in all parts of the state.

16. **State government should exert more positive and comprehensive leadership in the design and implementation of a state water resource management program.** The state has tended to leave water pollution control to the federal government, water distribution to local governments, and interjurisdictional transfers to the courts. This is not practical or satisfactory. The changes needed in water management are so comprehensive that they cannot be achieved immediately. The potential consequences of continued inaction are so severe that a beginning must be made now.

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*Implementing this recommendation as well as that of the Economic Development Task Force (see Recommendation Two) would create one new cabinet secretary by dividing the duties of the present Secretary of Commerce and Resources.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Virginia's Constitution and its Code are unequivocal—they declare a determination to protect and enhance the bountiful natural resources of the Commonwealth. Virginia does not need a new or revised statement of public policy.

What is required is a serious commitment to satisfy the commands of the Constitution and Code, backed up with well-designed programs and appropriate funding. Fulfilling this commitment by investing the necessary effort will provide for the future welfare and happiness of Virginia's citizens. If Virginians fail in this responsibility, their state will be deprived of its most distinctive and valuable assets, and the lives of all citizens will be diminished.

Virginia has been slow to respond to mounting evidence of serious environmental degradation. Signs of danger are beginning to appear all across the Commonwealth. Careless waste disposal is contaminating ground water; regional water shortages are beginning to be felt; Chesapeake Bay fishermen report sharply declining stocks of many species; rivers are increasingly polluted; and congestion aggravates land use problems in rapidly growing suburban counties.

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17. Prime responsibility for water resource management should be assigned to the State Water Control Board under the direction of a Secretary of Natural Resources. Current administrative arrangements in state government for water resource management are not focused sufficiently to assure efficient implementation of a comprehensive state water resource management program.

Three specific responsibilities should be assigned the State Water Control Board: 1) clarify state policies and propose improved policies; 2) collect and make available technical and economic data as a basis for water management decisions; and 3) take the initiative in resolving conflicts among water users.

18. An administrative process for review and approval for interjurisdictional transfers of ground water and surface water for public use should be adopted. Reliance on a court-administered system for approving interjurisdictional transfers of water based upon common law riparian doctrine will not serve Virginia's long-term needs. An administrative procedure would provide for the analysis of the need for each proposed transfer in relation to alternative sources of supply; it would embrace a full evaluation of related economic, environmental, and social issues. Water transfers under this procedure would be approved subject to conditions necessary to protect the area of origin, including the payment of compensation.

19. The Virginia Groundwater Act should be modified to extend the State Water Control Board's authority to manage ground water withdrawals. Amendment of the Groundwater Act to cover all municipal wells would subject these wells to state evaluation as part of the permit process and would provide a basis for factual determination of water availability and potential impacts of pumping. This information would help resolve related conflicts over interjurisdictional water transfers.

20. New approaches to financing the water resource program should be initiated. The $4 billion cost of delivering, protecting, and treating Virginia's water for increasing needs cannot be met with present financing practices. One possible approach is debt financing repaid by user fees. These fees should be paid by those who use the Commonwealth's waters for waste disposal and those who will benefit from investments in water supply facilities.

LAND USE

The richness, beauty, and variety of Virginia's landscape are extraordinary. Yet land is finite and vulnerable. As Virginia's population and industry have grown, the pressures of multiple demands on land resources have intensified. The prospect of substantial growth carries with it the promise of even sharper conflicts over the uses of available land.

Competition over the use of land in Virginia's metropolitan areas will be keen. In these areas, the familiar problems arising from rapid growth and urban sprawl will multiply. Conflicts among central cities, suburban counties, and adjoining rural areas are likely to heighten as all attempt to cope with the consequences of growth. These prospects underline the need for comprehensive, area-wide approaches to prevent deterioration of the land base upon which economic opportunities and the quality of life depend.

Virginia's constitutional separation of city and county discourages broad attention to metropolitan areas' assets and liabilities. Decisions on land use tend to be made as if the adjoining localities were feifdoms rather than interdependent parts of one community.

Respect for private property and local decision making is fundamental. But it would be a mistake not to recognize the new demographic and economic forces that, being of regional and statewide scope, require regional and statewide authority for the benefit of the citizens of the Commonwealth. Existing legislation, institutions, and land management practices are not adequate for those purposes.

21. The state government should provide more active leadership to deal with the intensifying pressures on land. The response of Virginia's state government to the growing problems of land use has been piecemeal and lacking in content and follow-through. During the coming decades, population pressure upon Virginia's land will intensify. The Commonwealth needs now to define those aspects of land use that are of regional or statewide concern; establish clear policies to carry out the constitutional mandate to protect and enhance Virginia's land resources; and create mechanisms that are effective in asserting regional and state interests on an ongoing basis.

22. The General Assembly should create, within a Department of Natural Resources, an adequately-staffed and adequately-funded agency responsible for advising the Governor and the General Assembly on regional and state land use policies. Since the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs was abolished, no one in state government has had the authority and responsibility to express the Commonwealth's broad interest in the use of land within its boundaries, or to anticipate statewide or regional land use problems.

23. The Planning District Commissions should be given a key role in developing and administering the Commonwealth's land use policy, and they should be given the authority and resources necessary to play that role. In carrying out a land use policy, a strong instrumentality is needed at the regional level. Land use decisions that have impacts across city and county boundaries need to be resolved with the participation of residents of all affected areas. In the absence of any authoritative regional planning process, no reliable means exists for organizing such participation.

The Planning District Commissions should serve as liaisons between the localities and the state land use agency. They should take the initiative to identify important environmental areas within their districts and should supply the state agency with information on land use developments and problems.

24. The General Assembly should review the statutory authority of local governments to zone. These laws, as enacted and as interpreted by the courts, may not provide adequate authority to local jurisdictions attempting to cope with the consequences of growth.

25. The General Assembly should review the findings and recommendations of the Virginia Outdoors Plan of 1966, revise it to take account of the developments since its adoption, and then affirm its support for the revised plan. The Commonwealth's commitment to acquire land for state parks, embodied in the Virginia Outdoors Plan of 1966, has not been fulfilled. No state funds have been approved for a major park acquisition since 1970. The program adopted in 1966 should be updated and reestablished. Funds should be provided for acquiring land for state parks and ecologically important natural areas. Financial aid to acquire land for parks and open spaces should be provided to localities.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

Safe and economical management of waste will be a pressing problem for individuals, municipalities, and industries. Virginians, like citizens of other states, have learned that the casual, thoughtless disposal of waste exacts a heavy toll. In 1983, for example, the State Office of Emergency Services responded to over one hundred waste spills, several of which required evacuation of people nearby. Ten Virginia sites have been nominated for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund priority cleanup list because they pose a significant long-term danger to public health and the environment. One of these sites is in Culpeper County where copper, arsenic, and chromium used by a wood preserving firm have contaminated local ground water supplies.

A complex body of federal law and regulations dictates Virginia's waste management policies. These federal enactments assume, and many require, greater state responsibility for waste management. Virginia has responded by creating a modest program in which organizational responsibility is divided.

The federal withdrawal from this critical area will place increasing responsibility upon the state government to deal more effectively with waste management. Meeting this responsibility will be costly, but far less costly than the consequences of not doing so.

26. Virginia should develop a long-term plan for dealing with the problem of waste management, with a reliable source of long-term funding. Assured funding for a comprehensive waste management program at the state level is critical. The problem will not respond to episodic infusions of money. Funds will be needed to support the central waste management facility's activities and to provide aid to localities and regions.

27. An appropriate waste management authority should be constituted within a Department of Natural Resources and given the mandate to implement a comprehensive waste management strategy. Authority for waste management is divided among too many state agencies, with the result that the development and implementation of needed policy initiatives is frustrated. The Health Department, Water Control Board, and Air Pollution Board operate with inadequate coordination. The Solid Waste Commission's authority is limited. Current state programs are also hampered by lack of a clear legislative consensus on the nature and urgency of the problem.

The waste management authority must have staff and facilities to build and use a base of scientific information; develop standards and regulations and administer them; monitor progress and make appropriate adjustments in programs; and provide technical advice to regions and localities.

28. Virginia's approach to waste management should encourage the use of new technology, which, in the short-run, may be more expensive than land disposal. A solution to waste management problems will require the use of advanced technology and regulatory programs that rely on financial incentives to encourage compliance. Uses of new technology will grow if the cost of environmental damage is assessed against the waste handler. A variety of techniques should be explored, including bonding fees for waste facilities and a fee system for generators of hazardous waste. With such a system of fees, the highest fees would be charged for land disposal and no fees should be charged when waste is recovered or disposed of without environmental degradation.

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY

For some time, the unwitting destruction of the Chesapeake Bay has been underway. One indication is the sharp decline in rockfish, shad, and oysters, which depend upon clean water for their survival. A seven-year, $27 million study of the Bay concludes that accumulating abuse of the Bay's natural system is impairing its productivity critically.

The threat to the Bay has aroused a widespread response. The Virginia General Assembly, acting upon a recommendation by Governor Robb, has appropriated $13 million as a first installment on a $150 million, ten-year commitment to help clean the Bay. The Commonwealth must meet or exceed this commitment if the Bay is to be saved.

The fate of the Chesapeake Bay depends on actions we recommend that Virginia take to control pollution. But the geography of the Bay—which drains a 64,000-square-mile basin covering parts of six states and all of the District of Columbia—calls for a cooperative approach by Virginia and its neighbors.

29. The Commonwealth should continue to develop a strategy for restoring the Chesapeake Bay in concert with other states, but the Commonwealth needs its own Chesapeake Bay program. Virginia representatives to bistate and multistate agencies must work to see that those agencies responsible for implementing state and regional strategies are pursuing the objectives of improved Bay water quality and environmental management. However, the need for multistate cooperation does not diminish the need for lasting effort by Virginia to preserve and enhance the Chesapeake Bay.

30. The Commonwealth should accelerate the gathering and interpreting of scientific data needed for effective fisheries management. Commercial and recreational fishing in the Chesapeake Bay is undergoing sharp change. Some species of fish and shellfish have declined dramatically. The knowledge to identify the causes of these changes is lacking.

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NEWS LETTER

University of Virginia • Institute of Government

NOVEMBER 1985

THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY ON THE FUTURE OF THE VIRGINIA ENVIRONMENT

This special edition of the News Letter presents the final statement of ***The Virginia Assembly on the Future of the Virginia Environment****, which met at Wintergreen on October 25-27, 1985. The 1985 Virginia Assembly brought together sixty-eight distinguished citizens from across Virginia. The participants were a cross-section of individuals and groups with diverse interests in Virginia's environment; they included elected state and local officials, attorneys, government executives, business executives, environmentalists, academics, planners, and private citizens.*

The aim of the Assembly was to provide this diverse group with an opportunity to address the important environmental issues facing the Commonwealth. A major goal of the Assembly was to identify areas of agreement among the participants—to discover the interests and concerns held in common by individuals and groups that often have been at odds.

From Friday afternoon through Sunday morning, the participants discussed and debated what they themselves identified as being some of the most pressing problems that the Commonwealth will face about its environment and natural resources. This statement constitutes their final report, the findings and recommendations they wanted to bring to the attention of their fellow citizens.

This report presents only the points on which those in attendance at the Assembly reached widespread agreement. While this statement reflects the areas of agreement that emerged at the Assembly, under the procedures established for the conference, no one was asked to sign it. Therefore, the reader should not assume that every participant subscribed to every recommendation set forth in the statement. Moreover, the participants at the Virginia Assembly spoke for themselves, not for any institution, organization, or agency with which they might be affiliated.

The starting point for the Assembly was the report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future. Prior to the Assembly, all participants received copies of that report and several issue briefs prepared for the conference outlining some major issues surrounding Virginia's natural resources.

Former Governor A. Linwood Holton, a member of the Governor's Commission, delivered the opening statement at the Assembly. His presentation was followed by a panel moderated by James L. Sundquist, also a member of the Commission and senior fellow emeritus, The Brookings Institution. The panelists were William E. Cox, associate professor of civil engineering, VPI & SU; J. Paxton Marshall, extension specialist-public policy, VPI&SU; Wallace F. Reed, associate professor of environmental sciences, University of Virginia; and Leonard A. Shabman, professor of agricultural economics, VPI&SU. The panelists, several of whom were authors of the issue briefs written for the conference, outlined major issues in environmental policy.

The keynote address at the Assembly, "The Future of the American Environment," was delivered by U.S. Senator Daniel J. Evans (R-Wash.), former governor of the State of Washington and former president of The Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington.

In its approach, the Virginia Assembly was modeled on the American Assembly, which was established by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1950 while he served as president of Columbia University. Over the years, the American Assembly has brought together leaders from many fields to discuss important issues in an objective and nonpartisan way.

Following this statewide meeting at Wintergreen, four regional meetings will be held at locations across Virginia in the spring of

CALENDAR OF UPCOMING EVENTS

January 8-10, 1986 are the dates for the **Conference for Newly Elected County Supervisors**, to be held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond. This conference, which takes place every other year, is designed to orient newly elected county supervisors and to answer some of the questions they will be facing as they assume office. Experienced supervisors and county administrators are also welcome, however, and are encouraged to attend.

Topics that will be a part of the conference program include legal issues for local governments, county administrator-board relations, and county budget development. The conference is sponsored by the Virginia Association of Counties, the Cooperative Extension Service at VPI & SU and Virginia State University, and the Institute of Government.

For further information or to register for the conference, please write or call Barbara Ralston at VACO, Old City Hall, 10th & Broad streets, Richmond 23219 (Phone 804/788-6652).

1986. These regional meetings will provide additional opportunities for Virginians to discuss the future of their environment.

The Virginia Assembly on the Future of the Virginia Environment was organized and sponsored by the Institute of Government of the University of Virginia and the Virginia Cooperative Extension Service of VPI&SU and Virginia State University. Cooperating organizations were the the League of Women Voters of Virginia, the Virginia Association of Counties, the Virginia Municipal League, and the Institute for Environmental Negotiations of the University of Virginia. The 1985 Assembly was supported in part by a grant from the Virginia Environmental Endowment.

The views and opinions expressed in this final statement are those of the participants at the 1985 Virginia Assembly on the Future of the Virginia Environment. Neither the Assembly's sponsors nor the Virginia Environmental Endowment have taken any stand on the views expressed in this statement.

For information about the Virginia Assembly, please contact Robert de Voursney at the Institute of Government, University of Virginia, 207 Minor Hall, Charlottesville 22903 (phone 804/924-3396).

PROLOGUE

Virginians are stewards of an environment of extraordinary bounty and unsurpassed natural beauty. Virginia's natural resources—its coal and other minerals, farms and forests, fish and seafood, air flows and water—are basic to the state's economic well-being. This natural environment is fundamental to the quality of life all Virginians enjoy. The quality of stewardship that Virginians exercise will determine the quality of their own lives, as well as that of their children and the generations yet unborn.

Virginians often used their resources well as they created towns and cities, farms and forests, businesses and industries, residential and recreational areas—but sometimes these resources have been abused. Signs of serious environmental problems continue to appear. Careless handling of wastes contributes to localized groundwater contamination. Shortages of water occur in some communities. Bitter interregional disputes over interjurisdictional transfers of groundwater and surface water are in prospect. Water pollution problems are endemic. Extensive studies document the unwitting degradation of the Chesapeake Bay. Rapidly growing metropolitan areas display disorderly land use and the congested transportation arteries that result. Pollutants borne on long-distance flows of air combine with precipitation to create acid rain that harms forests and wildlife.

The Constitution of Virginia unequivocally declares a worthy goal:

> It shall be the Commonwealth's policy to protect its atmosphere, lands, and waters from pollution, impairment, or destruction, for the benefit, enjoyment, and general welfare of the people of the Commonwealth.

To address Virginia's environmental problems, the state has created a panoply of programs administered by an array of state and local agencies. The resulting complex governmental structure leads unavoidably to these questions: Is there adequate focus, leadership, and coordination? Are important areas left unattended? Does duplication or dilution of effort exist and result in misallocated fiscal resources? And then there is the perennial query: Is the scale of the commitment—in personnel and funding—equal to the task?

For convenience, the environment is often talked about in terms of categories of resources (air, land, water), industries (mining, forestry, agriculture, fishing), and government programs. But this way of talking overlooks the interdependency among resources. The quality of air, land, and water is linked inextricably; the degradation of one leads inevitably to the degradation of the others.

Often, the problems with the environment and natural resources are expressed in terms of balance: the balance between the ways the environment is used and the ways it is degraded; the balance between economic development and environmental protection; the balance between private property rights and the public interest; the balance between local decision making and the assertion of interests of the state and its several regions. What constitutes an appropriate balance is always elusive, and that makes the concept of balance a subject of continuing debate.

However difficult it is to strike the right balance, one point is clear: Policy cannot be predicated on past conditions. Policy must anticipate the future, taking into account observable trends that are reshaping Virginia, the nation, and the world.

When the 21st century arrives, Virginia will be a metropolitan commonwealth, with three quarters of its residents living in areas that are urban, not just as defined statistically but also in character. This change will contrast sharply with conditions at midcentury when over half the Commonwealth's population was rural.

The bulk of Virginia's future population growth will occur in a largely unbroken metropolitan corridor extending from Loudoun County to Fredericksburg to Richmond through Tidewater to Virginia Beach. That area will add as many new citizens by the year 2000 as the entire 1980 population of the Richmond metropolitan area.

The Virginia economy is also expanding and changing. The transition from a manufacturing-based to a service-based economy will continue. Fifty years ago, agriculture dominated the economy. Now farming employs only a small percentage of workers. During the fifties and sixties, resource industries and resource-based manufacturing spurred dramatic growth in Virginia's economy. Today resource-based industries, like manufacturing in general, account for a smaller share of the state's workforce.

As population settles increasingly in metropolitan places, competition over the us of resources will intensify. Agriculture mus compete with industrial and residential development, roads and highways, and needs for recreation and open space. Commercial uses and residential uses will conflict. And both will conflict with the need to maintain stream flows at levels that will support plant and animal life. Air quality will become subject to increasing pressure as population and industry continue to settle in concentrated patterns and compete for any allowable deterioration in air quality. The natural resources and environmental problems to come will not respect geopolitical boundaries; they will cut across existing towns, cities, counties, and regions.

These considerations undergird the challenge that faced this Assembly—the challenge of stewardship. How should the commitment expressed so clearly in the Constitution of Virginia be implemented? What is the public interest and how is it to be asserted, for present and future generations? Those are the questions that this Assembly dealt with as it developed recommendations for environmental and natural resource policies through the end of this century.

While the Assembly's participants identified and debated numerous environmental problems during the course of the Assemb special attention was devoted to proble falling into eight areas (not listed in any order of priority):

- A. **Environmental Education**
- B. **Water Quality, Quantity, and Distribution**
- C. **Air Quality**
- D. **Land Use**
- E. **Waste Management**
- F. **Preserving Biological Diversity**
- G. **Governmental Institutions and Operations**
- H. **Financing**

The Assembly developed recommendations within each of these areas. Those recommendations are presented in the pages that follow.

A. ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

The need to have a public that is educated and well-informed about environmental issues is paramount. Unless the public understands environmental issues, environmental policy will remain confused and contradictory. Elected officials, policy makers state agencies, media representatives, yo citizens, and adult citizens must know t facts and understand the issues relating to the environment.

Raising the public's level of education about the environment requires the cooperation of many groups, including businesses, government agencies, environmental interest groups, schools, and the media.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

Virginia should establish a coordinated public education program that concentrates on the bases for environmental policy. Such a program should include:

- Comprehensive environmental education curriculum to be introduced by the State Board of Education for elementary and secondary schools;
- school-based programs that emphasize local environmental conditions and needs;
- readily available programs of environmental education in the state's public community colleges, four-year colleges, and universities; and
- interdisciplinary training that emphasizes economics and environmental sciences to create an understanding of the interdependency of natural resources and the trade-offs surrounding uses of resources;
- a required course in scientific methods for all public college students;
- a public consciousness-raising program involving the media, businesses, environmental groups, and government leaders to increase awareness of the principles of ecology and human dependency on natural systems.

B. WATER QUALITY, QUANTITY, AND DISTRIBUTION

Water is essential to the well-being of all localities in the Commonwealth. This recognized fact underlies every interjurisdictional dispute over access to water supplies. These disputes share two trends: increasing numbers and increasing controversy. Declining water quality imposes costs upon every water-using species. Some costs are financial, some life-threatening, and some life-extinguishing.

Virginia's water management policies and programs must deal ultimately with factors giving rise to interjurisdictional disputes and problems contributing to declines in water quality. These policies and programs need to ensure adequate, dependable water supplies in all localities; keep water supplies reasonably free of contamination; and protect Virginia's natural environment so as to maintain diverse species of fish and wildlife and for recreation.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

The State Water Control Board should continue its statewide study of existing water resources and their quality, providing the findings to all local governments and to state government.

The state should enact legislation that establishes administrative procedures to resolve issues of interjurisdictional access to surface water and groundwater supplies and to protect sources.

The state should develop comprehensive strategies for achieving effective water management.

The state should determine and specify where the responsibility lies for protecting the quality of water available from private water systems, including private wells.

The state should develop and implement a plan for the control of urban and agricultural nonpoint source pollution.

The Assembly recognizes the problem of the continuing degradation of the Chesapeake Bay. We support current efforts by Virginia and other states whose lands lie within the Bay's watershed and the District of Columbia to protect and restore the Bay. We recommend that Virginia continue to develop and implement a comprehensive strategy for the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The problems surrounding the Bay illustrate vividly the interrelatedness of environmental problems. Each area discussed in this statement (e.g., water, air quality, land use, waste management) has a bearing on the Bay.

C. AIR QUALITY

Air is one of the fundamental resources of all living things. It is pervasive, unavoidable, and essential. The risks that air pollution poses to human health may be many times greater than the combined risks of exposure to other pollutants. The programs of Virginia's state government directly affect outdoor and indoor air quality.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

The Commonwealth should rapidly implement programs to ensure against any continuing problems of airborne and other hazardous wastes.

The Commonwealth should follow closely the debate over acid deposition (including acid rain) and

- support those federal policies and interstate compacts that minimize the importation of the components of acid deposition into Virginia;
- apply strict controls, phased in over time, on emissions that contribute to acid deposition within the state;
- expand, with urgency, programs for data gathering and analysis, supplementing programs of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to document degradation effects from acid deposition within the Commonwealth; and
- give similar attention to other airborne pollutants. We encourage those legislative bodies that may consider mandating American industry to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions to allow each owner of an affected facility freedom of choice as to how those reductions are met.

D. LAND USE

This Assembly identified the use of Virginia's land as being at the heart of many problems of the environment. Locally and statewide, Virginia's governmental leaders have made decisions about today's problems but have not addressed adequately issues for the future. Land use patterns often become dysfunctional. As population increases, new demands will arise for urban and rural infrastructure. The state needs a land-use strategy that uses finite natural resources for the community—preserving open space; ensuring air and water quality; meeting needs for transportation, housing, agriculture, forests, and utilities; and protecting critical natural areas. At the same time, it should be fair to those who own and improve their land.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

The recommendations of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future relating to land use be commended for implementation.*

Further, the Assembly itself recommends that state government lead by:

- developing a strategy for land use balanced between rights of users and rights of land owners;
- updating the Virginia Outdoors Plan and completing its implementation;
- using tax incentives for conservation and preservation of farm land, forest land, open spaces and natural areas, as well as for historic preservation;
- giving counties and municipalities more authority for land-use decisions;
- providing a mechanism in state law for the assertion and the protection of state and regional interests in land; and
- requiring local governments to zone land in accordance with their comprehensive plans.

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*While endorsing in general the recommendations about land use in the report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future, the Assembly signalled its specific support of several of the Commission's recommendations, which parallel its own:

(Recommendation 21) "The state government should provide more active leadership to deal with the intensifying pressures on land."

(Recommendation 22) "The General Assembly should create, within a Department of Natural Resources, an adequately-staffed and adequately-funded agency responsible for advising the Governor and the General Assembly on regional and state land use policies."

(Recommendation 24) "The General Assembly should review the statutory authority of local governments to zone. These laws, as enacted and interpreted by the courts, may not provide adequate authority to local jurisdictions attempting to cope with the consequences of growth."

(Recommendation 25) "The General Assembly should review the findings and recommendations of the Virginia Outdoors Plan of 1966, revise it to take into account developments since its adoption, and then affirm its support for the revised plan."

E. WASTE MANAGEMENT

Modern society, with its scientific and technological advances, enjoys a high standard of living. Technological advances have not been without their costs, however. In their zeal for a more convenient, timesaving way of life, people generate larger volumes of waste in a variety of forms, for which society is often reluctant to accept responsibility. America has become a "throwaway society," creating all kinds of wastes that then must be disposed of.

Waste in all its forms—solid waste and refuse, sludge, hazardous (including toxic) waste, gaseous pollutants, and radioactive waste—needs management and disposal methods that are more coordinated, comprehensive, equitable, and innovative.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

Virginia state government should develop a comprehensive, integrated strategy for waste management.

State policy on solid wastes and hazardous wastes should strongly emphasize source reduction, source segregation, and recycling. In this regard, the General Assembly should enact legislation designed to promote the recycling of solid wastes and hazardous wastes.

The Commonwealth should encourage the development of a statewide system of public or private regional recovery, recycling, and incineration plants for solid wastes and hazardous wastes.

The Commonwealth should develop programs to address within its own borders and with others states cross-boundary transfers of solid, liquid, and atmospherically borne wastes.

The Commonwealth should ensure that emergency plans and programs will be effective against the accidental release of hazardous materials and wastes. This includes training programs and financial assistance to local fire departments and rescue squads, supported by user fees to the extent practicable.

F. PRESERVING BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

Intensifying pressures on the Commonwealth's land, air, and water threaten many plant and animal species. The destruction of environmentally fragile areas, and the species they support, has been a concomitant of Virginia's expanding population and economy.

Protecting threatened species of wildlife and their critical natural communities is important for its own sake. But the importance of conserving these resources goes beyond that. Like the canary in the coal mine, the health of Virginia's wildlife is an indicator of the quality of the overall environment on which humans depend. Also, an environment that is healthy for diverse species will be nurturing for humans.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

To prevent the loss of species and areas of biological diversity, appropriate state agencies should identify and develop an inventory of wild species and their natural communities and monitor and protect their wellbeing.

The state should protect these species and their natural communities by educating people about their importance and, when appropriate, by purchasing such areas.

Virginia should follow the lead of a number of other states and adopt a natural heritage program.

G. GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

In looking at the future needs of Virginia's environment, this Assembly noted certain deficiencies common to the state's programs for the environment and natural resources. These are observable in institutional weakness, inadequate data for policymaking, lack of leadership and focus, fragmentation of authority, and inadequate intergovernmental arrangements. To better manage the Commonwealth's environment and natural resources, the state needs to take steps that cut across present programs.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

The state should create a separate cabinet secretary of natural resources. To advise this secretary, the state should create an advisory board with a balanced membership that includes scientists, industrialists, environmentalists, and developers.

The state should strengthen enforcement of (and compliance with) current environmental regulations.

State government should take a comprehensive approach to natural resource management.

The state should exert more aggressive leadership to solve problems concerning resources of statewide significance; it also should work more actively to solve environmental problems that are of an interstate or multistate character.

The state should expand its research and information base for making environmental decisions and designing policies for the environment. To the extent practicable, the state should require scientific documentation c evidence for all regulatory proceedings involving the state's environment.

The state, in cooperation with local governments, should improve its capability for long-range environmental and natural resource planning.

As a general practice, the state should make economic growth policy consistent with environmental policies.

Long-range solutions to Virginia's environmental problems should encourage cooperation among all levels of government, between state agencies and private businesses, between state and federal agencies, and between Virginia and other states.

The state should formalize and legitimate the use of environmental negotiations to resolve environmental disputes.

H. FINANCING

Protecting Virginia's environment will be expensive. But if Virginians do not begin to make this investment now, it will cost them even more later. The cost of meeting increasing needs to protect Virginia's environment cannot be met with present financing practices. Money will be needed to support current, expanded, and new programs. Several recommendations made by this Virginia Assembly address the matter of costs—whethe the state chooses to reallocate resources or to find new revenue sources. This Assembly believes that future demands upon the environment warrant adjustments in policy to finance environmental programs.

The 1985 Virginia Assembly therefore recommends that:

State government should develop mechanisms for the stable, long-term funding of environmental programs, including such possible means as dedicated revenues and user fees.

State government should offer stronger tax incentives and subsidies to individuals and industries for installing and developing renewable energy technology, land conservation and water resource management measures, and measures to control air and water quality.

The state's program for upgrading sewage treatment plants should be provided with a stable base of adequate long-term funding.

The state should explore strategies for compensating parties harmed by accidental environmental damage who are not covered by insurance.

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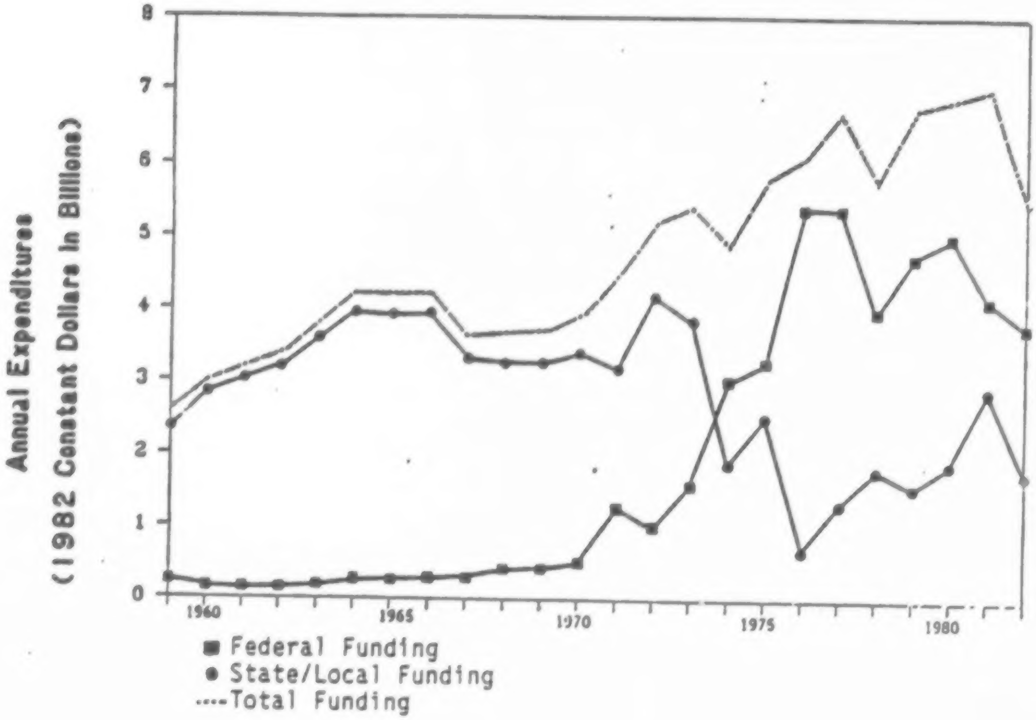
FEDERAL FUNDS & PROGRAMS AFFECT VIRGINIA'S WATERS

The federal government originally concerned itself only with the protection of navigation in the states, but today it is involved in a wide range of activities affecting the state's waters, especially by the Corps of Engineers, the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, and the Soil Conservation Service. Some of these activities impose restraints on Virginians' water rights.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has independent authority to construct dams where they decide they are needed. These projects are designed primarily for flood control. Their construction often diverts hundreds of acres of water and dislocates citizens and communities. In some cases, massive citizen campaigns and law suits have prevailed over the Corps' plans.

Federal funds have stimulated the construction of sewers, treatment plants, and other water projects to guard public health in Virginia and the nation. Federal money has often forced neighboring jurisdictions to work together to solve regional problems. During the last decade, the federal funds have decreased, on the assumption that the responsibility was returning to the states (new federalism). The following chart shows that the states have not picked up the challenge to increase their spending on these projects. In fact, when federal funds have gone up, state and local spending has tended to drop.

SUBSTITUTING STATE/LOCAL FUNDING WITH FEDERAL DOLLARS



THE RIVERS WERE BURNING...FISH WERE GONE...SWIMMING WAS BANNED...In 1959, the Cuyahoga River in Ohio burned for eight days. In 1969, it burned again. The factories of Akron and Cleveland had dumped waste chemicals, oil, and iron into the river, to add to the untreated sewage from these heavily populated areas. The fires were dramatic and forced Congress to recognize the fact that state and local governments lacked the clout to regulate big industry, and many were not even treating their own sewage. The Great Lakes and many of the nation's rivers were dead or dying. The Federal Water Pollution Control Act had been passed in 1956, but it was not until 1972 that controls were put on the industries responsible for most of the pollution.

In 1977, the Clean Water Act added new regulations to the federal funding of sewage treatment plants, and the great renewal of America's rivers, lakes and streams began. Today, the Cuyahoga is clean enough for recreational use. The Hudson and Potomac are noticeably improved, the Great Lakes are being reclaimed, and thousands of rivers and streams all over the nation have been saved at least temporarily. Our population explosion continues, however, and we still must deal with increased sewage and urban runoff.

One interesting and expensive fact is that the integrity of pipes tends to break down after 20 or 30 years in the ground, and cracks may be caused by tree roots and changed uses and stresses on the ground nearby. Once there is a crack, water can shift the ground and make it a major break. Cracks in water delivery pipes mean possible pollution of drinking water. Cracks in sewer pipes mean that sewage can pollute the surrounding ground and groundwater, and that runoff and seepage can enter the sewers, dramatically increasing the volume of waste that must be treated in the plants. Locating and repairing leaky pipes may consume a considerable portion of federal Clean Water funds and state money as well -- not a very satisfying expenditure, but a necessary one. Watch for public works trucks with smoke injection equipment checking the lines in your neighborhood.

In the early years of pollution controls, headline results could be obtained by stopping the discharges from the biggest and dirtiest industries. EPA wrote and enforced federal guidelines for about 20 of the 50 major U. S. industrial polluters. Should the others be similarly regulated with enforceable federal standards? Or should each state set its own water quality standards for the other industries? Would states be able to control large and medium-sized industries (and some dirty smaller ones?) or would corporations shop for states with lower requirements? What is the role of federal regulation?

EPA also provides funds for state studies, such as the Virginia groundwater study that resulted in the 1985 proposals.

FEDERAL WATER LAW: WHAT DOES IT SAY? HOW DOES IT AFFECT VIRGINIA?
Summary from Sierra Club Clean Water Directory

The Clean Water Act is the nation's fundamental instrument for the restoration and maintenance of "the chemical, physical, and biological integrity of the nation's waters." Passed in 1972 and amended in 1977, the interim goal was to achieve fishable, swimmable waters where attainable by 1983, and the final goal was to eliminate discharge of pollutants into navigable waters by 1985.

What Does the Clean Water Act Do?..
1 - It prohibits the discharge of toxic pollutants in harmful amounts.
2 - It requires state and local governments to prepare and implement water quality management plans, including land-use controls if necessary, that will control point (from an industrial discharge pipe) and non-point (agricultural, mining, and urban run-off) sources of pollution.
3 - It authorizes federal grants for construction of waste treatment facilities and for research on pollution control technology.
4 - It establishes uniform nationwide standards for industries and municipal facilities, with compliance deadlines.
5 - It creates a permit program (NPDES) for regulating discharges from industries and municipal facilities.
6 - The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers is to control by permits, the disposal of dredged and fill material into all navigable waters, including wetlands.

Five major political forces cooperate toward these goals: federal, state, and local governments, the public, and the polluters. Improvements in many areas are obvious, in spite of the increases in population. If the Clean Water Act had not been in place, many rivers would be burning!

The Clean Water Act is up for reauthorization in 1985, and it has been under attack for many years by people who want to cut the power of federal government. THEY SAY that state and local government and industries are capable of managing our water resources. They oppose Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) funding requests (some would dismantle the agency) and they support lowered water quality standards or extensions of the time allowed to meet the standards. They argue that the fishing/swimming level of water quality is too high and that the costs discourage economic development and make us non-competitive in world markets. Some industries want Section 404 (#6 above) to pertain only to navigable waters.

Supporters of the Clean Water Act contend that cleaning up after yourself (as an individual or as a corporation) is a proper (and deductible) cost of doing business, that industries locate where the quality of life is desirable for their employees, and that corporations and communities everywhere should bear the cost of returning cleaned water to the rivers, streams and lakes of the nation. Environmentalists are warning about campaigns to weaken the law. THEY SAY that polluting industries and Reagan administration officials seek budget cuts by abandoning national toxic standards and delaying national Superfund cleanup goals and deadlines. THEY SAY that the weakening of Sec. 404 will result in the yearly destruction of 300,000 acres of wetlands that serve as recharge areas for groundwater and as wildlife habitats. They also warn of attempts to weaken the regulations that govern state water quality standards.

Federal Law (cont'd)

The Safe Drinking Water Act also regulates water quality by protecting groundwater from indiscriminant pollution. Among other provisions, it requires states to control the wastes that are buried or injected into the ground -- e.g., into mines and caves.

The Toxic Substances Control Act, The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide & Rodenticide Act. Regulates manufacture, testing and use of these products.

The Clean Air Act seeks to protect water from pollution that falls from the skies. Acid rain is the current concern, and it has been shown to be increased by the burning of fossil fuels (coal, fuel oils, and gas) by power plants and industry, as well as by autos, trucks, planes, and boats. Land and water in some parts of Canada and northeastern U. S. have become inhospitable to animal and plant life due to acid rain. Evidence indicates that Virginia will see the effects in the next decade, first on evergreens that retain needles and absorb water all year. Some claim the damage has already begun. State governments enforce the federal law.

The Resource Conservation & Recovery Act. This law governs the management of solid and hazardous wastes. Poorly designed landfills and dumps have become hazardous to health as poisons have leached out of them into our water supplies; Love Canal is an outstanding example.

Marine Protection, Research & Sanctuaries Act regulates discharge of sewage into oceans and requires permits for dumping into oceans, which it hoped to eliminate by the early 1980s.

Surface Mining Control & Reclamation Act regulations aim at stopping the sediment runoff and acidity problems in waters near strip mining sites.

The National Environmental Policy Act requires an Environmental Impact Statement to be prepared before federal funds are used in any project. The impact statements are often the environmentalist's best clue about the extent of trouble that may be caused by such activities as clearing, digging, and dredging. Impact statements are criticized as costly and they may delay construction of important projects, but they also make the developers conscious of the control of runoff and potential damages to land and water.

According to fishery biologists, the number of river miles in the U. S. that are affected by urban runoff is approximately equal to the number of river miles affected by municipal point sources (sewage). See charts in Section H, pages 15 to 18.

WHAT WILL IT COST TO CATCH UP WASTEWATER TREATMENT CONSTRUCTION TO POPULATION?

A 1984 EPA survey of wastewater treatment in the nation listed "backlog" needs in 202 communities that now discharge raw sewage into their waterways, and 2,600 low-level treatment facilities that need upgrading to return better quality water to their waterways. The information found in the Needs Survey Report to Congress and A Study of Future Federal Role in Municipal Wastewater Treatment - The Situation Nationwide was based on 1984 population. The cost was estimated at $85 billion.

The 1985 EPA budget included about $2.4 billion for construction for the whole nation -- to fund a portion of the $85 billion of 1984 construction backlog. (At this rate, how many decades will it take to catch up to the 1984 backlog needs? Clue: How old will you be in 2020?) This plan will maintain the quality of most present waterways and clean up the most seriously polluted ones. It includes a lot of money to replace pipes (collectors from house and interceptors under the street) and not much money for the treatment plants where the sewage and runoff will be sent. It does not include facilities to serve population growth beyond 1984 levels. Is growth continuing in your area?

> 169 million Americans send a daily load of 23,000 tons of pollutants to 15,400 municipal facilities. When all needs are met through the year 2000, the sewered population will be 246 million people, sending 41,000 tons of pollutants to more than 20,000 facilities for treatment.

Virginia's Needs are Estimated at $1.3 Billion to Catch Up Today. Federal funds are allocated on a complex formula that includes population and land area. At today's federal expenditure of $2.4 billion for ALL 50 STATES, how long do you think it will be before Virginia's share will total $1.3 billion? Are voters putting pressure on other states' senators and representatives? We will need still more money if we wish to continue improving water quality. AND...Population increases will require funds beyond this amount because they will further increase pollutant loads.

When a rural area experiences a population increase, it is apt to have a great increase in septic systems, which may threaten the groundwater and smaller headwater streams that are not now polluted before local government can get the federal and state money and construct a system to treat the sewage and runoff. Secondary (partial) treatment facilities for such growth areas will discharge water quality problems to smaller headwater streams not now polluted, unless higher levels of treatment or alternate methods of disposal are developed. Can you spot some places in Virginia where this rural-to-urban transition may be in progress today?

Urban areas have particularly dangerous run-off -- full of auto emissions, parking lot oils and debris, industrial and road chemicals, and concentrations of chlorine that combine with improperly treated wastewater to produce cancer-causing trihalomethanes--costly and difficult to remove from water.

What will it cost to catch up ...? (cont'd)

Chlorine kills fish and other aquatic life. In addition, it combines with wastes to create cancer-causing substances. Many cities (including Moscow, Montreal and 20 or more in the U.S.) have switched to ozone treatment. Ozone has been proven more effective, though it is hard to convince traditional chlorine users, and it may increase treatment costs slightly (less than 5%). Ultraviolet radiation is another alternative that is only slightly more costly than chlorine but provides adequate disinfection without dangerous side effects to people or fish. Should we continue to use chlorine?

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGED FEDERAL FUNDING: Is clean water a national priority?

Those who want to cut the federal budget are looking for different ways to fund the cleanup of our waters. One proposal now under discussion is a revolving loan fund begun with a one-time EPA grant with added state money. Low interest loans would be made by the state to local governments for cleanup and treatment facilities. As the money is repaid it would be loaned out to other localities. Opponents of this plan say that the federal money proposed for the states would be less than 10% of current backlog needs, and state governments would have to make up the difference and expand their own agencies to handle the loans.

How much would it raise taxes for Virginians to fund the other 90% of our backlog needs plus the expansion for future population growth?

What would happen to a state's loan fund if a major industry went bankrupt and could not repay the money? What would happen to a state's waters if a neighbor state did not allocate its fund wisely? Is pollution control and clean-up a problem we can leave to local option? Is federal government supervision and coordination necessary to this effort?

Another option: each locality could pay the full cost of its own treatment facilities. Most communities would have greatly increased local taxes. Would people and businesses flock to the low-tax areas (or nations) that have not taken care of their sewage and runoff? Would rivers be burning again? Several questions can be phrased for debate on these alternatives.

How would you rank clean water as a priority for our nation?

What part of the responsibility should be given to agencies of the
  national government?
  state government?
  local government?

Does the federal deficit influence your decision-making? Should it?

Take a position on federal regulation and funding. Should it stay at the same level? increase? decrease?

List and organize the arguments you think are important.

What points would the opposition make?

How would you answer their arguments?

HAZARDOUS WASTES -- Teaching Ideas

The next two pages on Hazardous Wastes are an introduction to a compelling and long-range problem in our state and nation. Hazardous wastes have ominous implications for our health and safety, as well as the quality of our water supplies. They cannot be ignored if we are to live up to our Constitutional charge to conserve and protect the integrity of our land, air and water.

Your school should have a copy of the 376-page notebook package, The Dilemma of Toxic Materials. If you do not, send to Dr. Martin A. Tarter, Jr., School of Education, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA 23284. It is fascinating to look through -- full of scientific data, experiments, and useful information for teachers and students. The 3-day decision-making exercise (pp. 23) is particularly recommended for Government classes.

IDEAS: 2-10 day focus on Hazardous Wastes as background for continuing discussion of current events, national, state, and local:

What should be the role of government in the management of hazardous waste? What distinctions should be made between the roles of national, state, and local government?

Preparation: Inform yourself.

1. Read the University of Virginia News Letter, "Hazardous Waste Management in Virginia" and pages H 53 and H 54.
2. Look for local materials, concerned citizens, and issues.

Consider the following activities, then create some more. Use Section H information to stimulate student interest. Organize students into groups to quiz local officials and interested citizens about the local scene.

With the assistance of students, develop questions on the blackboard that they think should be researched. What does the public know?

What are public attitudes in this area about hazardous wastes? Some students might develop a survey form or a series of questions to ask informally in their families and neighborhoods.

When the answers are shared, analyze the sample that resulted from these informal methods. What segments of the population (e.g., age, sex, race, income level, special interests/professions, religious views) were left out or under-represented? Discuss what you would have to do to correct the imbalance if you were conducting a real survey?

Do not overlook local officials. If they would like to call attention to some local problem, they might even get publicity about the students' interest in it. (Check your school policy manual before you contact local officials -- some school divisions require prior notification of the principal or superintendent.)

Look for some aspects of waste management that students and their families and neighborhoods can help to improve.

What are locally acceptable ways to dispose of paints, thinners/removers, insecticides, herbicides, medicines.....?

Where are the recycle stations for vehicle oil?

HAZARDOUS WASTES - WHO SHOULD CLEAN UP? WHO SHOULD PAY?

> A steel drum full of some poisonous material, hastily buried years earlier in a field behind a small processing plant, slowly gives way to the forces of nature and pops a rusty seam, letting the chemical seep into the ground. Many years or rains later, some of the material leeches into a stream at the base of a nearby ravine, and a mile away a farmer unknowingly puts it on his garden. More of the chemical finds its way through the underground network of springs to a reservoir for a major city. The pollutant does not filter out of the water, and might even combine with minerals or other pollutants to form an infinitely more toxic substance. The forgotten barrels could harm the health of the people of the entire area after they have drunk the water, cooked with it, and bathed in it for many years. The farmer's wife had no more children, and the family developed strange medical problems. Neighbors who had noticed the barrels, before vines and weeds covered them, were only concerned that they were unsightly.

Situations like this have been found all over the nation. In 1985 alone, the hazardous waste created by industry in this country amounted to almost 2000 lbs. per person -- NEARLY A TON FOR EACH OF US! The total grows every year. Have you heard of Love Canal? The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) list of toxic dumps includes many in Virginia, and there may be dozens or hundreds more that are hidden and forgotten. Are there any in this area?

The air we breathe also may carry toxic materials that fall to earth and pollute our water. How do we locate the sources? How do we clean them up? What do we do with the debris and the fouled earth and water? If we figure out how to do it, who will pay for the effort? Who should pay?

Nuclear wastes are stockpiled -- the industry has not dealt with them.

Virginia's rain is increasingly acid. Evergreens and mountain streams are the first to suffer. Damage has already been observed in vegetation and trout streams. A major cause of acid rain is smokestack and auto exhaust from burning fossil fuels (coal and oil) that is released into the air without being scrubbed and treated. It may come from hundreds of miles away.

> New engines have been developed that run on magnetic power and solar power. Will they be produced? Who would benefit? Who would lose?

For decades, homes and industries have buried solid trash almost anywhere, and washed liquid trash into the water supply, everything from poisonous cleaning compounds to wildly toxic industrial chemicals and low-level nuclear wastes.

We are developing the ability to identify hazardous substances in our land, air and water. We realize that almost no place on earth is safe for their storage or disposal. Water systems on the ground and under the ground often are inter-connected: desert sands drain water too quickly to be good filters, hot climates evaporate moisture and concentrate pollutants, and mountain caves develop cracks that permit seepage of stored hazardous materials.

Many substances now can be recycled and detoxified, and more might be. Many industries are making sincere efforts to be environmentally responsible. Should government press the others to stop polluting? What if they say it costs too much, and they threaten to move elsewhere in the world?

HAZARDOUS WASTES: WHAT ABOUT OUR AREA? Name ______________________________

Every area has toxic wastes. Every neighborhood has toxic wastes, throw-away items that are poisonous or that may combine with other substances to produce toxic materials. What does your family do with leftover paints, solvents, bug killers, weed killers, fertilizers, household cleaners? (These items are all hazardous substances too!)

Has your community approved places and methods of disposing of toxic or hazardous materials?

Are they well publicized? What can you do to help?

According to the VPI&SU Water News, Virginia averages three chemical spills a week, 80% of them during traffic accidents. Some are lethal and require evacuation of an area -- others are minor. Do you know of any in this area?

An estimated 25,000 Virginia businesses each produce from 220 to 2,200 lbs of hazardous waste every month. Since August 1985, all this must be hauled to authorized disposal sites if it so much as crosses a public road from the place where it originated. Where will dump sites be located? Virginia toxic spills cost about $30,000 each for cleanup and training for police and rescue workers, but emergency workers often do not know what chemicals they are dealing with because transport vehicles are improperly labeled. Federal regulations now require the removal of PCBs from electrical equipment all over the nation, yet there is not a plan to safely transport and dispose of them. Have we had spills of deadly PCBs in Virginia? How would you find out?

Virginia has used a regional dumpsite in South Carolina for hazardous wastes. It may soon be closed to us. Virginia sites have been identified for possible future use. See the UVA News Letter: "Hazardous Wastes in Virginia" and watch for further developments.

Hazardous waste dumpsites are put on a priority list by EPA. At present funding levels, it will take over 100 years for Superfund cleanup of the 800 locations identified so far, and more are being found all the time. (Some unauthorized dumps are intentionally being created by some people, by others who don't know any better, and by others who see no alternative.) What can you find out about the history of EPA and Superfund? What kinds of pressure resulted in clean-up? What kinds of pressure resulted in slowing the cleanup? How much has been accomplished so far? Are adequate funds being appropriated? (See the Readers' Guide to Periodic Literature for recent analyses.)

Are any persons or groups vocal on this issue in this community? Who are the supporters and opponents of increased expenditures for the Superfund? What arguments does each side use? Is man's future threatened by unchecked pollution? Or is this alarmist talk? Which side do you support? How will you make your views known to the decision-makers?

Write a 2-page paper agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "Hazardous Wastes are a Problem in Our Community." Include public reactions such as NIMBY (Not in My BackYard) or LULU (Locally Unwanted Land Uses) as well as ways this community is organized to deal with emergencies.

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HAZARDOUS WASTE MANAGEMENT IN VIRGINIA

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According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), over 70 percent of all hazardous waste in this country is treated or disposed of onsite by waste generators, leaving approximately 20 percent to be treated or disposed of off-site in commercial hazardous waste facilities. The only regulated commercial hazardous waste facility in Virginia, one that had interim status under EPA regulations, is now in the process of being closed permanently, leaving Virginia with no regulated commercial facilities.

This lack of regulated commercial facilities presents serious problems for the state. These include the increased likelihood of illegal or "midnight" dumping, the rapidly escalating costs for Virginia industries having to transport and dispose of wastes out of state, and the fear that at some point other states may refuse to accept our waste. The responsibility to resolve this problem lies solely with the state. The federal government at this point assumes no responsibility for siting new hazardous waste facilities.

When the U.S. Congress passed the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) in 1976, it acknowledged that proper management and disposal of hazardous wastes was a matter of national concern. Therefore, the law gave the EPA a mandate to develop regulations that would enable waste to be tracked and monitored from "cradle to grave."[1] Omitted intentionally were any provisions related to the siting of hazardous waste facilities; Congress felt this was an area best left to the states to accomplish.

Virginia and other states have found that the siting of hazardous waste facilities is an extremely complex and emotional issue, and the problems of facility siting have tended to dominate the state's waste management efforts. Facility siting is integrally related to many other aspects of management—needs assessment, the development of technical criteria, and enforcement and monitoring activities. But siting has proved to be the most difficult aspect; and without appropriate treatment and disposal facilities, other parts of the program break down.

The difficulty with waste facility siting is in part another instance of the larger national problem of siting all kinds of locally unwanted land uses (LULUs). In a 1981 article in *Planning*, Frank Popper says:

> By definition a LULU meets a strong, usually regional public need or private demand and offers (or appears to offer) large regional or national benefits. The problem is that its economic and environmental costs fall mainly on its locality or neighborhood. This imbalance often cannot be rectified. The local few must suffer for the sake of the regional many.[2]

Citizens concerned about the negative impact that locally unwanted land uses will have on their backyards have learned how to mobilize themselves to fight all kinds of facilities, from large refineries and nuclear power stations to prisons and hospitals. Treatment and disposal facilities for chemical wastes are particularly controversial. General public concern about the generation, handling, and disposal of hazardous substances has focused on debates over the siting of particular facilities. In many states this opposition has led to an inability to site any facilities.

States have been attempting to deal with this deadlock by developing comprehensive waste management plans, technical siting criteria, and comprehensive siting processes that allow for considerable public participation throughout the siting process. And even though siting new facilities is not a federal responsibility, the EPA has been concerned about the serious consequences of the siting problem for the entire RCRA program. The EPA has suggested the use of new approaches such as mediation to resolve the impasse:

> Mediation is a negotiation process conducted by an impartial independent mediator or "third party." Through mediation, parties to a dispute meet face to face to explore the facts, issues, and various viewpoints in the dispute and seek to settle their differences through bargaining and exploring alternative solutions. If mediation is successful, the parties jointly develop a compromise agreement. . . .[3]

The use of mediation in the siting problem, along with providing compensation and incentives to host communities, offers the kind of innovative approaches that may be required successfully to site new facilities.

Virginia as yet does not have a waste management plan, any siting criteria, or a comprehensive siting process. The story of the state's attempt to site a facility in the fall of 1981 without these helps to clarify where Virginia is now in its efforts to manage wastes responsibly, and where it has to go.

ATTEMPTS TO SITE A FACILITY

Buckingham County, Virginia, is a rural county about fifty miles west of Richmond. Buckingham is not a wealthy county. It has one of the highest unemployment rates in the region. Recently, the county became the home of a new state prison; and while the residents welcomed the jobs brought by the prison, they also felt that by accepting the prison they had accepted their share of those undesirable facilities that the state needs, but that nobody wants in the backyard. So in March 1981, when a group of investors made public their plans to purchase a 127-acre site in the county that had a small existing hazardous waste landfill, and expand it into one of the largest waste treatment facilities on the east coast, some 1,000 residents turned out at a public meeting to protest. This site was particularly appealing because it was the only one in the state with federal interim status, a temporary permit rating given by the EPA to facilities already in existence prior to 1981. (Since the EPA had not yet promulgated the regulations for granting permits to new facilities, expansion of existing facilities provided the only opportunity for developing additional waste treatment and disposal capacity, either in Virginia or anywhere else in the country.)

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[1] For further information see John Gilmour, "Hazardous and Toxic Waste Disposal," *University of Virginia News Letter*, September 1980.

[2] Frank Popper, 47 *Planning* 12 (April 1981).

[3] H.S. Bellman, C. Sampson, and Gerald W. Cormick, *Using Mediation When Siting Hazardous Waste Management Facilities*, Handbook SW-944 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 1982), p. 1.

Buckingham County residents, like people all over the country, had been alerted to the dangers posed by improper waste disposal because of the extensive news coverage of Love Canal, Valley of the Drums, and other old dumps that were coming back to haunt their communities. The county's residents were very concerned about the effects a disposal facility in their county would have on their own health, their children's health, and their property values. They also were angry at the idea that industries located in and paying taxes to urban areas would be shipping their wastes out into the countryside, arguing that the wastes should be kept closer to where they were generated. They argued that because rural areas had less political clout, they became natural targets for unwanted facilities.

The tremendous opposition was enough to deter the investors, who soon announced they were no longer interested in the site. But in July 1981 another firm briefly expressed interest in the same site, and in October 1981 a third firm appeared on the scene—this time with the assistance of the state's Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management.

The Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management can purchase sites to be used for disposal of hazardous wastes; and this third firm had approached the state about acquiring the Buckingham County site and leasing it to the company. After some discussions, the state had taken a ninety-day option on the land with the stated intent of studying the site's suitability for the proposed facility. This move on the part of the state without prior consultation with local officials, citizens, legislators, or others at the state level elicited strong reactions from many quarters. A series of confrontations, allegations, and court battles followed.

Objections were raised to the fact that the state had taken an option on the site before it had established criteria for evaluating the suitability of particular sites for waste disposal—and before it had examined the availability and suitability of any state-owned sites, as required by statute. And since there was as yet no inventory of wastes generated within the state, it was difficult to evaluate whether the particular type of treatment facility proposed was the kind most needed by Virginia's industry. Finally, criticism was expressed about the state's failure to develop a formal siting process, which would allow public participation and guarantee that the decision would be made according to some previously approved processes and procedures.

Questions also were raised about the wisdom of Virginia's policy of concentrating all responsibility for hazardous waste management in one agency, the Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management in the Department of Health. Section 32.1-178 of the Code of Virginia gives the Health Department a number of powers and responsibilities, including the development of a hazardous waste management plan, promotion of resource conservation and recovery, collection of data regarding the amount and kinds of waste generated in the state, and the regulation of all generators, transporters, and handlers of hazardous waste in the state. Code amendments in 1980 added the power, with approval from the governor, to acquire by purchase, grant, or use of eminent domain that land deemed necessary and appropriate for a waste disposal site. The Health Department also was granted the power to operate or provide for the operation of hazardous waste management facilities, as deemed necessary.

The Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management also administers the federal RCRA program in Virginia. Included in the 1976 RCRA Act was a provision that states should be encouraged to assume responsibility for administering the RCRA program, provided that they adopted regulations equal to or more stringent than the EPA's regulation. Virginia was granted that authority in November 1981.

With the assumption of all these responsibilities, the Health Department's Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management now has a double mandate. It is charged on the one hand with promoting the development of facilities, even to the extent of actual ownership and operation of a facility if necessary. On the other hand, it must regulate and carry out enforcement actions on such operations. This dual responsibility complicated the role of the Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management in the Buckingham County situation and raised serious questions about potential conflict of interest problems.

By December 1981 the possibility of a hazardous waste landfill on the Buckingham County site was dead—but not because of any decisive court action or because the developer or the state had withdrawn. It was dead because the county resident who owned the site grew tired of the delays and succumbed to pressure from fellow residents. He sold the site to the county for a considerably lower sum than the state would have paid, and the county proceeded immediately with plans to close down the facility.

The Buckingham County experience raised a number of serious questions about the adequacy of Virginia's current laws and procedures for managing hazardous wastes. A number of actions were set in motion at the state level that, in one way or another, are certain to alter the nature of state participation in any future siting of a hazardous waste facility.

THE STATE'S RESPONSE

The hazardous waste management issue received considerable attention in the 1982 session of the General Assembly. After the events in Buckingham County, Virginia's legislators felt the need to re-evaluate the adequacy of current hazardous waste management laws. They passed a Joint Resolution (SJR 15) requesting the Virginia Solid Waste Commission to evaluate siting legislation in other states and report back to the governor and the General Assembly in the 1983 session about the need for new legislation in Virginia.

The Virginia Solid Waste Commission was established in 1973 by the General Assembly to study problems related to the collection and disposal of wastes and to offer advice and guidance on matters whe appropriate; the Commission meets month. and reports directly to the governor and the General Assembly. The Health Department did not seek the Commission's advice before taking the option on the Buckingham County site, and the Commission was overtly critical of the Health Department's actions. As a result, the General Assembly's 1982 action included a moratorium on the Health Department's power to purchase or condemn land for a hazardous waste site until the Solid Waste Commission completes its study and reports back to the General Assembly in 1983.

During the past several months the Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management also has been working to get more of the elements of the hazardous waste management program in place. In the spring of 1982 the Division commissioned a consultant to conduct a survey of all waste generated in the state, what it is, how it is handled, and what individual industry's disposal costs are. Many observers feel that a waste inventory is the essential first step a state must take in developing a management program; it can provide the data necessary to determine how many and what type of treatment and disposal facilities a state needs.

A consultant is conducting this survey s that the data on individual firms can be kep confidential. The consultant will prepare a composite report for the Health Department. Since the Health Department is subject to the Freedom of Information Act, the Division was concerned that, if it conducted the survey, a great deal of data would be withheld as confidential trade secret information. On the other hand, the information for the consultant's survey has to be given voluntarily, a fact that raised concerns about the level of industry participation. But as of October 1, the level of response was over 80 percent. The final report was due some time in mid-November and will be made available to the public.

A second activity that the Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management has undertaken in the past year has been to draft criteria for the selection of sites for state-owned hazardous waste facilities. The state began this process as soon as they took the option on the land in Buckingham County. While the criteria now have been through three drafts, they have not yet been adopted.

Siting criteria tend to break down into two major categories: environmental and socio-economic. Environmental criteria deal with such matters as the nature and suitability of soils, the potential groundwater or surfac water contamination, and the effect endangered species. Socioeconomic criteria include the nature of surrounding land uses, population density, site accessibility, and other similar considerations. The purpose of establishing criteria is to have some standard against which the suitability of any particular site or sites can be determined. Most states that have adopted criteria use them to evaluate individual sites when they are proposed for a facility. However, several states, including Maryland, Minnesota, and w Jersey also have used their criteria to velop an inventory of all suitable sites in the state, screening all of the land in the state and identifying that which is best suited for hazardous waste treatment and disposal facilities.

When the third draft of Virginia's proposed criteria was taken to public hearing in July 1982, a large number of comments were offered. One suggestion was that no criteria should be adopted until new legislation is considered and it becomes clear within what framework the criteria will be used. Applicability was also an issue, since at present the criteria are designated to apply only to state-owned landfills. Many people would prefer one set of criteria that would be applicable to both private and state-owned facilities and to all types of facilities: treatment, landfill, and incineration. A request was made for some guidelines about the relative importance of the various criteria and the significance that each one should have in any siting decision. Some objections were raised about the substantive content of the draft. For instance, one criticism was that the population density requirements included in the criteria bias them in favor of a site's location in rural counties, rather than closer to where the waste is generated. Included in the third draft were some items relating to a ing process that may become superfluous the state decides to pass some hazardous waste siting legislation of the sort already adopted in many other states. At this point there has been no indication of when a fourth draft of the criteria may be brought to public hearing.

SITING LAWS

Under present law, the siting process in Virginia involves two levels of approval. Under the RCRA the applicant must get a permit for the facility from the Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management. But the applicant also is subject to local zoning laws and must get the necessary approvals at that level. After the experience of Buckingham County, several counties in that region passed ordinances prohibiting the disposal of hazardous waste—even though some of those counties, including Buckingham, do not have comprehensive zoning ordinances. While no legal opinion has been rendered on this matter, the validity of these exclusionary ordinances is in question. Legally, of course, the state can override these ordinances with the use of its eminent domain power. However, whether the state can do this politically without the framework of a more formal siting procedure is another question.

Twenty-four states have passed hazardous aste siting laws to establish the formal ocedures to be followed in siting facilities and to spell out the extent and nature of public participation. Most of these laws allow the state to override local land use laws, but not until all procedures are completed, all conditions have been met, and the state is convinced that the site is suitable. The rationale for a state override is the assumption that no community will ever willingly accept one of these facilities and therefore, without the override, no facilities could be sited. State laws vary in where they place the final decision-making authority, but many states have chosen to establish independent siting boards (comprised of local, state, and scientific community representatives) to administer the siting process and make the final decision. This avoids the problems inherent in having the same agency responsible for both siting and regulating these facilities. A siting board also allows some citizen representation on the decision-making body.

Another important feature of many siting laws is the variety of options for compensating the local community. In some states the siting legislation establishes a specific amount of compensation. In Georgia, Indiana, Connecticut, and Kentucky the compensation is based on a fee system; the locality is paid either a percent of the gross income of the facility or a tipping fee of so much per ton of waste entering the facility. Another approach is to view compensation as one item among many that can be part of a negotiation process between a facility developer and a potential host community. Although only one state, Massachusetts, has gone as far as to require negotiations between a facility developer and a locality, this approach has been receiving increased attention. The EPA recently has published a handbook entitled *Using Mediation When Siting Hazardous Waste Facilities*. Mediation, as indicated earlier, involves the use of neutral third parties to assist parties in a negotiation process. The EPA's handbook suggests that while a hazardous waste facility may be a non-negotiable issue for some people, a negotiation approach does have certain advantages over adversarial processes. It enhances information exchange and allows parties to address the real issues, not just those that can be taken to court. As the handbook states, mediation is not a means of avoiding conflict. What mediation does is legitimize the conflict and provide an arena within which difficult decisions can be made.

In the Massachusetts law, siting a facility is not contingent upon negotiating a siting agreement. Where no agreement can be reached, a three-person state team serves as arbitrator. But localities in Massachusetts have the opportunity to negotiate a wide range of issues, including mitigation measures designed to reduce or eliminate the impacts of a facility, compensation for impacts that are not alleviated, and provisions for additional benefits or incentives. Massachusetts has not yet sited a facility under this new legislation, but it is an approach that other states are watching.

Since many other states have passed siting laws, one might conclude that Virginia could just continue to pay the price of transporting and disposing of its wastes out of state. This probably is not a viable long-term alternative, however. States and localities are very sensitive about bearing the burden of disposing of wastes from another state's industries, and some have gone as far as trying to prohibit out-of-state waste from coming in. The legality of this is in some question. A 1980 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Reeves* v. *The State of South Dakota* ruled that the Interstate Commerce Clause does not prohibit a state from accepting waste only from its residents when the state is the owner and operator of a facility. However, that same decision noted that there may be exceptions to this decision if a state is considered to be hoarding natural resources—in cases, for instance, where one state may have the only environmentally suitable locations in its geographic region. For the time being, state ownership of sites appears to offer the possibility of excluding out-of-state wastes, thereby putting greater pressure on all states to meet their own needs.

A 1980 report by the National Governor's Association supports the development of interstate compacts for waste management similar to those being established to manage low-level nuclear waste. Participation in a compact does not imply that a state will not need its own facilities. What is more likely is that neighboring states will develop agreements to establish different types of facilities designed to handle different types of waste and then develop reciprocal agreements for the use of these facilities. What this means for Virginia is that the Commonwealth will not be able to rely on other states to solve its problem.

One unusual participant in the development of hazardous waste policies for the state of Virginia is a policy dialogue group called the Virginia Toxics Roundtable. The Toxics Roundtable is composed of individuals from the state's business and environmental groups; it was formed in early 1981 to explore issues of concern regarding the management of toxic substances and hazardous wastes in Virginia. The Roundtable receives financial support from the Virginia Environmental Endowment through the Institute for Environmental Negotiation at the University of Virginia.

In June 1982 a special committee of the Roundtable, which had met regularly for a year, reached agreement on a proposed statute for siting hazardous waste facilities in Virginia. The essential elements of this draft law are a state siting board whose decisions would override local zoning; a process for substantial citizen participation and review, including options for negotiation; and applicability of this siting process only to commercial off-site facilities. The draft statute has been shared with the Virginia Solid Waste Commission, which is reviewing siting legislation in preparation for making its report to the 1983 General Assembly in January. The activity of the Roundtable and its special committee represents an attempt on the part of a group of concerned individuals who are normally adversaries on environmental management issues to come to some agreement on a very sensitive area of state policy.

After studying a number of alternatives the Solid Waste Commission also has prepared a draft siting law. While the Commission's draft shares a number of features with that of the Toxics Roundtable, it is modeled most closely on the Maryland law. The major features include an inventory of suitable sites and a state siting board with override powers that would issue certificates of public necessity for approved sites. The Commission plans to hold a public hearing in early December to get public comment on siting legislation. The Commission has made its draft law available in advance, along with a statement outlining the options that should be considered in developing siting legislation—including siting boards, site inventories, compensation, negotiation, public participation, and state override powers. The Commission most likely will not propose any siting legislation to the 1983 short session of the General Assembly; its intent at this point is to report back to the General Assembly and the governor in January suggesting further study and seeking a one-year extension of the moratorium on the state's purchase of hazardous waste sites. If the waste survey now underway supports the need for new hazardous waste treatment and disposal facilities in the state, the Commission would expect to propose siting legislation to the 1984 session of the General Assembly.

Obviously, it is not clear if or when Virginia may have a comprehensive siting law. But the extensive public participation process that the Solid Waste Commission has included in its considerations of the siting issue and the unique activity of the Virginia Toxics Roundtable indicate that many people in Virginia recognize the need for some unusual coalitions and consensus building to develop hazardous waste management programs that will be acceptable to the majority of our citizens.

QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Congress, by removing the federal government from any power to designate or choose sites, left one of the most critical and controversial aspects of hazardous waste management to states and their local governments. Since the siting of a hazardous waste facility needs local land use approvals, and since few localities will permit as a matter of right the location of such facilities, the practical issue in the siting of facilities becomes the degree of state power used to designate a site in the face of local opposition. Because local land use powers are guarded jealously and the state's power to regulate land has been politically unacceptable in many states, the siting of hazardous waste facilities raises serious ideological and political as well as technical problems.

Although the siting issue is the most prominent and sensitive issue that Virginia must face in developing a waste management plan and strategy, the state probably will not be able to develop siting policy without dealing with broader aspects of toxic and hazardous waste management. Site-specific conflict offers an opportunity for local concerns to intersect broader issues of waste policy. Opponents of particular sites raise questions about whether industry should be offered incentives to reduce the flow of its waste or waste products if those wastes are generating costly and even disabling site issues. These opponents also raise questions about why the largest share of industrial waste is disposed of in landfills. Even if landfills are at present the most economical method, they argue that industry should make efforts to alter the production process in ways that will account for waste products. According to this argument, new technologies should be developed that would incinerate, detoxify, or otherwise treat wastes as part of a responsible overall strategy.

These same opponents advocate better methods for recycling wastes. Virginia has made progress in this matter by initiating a waste exchange program. The State Chamber of Commerce, with a loan from the Virginia Environmental Endowment, has set up an industrial waste exchange that gives businesses an opportunity to lists substances that are waste products for them, but may be useful materials to others. This exchange serves as a clearinghouse for buyers and sellers of waste materials. Only an estimated 10 percent of wastes generated are appropriate for this exchange process; even so, a number of states and regions are using this approach in an effort to re-use valuable resources and reduce the amount of waste requiring disposal.

While material and disposal costs will move industry further in the direction of resource recovery, the major burdens and costs of the total waste management effort will continue to rest with the states. In a campaign document entitled "The Robb Plan for Conservation of Virginia's Natural Resources," Governor Robb expressed a strong commitment to developing a total management system for handling wastes in Virginia—a system that would include not only siting needed facilities, but also developing a waste management plan, ensuring the adequacy of personnel to implement the programs, and giving serious attention to the safe transport of wastes through the states. The ability to carry out these proposals depends in large part on the resources the state is prepared to invest. As part of assuming responsibility for administering the RCRA, the state was required to add additional personnel. The Division of Solid and Hazardous Waste Management currently has a full-time staff of ten and receives some part-time help from other agencies. This is still a small staff compared to that of other states, particularly since the responsibility for all hazardous waste planning, permitting, monitoring, and enforcement activity currently resides in this one agency. To undertake any additional waste management activity would require the commitment of additional resources.

Waste disposal clearly is no longer a backwater of public policy and administration, either in Virginia or anywhere in the industrial world. But the emergence of any acceptable response will involve more than just getting a site that meets appropriate engineering standards. The responsible management of hazardous wastes will demand close scrutiny of the waste generation process, careful attention to state planning and administration, and extensive public participation, probably including elements of mediation and compensation to localities.

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CASE STUDY # 1

SAVE THE BAY -- AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL PROGRAM

"Few times in American history have the states, the federal government and citizens' groups developed the potential to work together in such a constructive way." (William Ruckelshaus, Administrator, EPA)

In December 1983, seven hundred legislators, administrators, scientists and Bay users met in Fairfax, Virginia to develop an action agenda for the Chesapeake Bay. The conference was called by the governors of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania and officials of the District of Columbia and EPA to mark the end of the EPA study and the beginning of a political effort to correct the problems identified in the studies. The 10-year program requires legislation, monitoring and enforcement of pollution controls and water treatment and millions of dollars from EPA, the District and the states.

VIRGINIA'S SHARE OF THE PROJECT In 1984 and 1985 the General Assembly created administrative machinery and appropriated millions to do the job.

> More than $3 million was appropriated to encourage Best Management Practices (BMP) of conservation on agricultural lands, and to reduce NONPOINT source pollution (sediments, toxic substances and nutrients from agricultural and urban areas, not from any one source or location). It requested state and local governments to implement BMPs on lands they own.

The Virginia Resource Authority (VRA) was created to encourage public and private investment, with grants and loans to local governments for the construction and improvement of wastewater treatment projects. The Authority will borrow funds and issue bonds (up to $300 million) for grants and loans.

> More than $5 million was allocated to assist localities with broken pipes and treatment plant plans, chlorine controls, and a grant and loan program to assist low income families with domestic sewage problems.

$3 million was allocated for more research and management of the bay and the James River, and for more health studies on kepone other toxic substances.

> The State Water Control Board was asked to plan a program to reduce phosphate from all sources leading into the Bay, and to consult with the Water Resource Center and the Chesapeake Bay Commission on the costs and benefits of a ban on phosphate detergents and cleaning agents in Virginia.

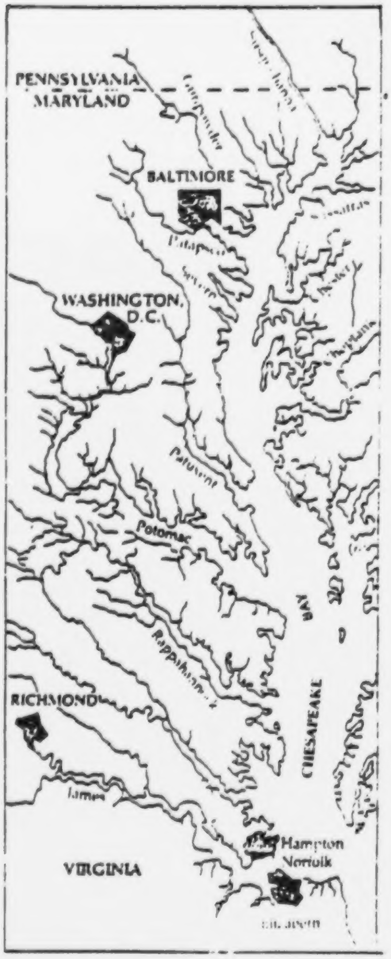
$5 million was allocated to restore and protect fish life: fisheries, oysters, sea grasses and artificial reefs to attract finfish. A marine sportfishing license was recommended to the 1985 General Assembly. It was not approved.

A joint resolution of both houses asked Congress and the President to fund the $13 million per year EPA budget for the Chesapeake Bay clean-up program, and to develop a national nonpoint source pollution control program.

$300,000 was granted for a Youth Conservation Corps and $290,000 was earmarked for the Chesapeake Bay Education Program (which funded a portion of the cost of producing this unit) and environmental public service announcements.

Funds continue for 10 years, and on into the foreseeable future to protect the Bay - once we have controlled the waste now being dumped into it.

CHESAPEAKE BAY - VIRGINIA'S MAGNIFICENT FRONT YARD



Chesapeake Bay waters come from a 64,000 square mile drainage area in six states (Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York. Four of Virginia's major river systems feed into the Bay:
- The Potomac River system, including the Shenandoah River, beginning deep in the Valley of Virginia, and numerous smaller tributary creeks along Virginia's northern border;
- The Rappahannock River, which drains a section of north-central Virginia as far as the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge;
- The York River, formed by the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, drains a large area of central Piedmont, west to Orange County;
- The James River, with headwaters in the Bullpasture River in West Virginia, becomes the James in Botetourt County, flows eastward through the Blue Ridge, past the city of Lynchburg, to Richmond and enters the Bay at Hampton Roads.

Virginia's history, commerce, economic security, and quality of life are significantly linked to the Chesapeake Bay, the drowned valley of the Susquehanna River. 15,000 years ago the river overflowed its banks during the melt at the end of the ice age. The rising sea pushed water into all the low places, creating hundreds of protected harbors, which have been havens for small craft and refuges for the ocean-weary travelers of previous centuries, as well as natural spawning and nesting areas for an almost infinite variety of wildlife. Flat, slow-moving rivers open out to the Bay and actually are pushed back with the tides, mixing salt water with fresh.

Local, state, and national government all care about the health of Chesapeake Bay. Here are some of the reasons:

1 - SEAFOOD PRODUCTION Chesapeake Bay supplies the world's largest blue crab catch, traditionally 27 million pounds of oysters per year, and large harvests of soft shell clams and finfish for a total annual catch exceeding $100 million -- a U.S. record topped only by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

2 - SHIPPING & COMMERCE The 200 mile long Bay runs from the Port of Baltimore on the north to the south end Port of Hampton Roads (Norfolk, Portsmouth, Hampton, and Newport News). In 1982, the Hampton Roads complex was by far the largest U. S. port in foreign cargo, with a total of 68,491,846 tons. Over 89% of this total was exports -- including coal, tobacco and cigarettes, corn, soybeans, wheat, lumber, fertilizers, animal feed, manmade fibers and textile yarn, plastics and resins, synthetic rubber, iron and steel scrap, and automobile parts -- with a value of over $8 billion per year.

3 - INDUSTRY: Shipbuilding and related industries, manufacturers and power companies located around the Bay and its tributaries use large volumes of water for industrial processes and cooling. The estuary must assimilate wastes from most of these industries as well.

4 - POPULATION: 60% of Virginia's population lives on the 1/3 of the state's land mass adjacent to the Bay. In addition, boating, sportfishing, swimming, hunting, and camping lure great numbers of people from throughout Virginia and the East Coast. The total of wastes from all these people is staggering.

Our beautiful front yard is a national treasure, a great asset to Virginia, a natural habitat for bird, beast, and fish, a recharge area for all forms of life — including man, who finds rest and relaxation on Chesapeake Bay.

BUT, UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS LESS LIKE THAT EVERY DAY!

> "We are running out of time," said one waterman. "We no longer need sophisticated measuring devices to test the water quality. I can see it with my own eyes. The water is discolored, the eelgrass is gone, and I can't catch a rockfish."

Ten years ago, 4 million pounds of rockfish were caught annually in Chesapeake Bay — the catch today is less than 10% of that amount. The whistling swans that fed on the eelgrass now feed in nearby cornfields, and the oyster harvest is drastically reduced. Other Atlantic seabord states are also affected by the problems of the Bay, since it is the spawning and juvenile growth area for marine organisms found all along the coast.

The slow-moving rivers blocked by the changing tides trap the agricultural run-off and urban pollution in the Bay. We had always expected that the rivers-to-the-Bay-to-the-ocean path for our wastes was sure: we have learned only recently that a major portion of it stays right there in the Bay. This realization has begun to change water management across the state, from the headwaters to the estuary.

A 5-year, $30 million study by the Environmental Protection Agency was completed in 1982. The report showed that nitrogen, phosphorous, weed-killers and insecticides from crop lands and residential areas, millions of gallons of sewage, and tons of chemicals and industrial waste have been deposited in the Bay — making the water murky and stimulating high algae blooms. Algae lowers the light and consumes oxygen, inhibiting the growth of bottom plants and animals. This means that the "deep feeders" such as shad, striped bass, herring, oysters, and our famous blue crabs, all of which depend on the sea grasses, are disappearing. The entire Bay is endangered, and some areas are considered ecologically dead during certain times of the year. The EPA survey documented what watermen and conservationists had observed over the prior decade: the Bay cannot cleanse itself of the quantity of pollutants we have been pouring into it. In fact, because of the tides and the water circulation patterns, what goes in the Bay, stays in the Bay.

(See Chesapeake Bay: Introduction to an Ecosystem and other useful materials, including colorful posters, published by The Council on the Environment, Ninth Street Office Building, Richmond, VA 23219)

SAVE THE BAY -- A PROGRAM FOR ALL USERS OF THE CHESAPEAKE & VIRGINIA RIVERS

Responsible citizens all over the state are helping wherever they are -- by keeping clean the rivers that empty into the Bay, by helping to publicize the effort with bumper stickers, and perhaps by joining or making a contribution to the Chesapeake Bay Foundation. Everyone who swims, boats, fishes, or enjoys the scenery of the Chesapeake Bay or its tributaries can become part of the effort to save the Bay, by helping to decrease the pollution. Here are some specific things that you can do especially when you are near the rivers that feed the Bay or in the Tidewater:

CAR CARE

Recycle Your Oil One quart of oil dispersed in water can create an oil slick 6 acres in size. Service stations will accept and recycle your used oil.
Use lead-free gasoline.
Wash your car on a grassy area where the dirt and detergents will be caught.
Dispose of antifreeze, solids, and chemicals according to local waste plan.

INSIDE YOUR HOME

Conserve Water By decreasing your water use, you both decrease the wastes entering the bay and save on water and sewer bills. The average Bay resident uses 75-100 gallons per day: it is estimated that two gallons per person are needed for cooking and cleaning. See the list titled "Water Conservation in Our Area" for specific things you can do.

Use NO PHOSPHATE detergents Phosphates are a significant Chesapeake Bay pollutant because they can contribute to rampant growth of algae that cuts off sunlight to underwater plants and decreases oxygen available to aquatic life.

OUTSIDE YOUR HOME

Don't Overfertilize: Follow instructions on the label! Using more fertilizer than necessary will not make your plants grow better. The extra will run off and increase the phosphates that grow algae in our rivers and in the Bay.
Decrease erosion around your home.
Dispose of hazardous substances properly

SPECIAL FOR THOSE WHO SWIM, BOAT, OR FISH IN THE BAY OR ITS RIVERS

Use pump out stations: don't put human waste overboard.

Take bottles, cans, paper products and other trash to shore: don't throw it overboard. (Campers rule: Leave the place better than you found it.)

Obey boat speed limit signs: don't cause wake-created erosion.

Be careful when fueling boats. Avoid gas and oil spills.

Catch only the fish and crabs you need.

Obey all fishing, crabbing and wildlife regulations.

Establish and maintain natural vegetation along streams and drainage ways.
HELP US ALL TO SAVE THE BAY -- DON'T BE A POLLUTER!

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY FOUNDATION

The plight of the Chesapeake was brought to the attention of the Environmental Protection Agency and the governors of the neighboring states by a large and growing body of concerned citizens who highlighted the plight of fishermen and the concerns of naturalists, and documented the degradation of the water quality and wildlife. When the project was finally funded and the plans outlined, the Chesapeake Bay Foundation (CBF) adopted the longterm role of watchdog to monitor the progress. They fear that the shared nature of the Chesapeake project may make it potentially insecure -- that farmers, industry and communities in the six-state area will fall to blaming each other for the state of the Bay, rather than spend their share of the effort and funds for the clean-up and protection of the future of this invaluable resource. The CBF will oversee the effort -- as an independent nonprofit charitable organization, with strong support of more than 23,000 members throughout the Bay area. Its goal is to promote the orderly management of the Bay, with special emphasis on maintaining water quality that will support the Bay's diverse aquatic species.

CBF has a paid staff of 42 and dozens of active volunteers. Its program is focused on four main activities: education; scientific investigation; legal protection of the Bay resources; and the preservation and management of significant Bay lands.

CBF's educational program currently works with over 22,000 students each year, at locations throughout the Bay, to teach an appreciation of the Bay as a highly productive biological system that supports a number of different and often conflicting human uses and therefore requires sound, long-range planning and management. While colleges, clubs, and special groups use CBF facilities, most participants are secondary school students. Guided educational canoe trips to observe the natural beauties and the ecological concerns about the Bay can be arranged through the Foundation, which furnishes pre-trip student and teacher resources. See address below.

Through leases, conservation easements, or outright ownership, CBF manages more than 3,000 acres of Bay land as a natural preserve for educational purposes.

The Chesapeake Bay Foundation has a yearly budget of approximately $1.8 million. Membership dues are $20 for an individual and $30 for a family. Members learn more about the educational and scientific programs, and receive advance information about trips and opportunities through the quarterly CBF News and a multi-page Annual Report. Teachers and students are invited to join.

For booklets, slide-tape shows, speakers, canoe trip information, or membership, contact:

Chesapeake Bay Foundation
11 South 12th Street
Richmond, VA 23219

WHAT WILL THE STATES DO?

MARYLAND

Governor Harry Hughes laid out an ambitious program designed to restore the Bay to the condition that existed a generation ago. He proposed that Maryland initiate a set of actions that include capital expenditures, increases in the staff and operating budgets of Bay agencies and new legislation. He suggested that the job will take two decades and proposed that Maryland begin by:

- tripling the state's share of federally-supported sewage treatment improvements;
- funding dechlorination throughout the state;
- implementing conservation plans on all farms in critical areas within 5 years;
- establishing a critical areas commission to control shoreline development;
- protecting non-tidal wetlands;
- arresting the loss of forest lands;
- implementing pretreatment programs;
- computerizing inspection and monitoring data;
- centralizing and enforcing the sediment control program;
- developing management plans for major fish species;
- tripling the shore erosion program;
- restoring oyster and finfish populations;
- building a hatchery for black ducks;
- expanding education programs for students.

VIRGINIA

Governor Charles S. Robb proposed to make the Bay an important state budget item for at least the next decade. Governor Robb pledged to include funds in his budget that constitute what he called a down payment on the future. He defined a program that will begin with constructive first steps in this biennium to be followed by more ambitious and expensive programs. Robb's initiatives for the 1984-86 biennium would improve the Bay by:

- assisting the agricultural community to prevent erosion;
- reducing urban runoff through grants to local governments for staff and for demonstration projects;
- correcting infiltration and inflow problems in old sewer lines;
- installing new systems to replace failing septic systems;
- reducing chlorine and substituting other disinfectants;
- replanting bay grasses;
- monitoring toxic chemicals;
- expanding public education programs;
- improving fisheries data;
- developing fisheries management plans;
- establishing an administrative tracking system to coordinate in-state programs and monitor their effectiveness.

MASON UNIVERSITY

PENNSYLVANIA

Calling Pennsylvania a "good neighbor," **Lieutenant Governor William W. Scranton III** announced a plan to reduce Pennsylvania's non-point pollution. The Pennsylvania legislature will appropriate funds, to be matched with federal dollars, that will enable the state to contribute to the Bay clean-up. Efforts will be concentrated in the lower Susquehanna and will reduce Pennsylvania's impact on the upper Bay by:

- increasing the financial assistance available to farmers to implement best management practices;
- providing additional technical staff to accelerate BMP programs;
- conducting an education program that includes the Farmer's Association, the Grange and the Farmers Union;
- developing a pilot program on manure marketing;
- creating a community methane digestion system from animal wastes;
- funding research on nutrient and pesticide loss from no-till farms;
- implementing the Mason-Dixon Erosion Control project.

SON UNIVERSITY

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mayor Marion Barry of the District of Columbia spoke about Washington's efforts to clean up the Potomac River — "the nation's river" — and talked about what he proposes for the future:

- continuing the Potomac Strategy to develop equitable, technically sound wastewater treatment agreements;
- seeking passage of a Water Pollution Control Act for the District of Columbia;
- correcting erosion and sewer overflow problems in the Anacostia River, in conjunction with Maryland;
- improving erosion and stormwater controls for new developments in the city;
- coordinating Potomac monitoring with the states and EPA;
- designing and implementing dechlorination facilities at Blue Plains;
- changing sewer rate structures to reflect users' pollutant loads;
- developing a fisheries management program.

MASON UNIVERSITY

CHESAPEAKE BAY COMMISSION

Senator Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., chairman of the Chesapeake Bay Commission, presented the recommendations the commission will make to the the General Assemblies of Maryland and Virginia. Saying that the "critical, essential element in the equation is political leadership," Senator Gartlan listed actions the Commission supports and will sponsor:

- encouraging Congress to amend the Clean Water Act to provide funds for restoration of Chesapeake Bay;
- urging adoption of a national program to address urban and agricultural non-point sources of pollution;
- inviting participation in Commission proceedings by the Pennsylvania legislature;
- providing a periodic forum for evaluation of legislative and budgetary measures proposed by the conference and implemented by the General Assemblies;
- taking a leadership role in working for passage of specific proposals adopted by the Commission in November 1983.

At that time the Commission supported actions that would improve fisheries management, upgrade erosion control programs, encourage more sensitive land development, reduce toxics and nutrients, and create a permanent management structure.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, came to the conference, as he said, "without his checkbook." He did, however, offer that he was "cautiously optimistic" about the possibility of additional federal dollars being committed to the Bay cleanup effort in 1985 and beyond. He assured conferees that EPA remains firm in its intent to support the joint effort to clean up the Bay. Administrator Ruckelshaus cited EPA's plans to spend $163 million in 1984 in the Bay states for sewage construction grants, and $15 million to support state water quality programs. In addition, EPA will participate in the cleanup program by:

- targeting $4.2 million in 1984 to support the liaison office, monitoring, public participation and state cost-sharing;
- initiating a toxics program in Baltimore harbor (one of three such efforts in the U.S.) to investigate solutions to toxics problems;
- coordinating federal activities, including those within the Department of Agriculture, which affect Chesapeake Bay;
- providing technical assistance;
- coordinating further development of the Chesapeake data base;
- chairing the Chesapeake Executive Council.

CASE STUDY #2 - NORTHERN VIRGINIA - CITIZEN EFFORT PRODUCES COOPERATION

> You step into your morning shower, turn on the water, and after a few drips the water stops. In fact, the drips were barely enough to brush your teeth.

A bad dream? Water engineer Louis Guy realized in 1971 that it could happen to millions of people in Northern Virginia in a low water year. Population growth had pushed water withdrawals from the Potomac River to 388 million gallons a day and Guy knew that this was more water than would flow into the supply during a low water year. The reservoirs would be grassy prairies. Homes, school, industries, and the very life of the communities and people in this populous area -- all would be brought to a standstill or grossly distorted by the tremendous cost and inconvenience of trucking in water. To make it more scary, Guy knew that thousands more people were moving into the area each year. The next drought could make that waterless shower a reality for millions of people.

That spring, Guy received a glimmering of an answer at a meeting of the Washington Metropolitan Council of Governments (COG). The Director of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, William Ruckelshaus, delivered a report which showed how the region's water needs could be managed and suggested a regional super agency to do the job. As Guy sat listening to that report, his engineer's reaction was radically different from the reaction of the politicians seated around him. The politicians immediately became agitated over the proposal of a regional agency controlling an essential resource like water, and they saw a threat to the independence of their local jurisdictions. Guy focused on the report's conclusion that technically there WAS a way out of the dilemma, and he saw himself as an inhabitant of a large river basin that could be drained dry -- unless these fellows could learn to work together.

Many people had recognized the collision course of population growth and water needs, but no proposal had been developed and sold to the politicians and the people. Guy left that meeting convinced that if he could organize a group of engineers and develop a workable solution, the politicians would be forced to create the agreements and administrative arrangements to make it happen. Guy organized his engineers' group, the National Capital Area Water Study Committee, and during 1972 they looked at all the ideas that had been proposed over the last ten years. They met for lunch in Washington every three weeks, hearing and questioning the authors of the various reports who represented many points of view and advocating many different solutions. The engineers found that the best job of investigating the technical problem had been done by the League of Women Voters. They found no one very optimistic about the possibility of getting all the competing jurisdictions to work together on a solution. In fact, a representative of the Citizens Council for a Clean Potomac, Liz Hartwell, told Guy: "This problem will be solved as soon as it stops raining." There was no doubt that severe drought would force the political bodies to work out a solution, but crisis agreements are not always the best or most long-lasting agreements. Certainly the next drought would stiffen the competition for the available water, which might complicate regional solutions that require sharing and giving up some local control. In December 1972, Guy's group published "Washington's Water Supply Crisis." It got attention in the newspapers, radio and TV, and it enlarged and encouraged the group of people working on the water supply issue. It made Guy a "player in the game." Guy discovered that almost every public body had a time set aside for citizen comment, and he scheduled himself and his friends as speakers before every local government in the Washington area. He also wrote letters to the editor of the Washington Post each time water appeared in the news. Guy made use of his status as a source of information on water to extend his network of influence beyond the engineers. He volunteered his time to citizen groups and local government officials. He was appointed chairman of the environmental resources committee of the local federation of civic associations. By 1975, he was their vice president and in charge of organizing the annual seminar. You can probably guess that he chose the topic of drinking water for this big conference, and he organized a prestigious speakers list to include top experts and elected officials. The media coverage of the event kept water where Guy wanted it -- on the front pages.

Meanwhile, more and more people were moving into Northern Virginia and other localities around Washington, and the agencies supplying water were becoming concerned. The Fairfax Water Authority used water from the Occoquan River to supply Northern Virginia though they recognized that this source was not adequate for the new population demands. The authority needed water from the Potomac, but the river belonged to Maryland. On the Maryland side, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) was the water agency and it had its own problems with a population explosion comparable to what was happening in Northern Virginia. The WSSC wanted to build a dam in the Potomac so it could take water out more easily. Even though Maryland owned the Potomac, the river was a navigable waterway and any obstruction like a Virginia pumping station or a Maryland dam had to have approval of the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers. It just so happened that the Corps was also responsible for supplying water to Washington, D. C. The Corps feared that if the suburbs were allowed to take more water out of the Potomac, there wouldn't be enough for Washington.

Even though the Potomac was a regional resource, the selfish needs and conflicting claims of the three areas bordering it kept it from being used to benefit all. Everyone agreed that something had to be done, but the stumbling block was the issue of who would get how much of the Potomac's water during periods of drought. Working out a "low-flow agreement" among the competing jurisdictions was the major hurdle.

In 1977, drought struck. Louis Guy's fears of not enough water began to become a reality as car washes were closed down and people were told not to water their lawns. Water was back in the headlines and even became an issue in the Virginia governor's race. Louis Guy was consulted on possible solutions. A Virginia Water Study Commission was appointed and Louis Guy was made a member. The Washington Council of Governments held a "water summit" and Louis Guy was invited.

Then the rains came, water restrictions were lifted, and the job of hammering out a lasting water solution seemed less urgent. This time, though, great numbers of people had been alerted and the efforts were not abandoned. A compromise had been arranged by the governors of Virginia and Maryland with the Secretary of the Army. They had agreed to give the bulk of the low flow of the Potomac to Washington, D. C. in order to gain access to more of the

Potomac's water during rainy months. This was a particularly bitter pill for the suburbs because they had to finance all of the water supply improvements while facing the possibility of not having enough water in times of need. With Louis Guy supplying facts and figures, local officials denounced the plan and called for a more equitable solution.

Fortunately, science came to the rescue of politics. The Corps of Engineers published a major study of the area's water resources which contained new technical data. The head of the WSSC, a speaker at Guy's water seminar in 1975, sent out a letter proposing that the local jurisdictions get together and use the data to find a permanent water supply solution. The Chairman of the Northern Virginia Water Study Commission, a politician with whom Guy had worked, pressed the idea on the metro area's water advisory board. In January 1980, a task force was created by the local jurisdictions and charged with drafting a regional water management proposal. Louis Guy was appointed to this task force, as were many others from the network he had organized years earlier.

Even though there was a commitment among the task force members to find a solution, progress was slow. Computer technology contributed the next breakthrough when a program was developed that could precict water needs and identify access points so that very little water would be wasted. A second echelon of issues such as the details of sewage disposal and water treatment kept creeping into the committee's deliberations. Guy worked hard to keep the focus purely on water management and to develop trust among the participants. For eighteen months, he drove into D.C. to pick up their representative and take him to task force meetings. Over the months, a bond of confidence grew and it eventually paid off when the Washington, D. C. representative made the task force's final report a unanimous recommendation.

In March of 1982 -- over a decade after Guy's first work on the water issue -- eight separate agreements were signed among local jurisdictions, and a regional water management plan came into being. The localities had finally come to view themselves as parts of a regional whole. They agreed to share the costs of building and maintaining the dams which would assure an adequate water supply and to share water in times of shortage. According to Louis Guy, this solution should take care of the Washington area for the next fifty years.

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CITIZEN EFFECTIVENESS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION

Virginia is fortunate to have adequate rainfall and groundwater in most parts of the state in most years. Our challenge is to store and clean sufficient water to meet our needs, even in periods of low-water or drought.

Dams and reservoirs that store water require land and big money to construct. How should they be financed?

Water treatment plants also cost big money to construct and to operate. How should they be financed?

Who benefits from these projects? How?

What are the social, economic, and political consequences of NOT building them?

Water supply is one of several components of our environment that do not always respond to the actions of one political jurisdiction. A city or county -- or even a state -- cannot always control its own supply. Look at a Virginia river basin map. Can you identify other areas of Virginia where use and control of water resources might present problems between jurisdictions?

What kinds of problems would be likely to occur in times of low water?

high water?

pollution such as oil spills? Other?

Local officials are elected to make decisions that will protect or improve the lives and fortunes of their constituents. They also must make some decisions that raise taxes and interfere with an individual's property rights. List some unpopular short-term or long-term decisions made by local officials?

Name four area problems that require cooperation between jurisdictions.

Do the jurisdictions in this area cooperate on mutual problems? Annexation threats interfere with cooperation between some neighboring jurisdictions in Virginia. Is this a problem here?

Many local governments prefer citizens to speak up BEFORE problems become too big or emotionally charged. Are citizens encouraged to speak up at meetings of public bodies in this area? Do citizens speak up at meetings of governing bodies? Is there a specified time for citizen comment?

Many local governments help neighborhoods to organize or appoint advisory committees to work on local problems and present possible solutions to the governing body. Is this technique used in this area? On what problems? Can you think of local problems that would benefit from this type of effort?

Are there citizens in this area who have used interest, concern, and expertise to help solve a community problem? Briefly describe the individuals and what they did, or what they are doing now.

CASE STUDY #3 - TIDEWATER - SALTWATER - SAVE WATER - WHAT WATER?

(History source: "Anatomy of a Water Problem: Virginia Beach's Experience Suggests Time for a Change" by William R. Walker and Phyllis Bridgeman, Virginia Water Resources Research Center Special Report No. 18, August 1985.)

> Joe bounced his ball up the walk to the foor and palmed it as he came through the door, softly mimicking his mother saying, "Not in the house, Joe." He headed for the kitchen, flipped on the radio, and went to wash his grimy hands before attacking the refrigerator. When he turned on the faucet, no water came out! He scratched his head and tried to remember if he had seen any digging in the streets on his way home. The tune on the radio ended, and his consciousness was pierced by the announcer:
>
> "To repeat an earlier announcement: The city government has issued a water emergency ruling. All residents must limit water use to 10 gallons for each household or dwelling unit each day until new instructions are issued or the emergency order is lifted. Watch and listen for details on the evening news."

Could something like this happen in a high population area -- like Virginia Beach?

Let's start in 1923, when the little town of Virginia Beach realized it needed to buy water from the city of Norfolk to augment the wells that were serving its homes and businesses. They entered into an agreement (still in force today) that Norfolk would provide them with water in return for a pro rata share of the cost of operation, maintenance, and capital improvements. However, Norfolk's own use and the water for the military establishments in the area would come first -- and Virginia Beach would have rights only to Norfolk's surplus water. Virginia Beach also agreed not to put any water other than Norfolk water into those water lines.

In 1940, the town of Virginia Beach had a population of 22,584. (Joe's granddad might have dug a well into plentiful and clean groundwater for his home and a small business out in Princess Anne County.)

Then the population began to soar. In 1963, after repeated annexation battles, the town of Virginia Beach merged with Princess Anne County to become the city of Virginia Beach. To manage their growth and attract taxable business, they contracted (in 1973) to purchase the pipes and other assets of the Norfolk water system within their borders, though title will not pass to them until 1993. By this time, it was obvious that Norfolk might not be able to supply enough water to support the burgeoning population, particularly in periods of low rainfall. The General Assembly enacted the Groundwater Act of 1973 to gain some control over the multitude of well-drillers in specially designated groundwater management areas in Tidewater. Unfortunately, they excluded so many users from the permit requirement that the state still has no control over great quantities of the water in Tidewater.

The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers began in 1976 to develop a long-range water supply plan for southeastern Virginia. They evaluated 36 different sources, 24 of which were soon eliminated for such reasons as low supply potentials, public health concerns, or technical problems. In 1975, a consulting firm recommended a pipeline from Lake Gaston to Tidewater, setting off a campaign of opposition by Southside Virginia and North Carolina.

The summer of 1977 was a dry one, and Norfolk and Virginia Beach adopted water conservation measures that enabled them to get through the drought.

The drought of 1980-81 was more severe, and it forced them to recognize that 85% of Norfolk's raw water is supplied by rainfall and runoff, and is therefore very vulnerable to fluctuations in the weather. The principle water supply for such a tremendous number of people cannot be left to the vagaries of rainclouds.

To assure water for their customers, Norfolk drilled wells on property it owned in the city of Suffolk and the counties of South Hampton and Isle of Wight. The local governments in these areas promptly took to the courts to own and control the waters in their geographic jurisdiction and to receive payment for the water withdrawn. Three law suits were brought against Norfolk -- but Virginia Beach was the real target since, under the terms of their contract, they would have only about 50% of their allocation of water for the summer. Virginia Beach was forced to settle out of court, to hand over to the other local governments the management of the five wells they had drilled. In order to claim the water, Virginia Beach would have to declare a water shortage emergency and enforce emergency measures. The contracts expire in 1986 for three of the wells and in 1991 for the other two.

In the pattern of standard economic problems, water use questions turn on supply and demand.

> The SUPPLY is limited by the weather and by what we do to the environment. Virginia's precipitation is not dependable. We destroy our groundwater by pollution. We pave over and build on ground that must permit seepage to recharge the aquifer.
>
> The DEMAND is ratcheted upward with each increase in population. Conservation becomes essential when supply or distribution systems cannot keep up with the demand. That is the case in our rapidly developing areas. Tidewater growth has occurred regardless of its water supply problem.

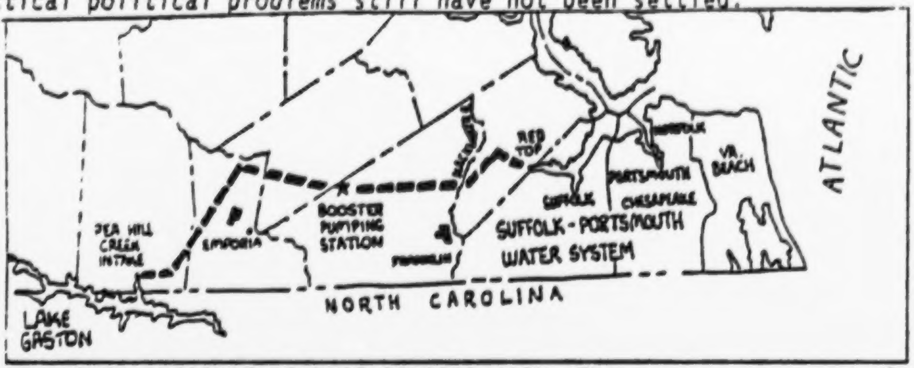
Tidewater has been forced to impose water restrictions many times. In years of low precipitation, it is unlikely that the area will be able to support projected population with the currently available fresh water -- even with conservation regulations.

> In 1985, Virginia Beach population was 324,000, using 25 mgd (million gallons per day) of water. It is expected to climb to 473,000 using 50 mgd of water per day by the year 2030.

Two possible answers have been proposed:

> 1 - AN 85-MILE PIPELINE TO BRING WATER FROM LAKE GASTON It would be a 60 inch pipe cutting across 5 counties. This solution was accepted by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, though it was challenged in court by Virginians and was caught in the crossfire of when former governor Hunt challenged Jessie Helms for the U. S. Senate. Virginia Beach has filed countersuits to prevent corporations from interfering with the pipeline.

Millions of dollars have been spent in legal fees, and the legal and practical political problems still have not been settled.

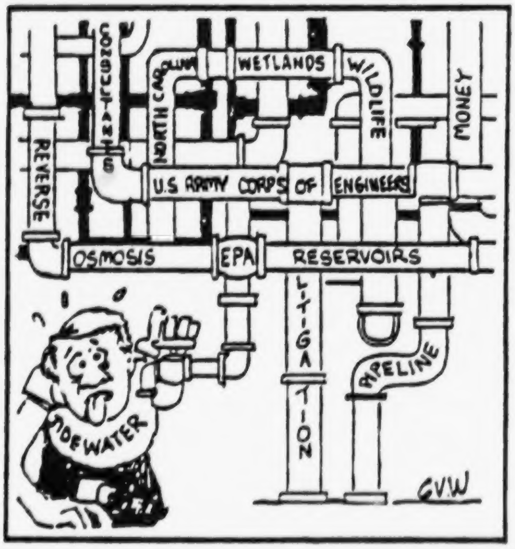

ATLANTIC
RED TOP
NORFOLK
VA. BEACH
PORTSMOUTH
SUFFOLK
CHESAPEAKE
PEA HILL CREEK INTAKE
EMPORIA
BOOSTER PUMPING STATION
FRANKLIN
SUFFOLK - PORTSMOUTH WATER SYSTEM
NORTH CAROLINA
LAKE GASTON

2 - NEW LOWER-PRESSURE REVERSE OSMOSIS (RO) The process removes salt and other dissolved solids from water by forcing it through a screening membrane. Reverse osmosis originally was rejected because the electricity to operate the pressure pumps was very costly. Water tends to flow from low salt concentrations to high salt concentrations: the pumps must reverse this flow and force the water through the membrane.

In May of 1985, a new membrane was introduced by Dupont that promises to separate the salt from the water under lower pressure, reducing the pumping cost; however, it removes only about 10% of the salt. Several units would have to be used in tandem to produce drinkable water, and this would increase the cost of installing and operating the system. The question still remains about the disposal of vast quantities of the salty concentrate that would remain behind the screening membranes.

Watch the news for further information on RO and any other ways that might be economically feasible to obtain drinking water from the abundant saltwater in Tidewater. EPA has now requested the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers to consider RO for Gloucester as well as for Virginia Beach.

As the Water News points out, 15 years have already elapsed since the first Tidewater water supply studies. The same kinds of problems are beginning to surface in Henrico County as the state begins to consider a Corps proposal to divert water from the James River to serve Newport News. Virginia has in the past moved water from areas of plenty to areas of need, but these transfers now seem destined to trigger lengthy and expensive legal battles. There must be a more economical and rational way for Virginians to share natural resources! Several suggestions have been presented to the legislature and to the public in hearings before various water study committees and commissions, over a period of several years. What has happened to them?


CONSULTANTS
NORTH CAROLINA
WETLANDS
WILDLIFE
MONEY
REVERSE
U.S ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS
OSMOSIS
EPA
RESERVOIRS
LITIGATION
PIPELINE
TIDEWATER
GVW

ANALYSIS & COMPARISON OF WATER PROBLEMS IN SELECTED AREAS OF VIRGINIA

Name ______________________________

1 - Read the case studies on Northern Virginia and Tidewater.

2 - List in your notebook the factors that are alike or similar in the two descriptions. List the factors that are NOT alike or similar.

3 - What technical and engineering problems complicate the Tidewater situation?

4 - Reverse osmosis (RO) has been mentioned as an alternative that might be practical for Tidewater. Can you find out in your library whether the 1985-86 variation of this process has been proven cost-effective?

5 - Write about one page describing the economic and political problems presented by the proposal for the Lake Gaston pipeline?
OR
Imagine you are running for office in Tidewater. Answer the following question in 150 words or less: The city of Virginia Beach has spent more than $600,000 in legal fees since 1982 over the Lake Gaston pipeline, and it still is not out of court, much less built or bringing us water. How do you propose to solve our water supply problem?
OR
Imagine you are running for office in Southside. Answer the following question in 150 words or less: What is your position on the Lake Gaston pipeline?

6 Southside has Lake Gaston, but it has not yet shared in the pattern of industrial growth. From your reading and knowledge of Virginia, can you identify other important factors?

7 - What does the Virginia Constitution say about the powers of the Commonwealth and its officials to deal with problems of the environment? health and safety of citizens? economic development? disputes between jurisdictions? Can you identify any other Constitutional issues?

8 - You are the Governor of Virginia. The winter was unusually dry, the spring rains were spotty, and weather experts predict a continued dry period in the next several months. Would you feel responsible to take any action? Why? Why not? Suppose the predictions of drought were for the next couple of years. Describe the alternatives you would consider, who might oppose each alternative, and any political steps you might take to gain their cooperation.

9 - You are a member of a General Assembly subcommittee hearing reports on the various studies of Virginia's waters. You feel that the state should set up a management system to assure local and regional cooperation and appropriate water supplies for all people, uses, and areas.

How would you answer the people who fear a mammoth bureaucracy would take away their control of their land and water? Does Virginia tend to have big bureaucracies? Were any safeguards built into the State Water Control Board proposals to assure local input?

How would you answer the people from water-rich areas who say that any statewide management system would mean sharing their water, the basis of their land values, and their future attraction to industry and jobs?

WATER EMERGENCY !!

GOAL: to demonstrate the number and complexity of problems, both economic and political, that must be dealt with in order to determine and implement a reasonable program for management of Virginia's waters.

NOTE # 1 - TIMING

This exercise may be done as an introductory activity to stimulate research and study of the roles and responsibilities of state, local, and selected national government officials.

OR....It could be scheduled in response to a real water emergency, in which case you will want to change the information in this model.

OR....The information in this section could be used as the/a principle topic in the Model General Assembly (See Section E of the notebook, Resources for Teaching Virginia Government).

OR....It could be a culminating activity in the Virginia government unit, to show the inter-relationship and particular roles of officials. (Less time would be needed for research, though the assignments should be given out appropriately in advance.)

OR....It could be a review activity in the spring to show the inter-relationship of officials at the state level and their interaction with local and federal officials.

NOTE # 2 - This exercise may be done by a single class or several classes. If if is done simultaneously in many social studies classes, you might want to structure ways to share information between classes, and plan a school-wide "conference" with mixed problem-solving buzz groups and collection of "solutions" for forwarding to the appropriate Virginia officials.

NOTE # 3 - Students might be told that they will be "using their reports in class" or they may be told in advance that they will be acting as the officials in the one-to-three day simulated crisis.

NOTE # 4 - If your area is affected by a water emergency, or if there is one in the news, alter the information provided to dramatize the current problem.

SUGGESTED TIMETABLE:

At least 4 weeks before EMERGENCY day: Teacher(s) should read over all information, directions and handouts, change and fit the data and plan to the classes. Decide on the format and timing.

At least 3 weeks before EMERGENCY day: Assign students to research and study the positions of each of the indicated officials. Note: this time might be shortened to 2 weeks if the activity is scheduled later in the year when students are familiar with the responsibilities and roles of the officials.

WATER EMERGENCY DAY

In some way -- announce in advance, unexpectedly on the board, over the P.A. system, or by a runner appearing in the classroom -- the activity is set in motion.

Example # 1 (a proclamation) -

A STATE OF WATER EMERGENCY HAS BEEN DECLARED FOR VIRGINIA.

All home consumption will be reduced to 10 gallons of water per person per day with fines and possible jail sentences for water wasters or users of quantities in excess of 10 gallons per person per day. All municipal water customers are asked to read their water meters today and record the numbers on a card that will be picked up in the next couple of days by city and county employees. Emergency committees of officials will meet at _______ to determine additional steps that must be taken.

Example # 2 -

Copies of a news release are distributed to the class, describing the emergency and announcing the meetings of "officials" during the class. The release will indicate whether the emergency is local (some interruption in service such as broken main, drained reservoir, or ?), regional (perhaps a river basin), or statewide. It might also be caused by pollution of a major water source, in which case citizens would have to use water from a truck which will appear at certain hours in their neighborhoods.

UPON ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE EMERGENCY, the class splits into groups by level and function of government. Each group makes a hasty sign indicating its identity: City Government, General Assembly, Governor's Office, Water Officials and meets to "handle" their share of the crisis. They obviously cannot operate unilaterally, so meetings would have to be set with other elements of government. The member of congress could be asked if the federal government will declare a state of emergency and make available emergency grants and loans to assist public institutions, home, agricultural, and industrial users. Can the armed forces, reserves or the state branch of the National Guard provide the trucks to distribute water in areas that have no potable supply? Who would decide? Are there state emergency funds? How would they be sought and used? Are there local emergency funds?

PROBLEMS ADDRESSED BY THE GROUPS SHOULD COVER THE PRESENTED EMERGENCY AND SUGGEST COURSES OF ACTION TO PREVENT RECURRENCE.

MORE IDEAS: If you are using a limited-area crisis in only one classroom, consider focusing as well on what students can do to conserve water as part of the local emergency. The runner might appear with a note addressed to a class officer or SCA officer in the room -- saying that there is a local water emergency and he/she has one hour to gather ideas from classmates before accompanying the principal to a meeting in city/county offices. "From what you know about our water resources, our local and state government, and the people, businesses and institutions in this area, what recommendations have you that I can take to the meeting?" The class could then brainstorm in one group or small groups about the powers of each level of government, neighborhood and community organization, and the role of young people. The student leader then could consolidate the suggestions on the board. A follow-up assignment could have each student contact the office of his/her assigned official to check on the constitutional and administrative capabilities of each to prevent the occurrance of predictable emergencies.

know where to find information in the Constitution. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDENT ASSIGNMENTS ARE SUGGESTED BELOW AND ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

At least 2 weeks before EMERGENCY DAY, written student reports should be collected and graded. Be sure that students know the responsibilities, powers and checks on the official they will represent.

At least 1 week before EMERGENCY DAY, graded reports should be returned to the students for correction.

ASSIGNMENTS: (at least one student to each, depending on your planned format)

- The Governor of Virginia
- The Lieutenant Governor of Virginia
- The Attorney General of Virginia
- The Speaker of the House of Delegates
- The Majority and Minority Leaders in both House of Delegates and Senate
- Delegates & Senators from Tidewater, Southside, and other areas -- include areas that might be water exporters and those that will need water
- Selected city and county officials
- Industrial and agricultural leaders
- Congressmen of major political parties
- Lobbyists representing citizen, neighborhood, and conservation groups, as well as industries and groups that have been active in your area on related issues.
- Others pertinent to your planned format.

FOR EACH OFFICIAL YOU WILL BE USING IN THIS ACTIVITY...Prepare an instruction sheet that asks for information such as the following:

Role of ________________________ in a WATER EMERGENCY !!

1 - Is there any wording in the U. S. or the Virginia Constitution (or in the charter of this city) indicating that this official has any particular responsibility for assuring usable water for Virginians?

2 - Is there any wording in these documents that indicate that this official has any particular responsibility for preventing or assisting in emergencies? How might "emergency" be defined or understood? Would funds/personnel be available? How would they be mobilized?

3 - Can you find indications that this official or any of his predecessors has taken any particular responsibility for assuring usable water for Virginians OR for preventing or assisting in emergencies?

4 - Which other officials at which levels of government does this official work with on ordinary matters? emergency matters?

5 - Which other officials at which levels of government have some "checks and balances" over this official?

6 - How would this official gather information on an emergency?

7 - If this official were responsible for action in an emergency situation, how might he/she gather public/organization/lobbyist support?

8 - In the event of a water emergency, would you like to BE this official? Why or why not?

VIRGINIA WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH CENTER

Established by federal law in 1965 and located at Virginia Tech, the Virginia Water Resources Research Center became a state agency component of Tech in 1982. It seeks to assess the ecological, political, economic, institutional, legal, and social implications of water resources problems. The center has five functions: identifying/assessing water and land-use problems; conducting research; training young men and women for careers in water related fields; conducting workshops to promote conservation and groundwater protection; and providing information about water resource problems and research in many different formats -- some of which are listed below.

The Center's latest publication Virginia's Waters includes descriptions of each of the state's river basins, and would be a valuable addition to a class library on water -- and useful in the planning district studies of Section B of this notebook.

Water News is a monthly newsletter containing news reports on local, state, regional, and national events and trends having repercussions for water resources, along with information about the Center projects and activities. Subscriptions are free to Virginia residents.

Speakers, slide shows, computer games, videocassette public service announcements, cartoon posters -- all are available for schools, civic, fraternal, social, and business organizations.

GROUNDWATER PROTECTION

A Groundwater Primer for Virginians (1984) is an authoritative look at our subsurface resources, contamination, regulation, and what citizens can do to protect this vulnerable resource.

Facts About Virginia's Groundwater is a colorful foldout pamphlet with a large map and much basic information. Free/maximum order 25.

A Homeowner's Guide to Septic Systems contains useful information to help citizens locate and properly maintain residential sewage systems.

A Homeowner's Guide to Domestic Wells covers regulations governing the location and construction of wells in Virginia, ways to disinfect and condition well water, how to maintain a well and have the water tested. It also lists precautions for a buyer of a home served by a private well.

WATER CONSERVATION

Be Water Wise is a 48-page activity booklet for grades 6-12. Sections on water conservation, water in the environment, and water and wastewater treatment. An Instructor's Guide is also available.

Illustrated brochures also are available for the asking OR duplicate your own copies from materials in this notebook.

Many of these publications are in your school library, and limited copies of them may be available for classroom use at little or no cost. If you do not have them available to you, contact

Virginia Water Resources Research Center
VPI & SU
617 North Main Street, Blacksburg, VA 24060-3397

The Virginia Water Project, Inc. Over 200,000 rural Virginians must rely on water from contaminated wells, streams and cisterns for their drinking water, or use unsanitary waste disposal methods which create a danger to their health -- and perhaps to the health of others.

Since 1969, the Virginia Water Project has helped more than 20,000 low-income Virginia residents to obtain safe drinking water and sanitary waste disposal facilities -- in more than 140 projects in 112 communities. VWP is a private, nonprofit corporation that uses state and federal funds to provide small seed grants and technical assistance to communities and individuals who meet the income criteria of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services. VWP also has organized a network of community action agencies and local organizations that assist rural areas with funds, materials and services to solve their water and wastewater problems. In most instances, the communities and families contribute a portion of the project costs and/or labor.

VWP gives grants for connection fees and hook-on costs, and has a small reserve fund to aid families with such emergencies as frozen lines and broken pumps. It also helps rural communities fund preliminary engineering studies, test wells, soil tests, and other requirements for state and federal programs, then helps them fill out the applications and organize the community to take advantage of the programs. For brochures and a videotape, "A Helping Hand," contact Virginia Water Project, P.O. Box 2868, Roanoke, VA 24001-2868.

The Clean Water Action Project This national non-profit organization was founded in 1971 to work for strong pollution controls and safe drinking water. It is a membership group that builds coalitions with other citizen groups and organizations throughout the country with a stake in clean water (including health, labor, farm, church, fishing, environmental, civic, senior citizen, neighborhood, professional and business groups).

The Project was instrumental in drafting and lobbying for the 1972 Clean Water Act, and in coordinating the efforts of different groups and organizations to protect our wetlands, encourage recycling efforts, and mandate better testing procedures to more accurately determine chemical toxicity and be more effective in their own locales and in such national campaigns as one of their current efforts: and continuing pressure to increase the expenditures for clean-up of toxic dumps by improving and strengthening Superfund legislation.

Clean Water Action Project is also working to safeguard the Chesapeake Bay, James River and drinking water sources against toxic hazards and pollution from municipal sewage treatment plants and industrial and agricultural sources. The Project is a full-time effort, including lobbying, research and assisting citizen action to solve pollution problems. They keep up with clean-up technology, with Congress, and with the polluters' lobbies, leaving Other groups (Natural Resources Defense Council and Environmental Defense Fund) to litigate and pressuring the EPA for better enforcement. Membership is $6 per year, or $18 per year for a "subscribing" membership, which includes a monthly publication Clean Water Action News. Office: Clean Water Action Project, 11 S. 12th Street, #216, Richmond, VA 23219.

OTHER NON-GOVERNMENT GROUPS

The Virginia Environmental Endowment is a non-profit, independent corporation organized for the purpose of improving the quality of the environment in Virginia. It provides grants and loans for selected projects that are not funded by government agencies, specially those related to water quality and the effects of water pollution on human health and environment in Virginia and in the Ohio River and Kanawha River Valleys. The Endowment came about as a result of a 1977 court order. When Judge Robert R. Merhige, Jr. fined Allied Chemical Corporation $13.2 million for polluting the James River with Kepone, he offered to reduce the amount if they would develop a way for the money to benefit the people of Virginia. Allied proposed that it contribute $8 million to start an environmental fund for Virginia, and Judge Merhige agreed. In 1981, the Endowment benefitted from another unusual settlement, when it received $1 million from the FMC Corporation as a result of a guilty plea agreement in a federal felony prosecution. The Endowment is particularly interested in projects that actively involve citizens, government and business.

The Piedmont Environmental Council and similar volunteer groups around the state have been very active and effective lobbyists on local and statewide issues that they feel threaten the quality of Virginia's waters (i.e., local pollution and treatment plants, the coal slurry pipeline and uranium mining).

The Sierra Club was founded by John Muir in 1892 because he wanted others to share his love of the earth and all of nature. He knew if people learned how to explore, enjoy and value the wildlands that are their heritage, they would also work together to preserve this legacy. The Sierra Club is the nation's largest and strongest group dedicated to conserving wilderness -- but it has enlarged its goal to protecting the environment all around us, including air, water, natural resources of all kinds, scenic rivers, wildlife refuges, scenic shorelines, and green space around our cities. It is a strong and effective lobby to protect the environment for future generations. Sierra Club is a membership organization with 53 chapters, a national magazine Sierra, and local newsletters, plus a list of publications available at reasonable prices from their office at 530 Bush Street, San Francisco, California 94108.

The Education Department of The American Water Works Association, the national association of the water supply equipment industry, has produced materials for elementary schools, some of which would be useful in 12th grade government discussions on water supply and treatment. (Complete bibliography on Virginia water available on request.) An inexpensive booklet of cartoon format explains the supply and use of water all over the world, and ends with a page on conservation and student project suggestions. Copies of "The Story of Water Supply" are available from The American Water Works Association, 6666 West Quincey Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80235.

The Environmental Defense Fund is a nationwide legal action organization of scientists, lawyers and economists working to protect the public interest in environmental quality, energy consumption, public health and consumer welfare. It was organized to oppose the efforts of budget-cutters and others who wanted the federal government out of the business of protecting the environment.

A GLOSSARY OF WATER TERMS

Definitions taken from publications by the League of Women Voters, Virginia Water Resources Research Center, American Water Works Association, Sierra Club, and others listed in these pages

Advanced treatment - processes used in addition to secondary treatment, to improve water quality

Aeration - process of bubbling air through a liquid to increase oxygen levels

Aquifer - layers of soil or rocks bearing groundwater, which may be tapped by wells or which may drain as springs

Best Management Practices (BMPs) - guidelines and less-polluting ways to manage farms and other businesses

Cone of depression - an area from which the groundwater has been pumped, and which may have sinkholes, saltwater intrusion or other problems

Depletion - surface or ground water withdrawn faster than it can be replaced

Discharge - material emitted from one source - polluter or treatment facility

Disinfectant - a substance or action used to purify something by removing or inactivating infectious elements such as disease germs. Chlorine is the most common disinfectant. Ozone and ultraviolet radiation treatment are now considered by many experts to be safer for fish and human life.

Drainage basin - the land area from which water drains into a particular river

Drawdown - removal of water from a well, reservoir or other source

Effluent - substance that flows out of a sewer, holding tank, industrial or agricultural source, may be treated or not

Eminent domain - right of a government to acquire private property for public use, even from an unwilling owner, upon payment of compensation to the owner; occasionally conferred upon private entities vested with a public interest, such as utilities

Estuary - area of mixed fresh and salt water, such as where an inland water source meets an open salt water body such as an ocean

Eutrophication - condition when a body of water becomes overly rich in mineral and organic nutrients, producing excessive plant life (algae) which uses up oxygen and creates an environment hostile to higher forms of marine life (fish, shellfish and seagrasses)

Floodway - river bed and immediately adjacent lands needed to carry high speed flood waters

GPD - gallons per day, a standard measure of a liquid such as water

Greywater - wastewater from kitchen, laundry, bath...some may be reused for selected purposes such as watering plants

Groundwater - water in porous rocks and soils of the earth's crust; a large proportion of the total supply of fresh water

Headwater - place where river originates

Hydrological cycle - the movement of water from the atmosphere to earth and its return to the atmosphere through condensation, precipitation, evaporation and transpiration (loss of water to atmosphere through plants)

Industrial user - any industry that introduces pollutants into public sewer systems and whose wastes are treated in a publicly owned facility

Injection well - well receiving wastes through injection (under pressure)

Inter-basin transfer - physical transfer of water from one watershed to another; one river basin to another

Kepone - a toxic pesticide that was spilled into the James River, resulting in a ban on fishing in 1975. After millions of dollars of clean-up, the residue is still a problem, particularly in low-water periods.

Lagoon - surface impoundment for storage or disposal of industrial or sewage waste

Land disposal method - advanced waste treatment that uses soil, air, plants and bacteria to remove pollutants from waste water. Four basic processes: pre-treatment to screen out large solids; chlorination and vegetation in soil; spraying over cropland where vegetation and micro-organisms in the soil remove additional pollutants; and reclamation by wells or drain tiles.

Leaching - water carries soluble matter to a new location - example: minerals washed out of soil

Nonpoint source - any non-confined area from which pollutants are discharged into a body of water (i.e., agricultural run-off, urban run-off, sediment from construction sites)

Percolating - oozing or seeping through permeable material such as soil

Point source - an identifiable source such as a pipe, ditch, channel, tunnel,

Porosity - a measure of the amount of open space in a material, particularly the water storage capacity of a substance

Precipitation - water received on earth directly from clouds as rain, hail, sleet or snow

Recharge - replenishment of an aquifer after water has been removed

Primary treatment - first stage in waste water treatment: floating or settleable solids are removed by screening and sedimentation

Recharge area - the land surface through which water seeps into the ground to recharge a particular aquifer

Reservoir - a pond, lake, aquifer, basin, either natural or artificial, in which water is stored, regulated or controlled

Reverse osmosis - an advanced method of waste treatment that relies on a semi-permiable membrane to separate waters from pollutants. Recent variations in the pressure used and the membrane have resulted in more optimism about the economics of this process for desalination.

Riparian Doctrine - landowners have a right to reasonable use of streams flowing through their land; use not to diminish either the quality or quantity of water flowing downstream

Runoff - that part of precipitation, not absorbed by the ground, that increases the flow of surface streams

Salt water intrusion - occurs when a fresh water aquifer is overpumped; salt water, heavier than fresh water, enters a fresh water aquifer

Saturated zone - the area underground in which all available spaces are filled with water

Secondary treatment - second stage in waste water treatment: bacteria consume the organic parts of the wastes. Trickling filters or activated sludge process introduces the bacteria to the sewage.

Superfund - Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act. A function of the Environmental Protection Agency to identify and clean up toxic waste sites

Surface water - water that is above ground

Tertiary treatment - series of processes to remove almost all pollutants

Toxic - substances which upon exposure, ingestion, inhalation or assimilation into any organism, may cause death, disease, cancer, genetic mutations, physiological deformations in such organisms and their offspring

Transpiration - process in which plant tissues give off water vapor to the atmosphere

Trickling filter - a bed of rocks that supports bacterial growth used to treat waste water - a secondary treatment process

Water table - the level below which the ground is saturated with water

FEEDBACK - PLEASE SEND YOUR REACTIONS ON THESE RESOURCES
YOUR IDEAS FOR FUTURE MATERIALS
YOUR REQUESTS FOR MORE INFORMATION

REACTIONS:

	NO	SOME	YES	A LOT
Do you feel more confident and better informed about state and local government, now that you have this notebook available for your use?				
Do you think these materials are versatile and easy to use?				
Will having these resources available for your use help you to give a fairer share of time to state and local government in Virginia?				
Will the charts and maps and activities in this notebook help you include more data-handling skills in your course?				
Do you think the use of these materials might help you increase student interest and participation in your course?				

Comments:

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SUGGEST FOR FUTURE MATERIALS....YOUR IDEAS, PLEASE!

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IS THERE MORE INFORMATION YOU WOULD FIND USEFUL ON ANY PARTICULAR VIRGINIA STATE OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT TOPIC? (Reminder: During the next 18 months, three more resource units will be added to this notebook - State & Local Taxes in Virginia, Studying Your Own Local Government, and a Case Study on Water Resources in Virginia.)

Send to: Teacher Resources
Institute of Government
Minor Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903